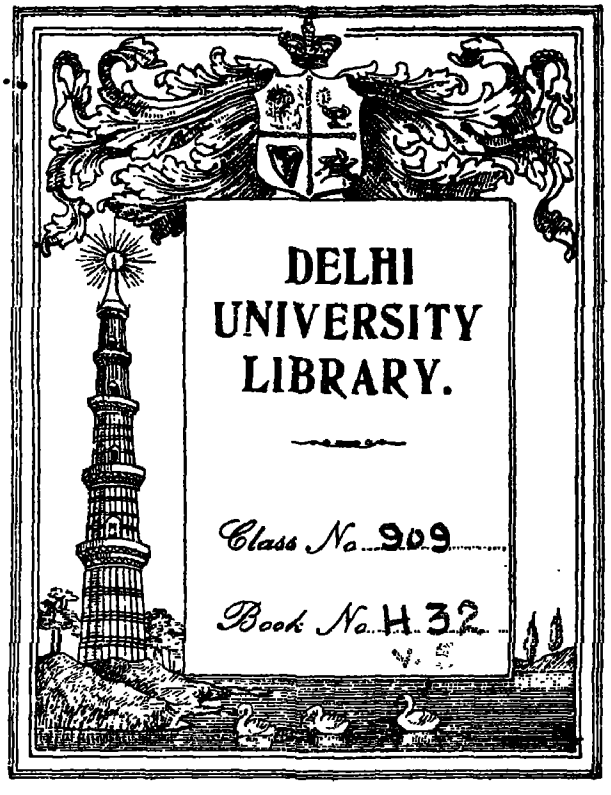
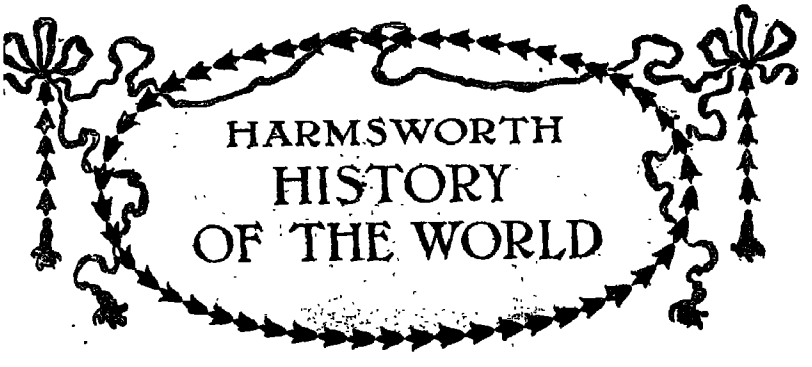

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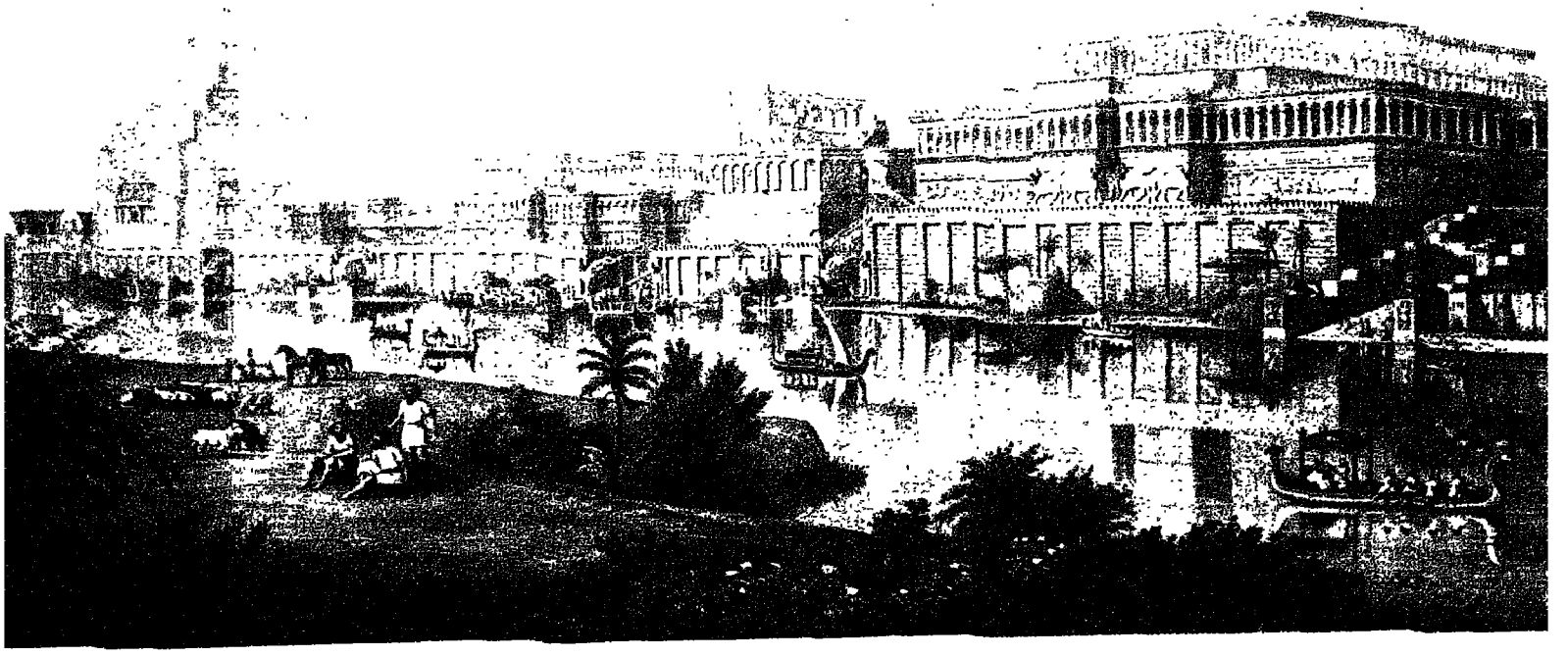
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NINEVEH IN THE DAYS OF ASSYRIA'S ASCENDENCY OVER THE NATIONS OF THE NEAR EAST

A restoration of the Nimroud palaces of Nineveh, prepared under the direction of Sir A. H. Layard for his "Monuments of Nineveh."

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THE NEAR EAST

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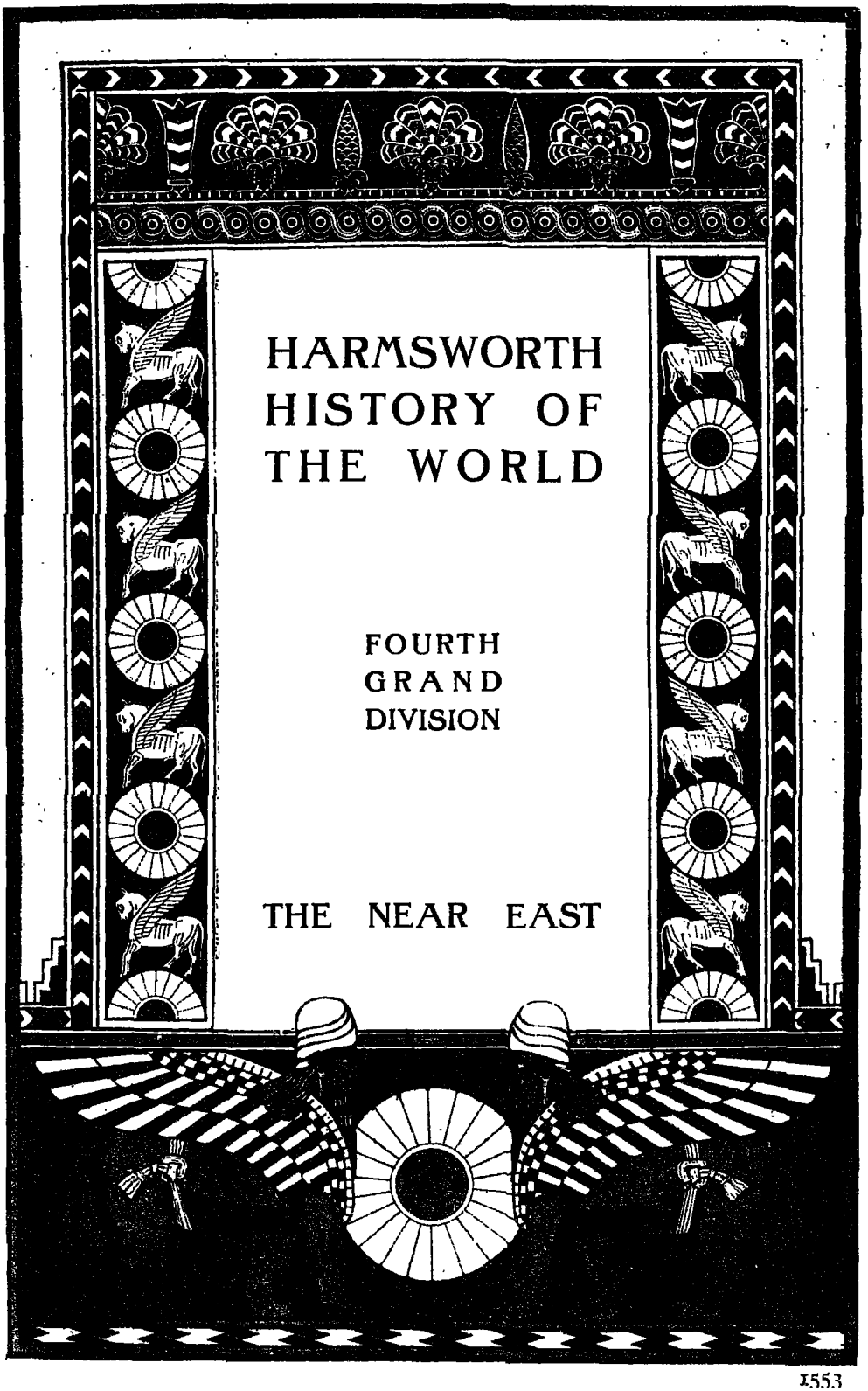
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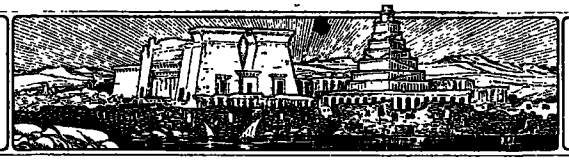
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FOURTH GRAND DIVISION

THE NEAR EAST

With the Near East we enter upon the regions whose history is in continuous connection with that of Europe from the time when European records begin. Our division covers Persia and all of Asia that lies west of Persia. Geographically, this area is much smaller than that of the preceding divisions ; but it has been the scene of still more tremendous and world-shaking events.

For here the Semitic races developed—the races which gave to the world the religion of the Hebrews, and its offspring, the Christian Faith, and Islam. Here was the cradle of those civilisations of the Tigris and Euphrates, the oldest of which we have record, save Egypt.

Here the Chaldæan learnt the secrets of the stars, Babylon and Nineveh rose and fell ; Solomon raised his Temple ; Aryan conquerors from the East, led first by Cyrus the Persian, fell under the Semite spell ; Aryan conquerors from the West, led first by Alexander of Macedon, yielded to the same enchantment.

Thence the Phœnicians set forth, the pioneers of the greater navigations. From these regions the Apostles spread the Gospel which turned the world upside down ; issuing from them, the successors of the Arabian Prophet made conquest of half Asia and North Africa, and crashed in a thousand years' struggle against the nations of the West. The glory of the Near East is no more ; but it has played a majestic part in human history.

PLAN

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Professor Archibald H. Sayce

ANCIENT EMPIRES OF WESTERN ASIA
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THE NEAR EAST

THE ANCIENT CIVILISATIONS AND THEIR VANISHED GLORIES

BY PROFESSOR A. H. SAYCE

EARLY EMPIRES OF MESOPOTAMIA & EGYPT

Egypt, as regards its early civilisation, is so intimately associated with the ancient empires of Western Asia that in any general survey considerable attention must be devoted to it; but the geographical plan of this History requires that the main treatment of that country should come into the Fifth Grand Division, which deals with the continent of Africa

LESS than a century ago the history of the ancient East could have been compressed into a few pages, and even these few pages would have been a mixture of history and romance. The scanty accounts of the great empires of Oriental antiquity which had drifted down to us from the writers of Greece and Rome were intermingled with myth and fiction, and what the Old Testament had to tell us about them was meagre and fragmentary. A single case was sufficient to hold all the monuments of Assyrian or Babylonian civilisation possessed by the British Museum, and the mummies and other objects of Egyptian antiquity scattered through the museums of Europe were merely so many curiosities the nature and age of which were unknown.

In no department of science has so complete a revolution taken place in our knowledge during the last half-century as in that of Oriental archæology. Thanks to the excavator and decipherer, the ancient world of the East has risen, as it were, from its grave, and has become almost as familiar to us as the European world of the Middle Ages. We can follow the daily life and read the inmost thoughts of the men who lived before Abraham was born; can study the actual letters written by the Babylonian king against whom he fought; can examine the handwriting of Egyptian *littérateurs* who flourished centuries before him; and handle the jewellery and articles of toilette which once belonged to the ladies of the same distant past. The Oriental past, in fact, has ceased to be distant; like a landscape which the telescope brings near to us, the age of Moses or even of Abraham is being unfolded to us in all its minutest details.

The excavator was at work in Egypt before he invaded the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. Tombs were ransacked with merciless activity, and the museums of Europe filled with their spoils. But it is only recently that excavation has been conducted with that scientific care and precision which alone can yield satisfactory results. Much of the earlier work was mere spoliation, which ended in destroying material of priceless value to the archæologist of

to-day. But there was also much which helped to build up our present knowledge of the history of the past. The artistic skill and patient labour of Sir Gardner Wilkinson recovered for us the life and manners of ancient Egypt, while the Prussian Exploring Expedition, under Professor Lepsius, revealed the extent of Egyptian influence in the Sudan, and carried to Berlin the materials for reconstructing the history of the country. Mariette's excavations completed the work of Lepsius on the historical side, and, with the foundation of the Cairo Museum, closed what may be termed the older period of excavation and prepared the way for the more scientific work of to-day.

Revealers of the Vanished Ages

Meanwhile the ancient cultures of Assyria and Babylonia were also being brought to light. The Frenchman Botta and the Englishman Layard revealed to an astonished world the palaces of Sargon and Sennacherib and other Assyrian kings whose names were new to history. Other expeditions followed; the sites of the forgotten cities of Babylonia were explored, and the libraries of clay books contained in them were sent to Europe and America. Year by year the wonder has grown; year by year, whether it be Egypt or Babylonia, fresh discoveries are being made, each more startling and unexpected than its predecessor, and bringing us into ever closer contact with the culture of the past.

Hand in hand with the work of the excavator has gone the work of the decipherer. From excavation alone we could have learnt only the more material side of ancient Oriental civilisation. The decipherer has given us its history and spiritual side. This is especially the case with Assyria and Babylonia, where so large a proportion of the objects discovered consists of inscribed tablets of clay.

Antiquity of the Art of Writing

One result of the discovery and decipherment of these records of the past has been to prove the great antiquity of the art of writing. The art of writing was coeval in the ancient East with the rise of civilisation. It formed an integral part of early Oriental culture, with which it continued to be closely entwined. It was used for literary purposes ages before Abraham was born in "Ur of the Chaldees," and libraries and archive-chambers were established on the banks alike of the Euphrates and the Nile.

One of the earlier fragments of Egyptian literature that have come down to us is a treatise on ethics which was composed in the time of the third dynasty, and some of the epics of Babylonia go back beyond the time of Hammurabi, the contemporary of Abraham. In the age of the eighteenth dynasty the historical novel was already flourishing in Egypt, and Babylonian scientists had written upon astronomy and mathematics before Sargon of Akkad founded the first Semitic empire at the beginning of the third millennium B.C. A postal service had been organised along the roads that intersected Western Asia, and some of the clay seals which took the place of stamps, and bore the name of Sargon's son, are now in the Museum of the Louvre. Many of the original letters of Hammurabi and his immediate successors are preserved in the museums of Europe, and testify to the minute care with which the king attended to the affairs of an empire that extended from Elam on the east to Palestine on the west. All classes and both sexes took part in a correspondence which went on increasing in activity as the centuries passed, until in the age of the Tell el-Amarna tablets, about a century before the Exodus, it included not only Babylonia and Assyria, Egypt and Canaan, but Asia Minor as well.

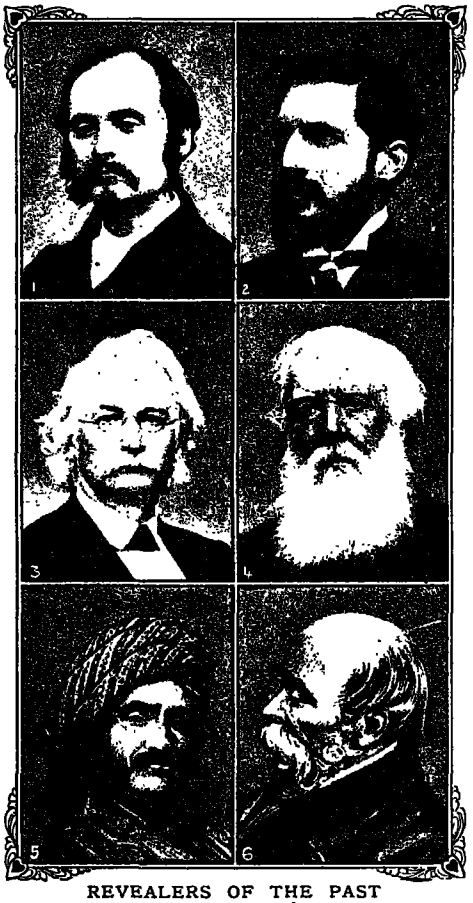
Postal Service Before 3000 B.C.

The script and language of the correspondence were those of Babylonia, which had become the literary and diplomatic script and language of the day. The Egyptian Government itself had to use them when corresponding with its own officials in Palestine. Even at Boghaz Köi, the capital of the Hittites in distant Cappadocia, the foreign characters were employed, though the language they were called upon to express was the native language of the country whenever home affairs were discussed. But even among the Hittites all subjects of an international nature were written in Assyro-Babylonian. The fact bears witness to the long continuance and profound influence of the Babylonian empire in the West in days which until recently we had been taught to consider "prehistoric."

The culture of Babylonia grew up under similar conditions to that of Egypt.

Both alike developed on the banks of great rivers, whose annual overflow was regulated and directed by engineering science. Both alike rested on the agriculture which was thus made possible, as well as upon a climate with regular seasons and sufficient warmth to allow of social intercourse out-of-doors. The farmer thus knew beforehand what weather to expect, while the people were not separated one from another in isolated households or small communities. In the great plain of Babylonia or the Egyptian delta, there were not even mountain chains to keep them apart. As soon as the rivers had been embanked, and their waters directed over the fields, or diverted into canals, the struggle of man with Nature practically ceased; thenceforth he could settle down to a life of orderly method and leisure. But the regulation of the rivers implied organisation and a directing brain; here, therefore, as in later days in China, organised states first arose, at the head of which was the king.

It is difficult to believe that the engineering science which transformed the trackless swamp into the cultivated field could have grown up independently in two different parts of the ancient world. And since the problem that faced the engineers of Babylonia, where the annual inundation occurred after, and not before, the period of sowing, was more complicated than that with which the irrigation engineers of Egypt had to deal, it is natural to suppose that Egypt would have derived its engineering knowledge from Babylonia.



REVEALERS OF THE PAST

A group of the most notable archæologists, to whose labours so much of our knowledge of the ancient empires is due. 1, Professor A. H. Sayce; 2, Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie; 3, Professor Lepsius; 4, Sir A. H. Layard; 5, Hormuzd Rassam, the chief assistant and successor to Sir A. H. Layard; 6, Sir Gardner Wilkinson.

Photos by Elliott & Fry and Maull & Fox

That there was a close connection between the culture of Babylonia and that of primitive Egypt is now known. The Egyptians of the early "dynastic" era made use of the Babylonian seal-cylinder and impressed the characters engraved upon it on soft clay; in a land of stone they imitated the Babylonians in constructing their buildings of brick; they reckoned time in the Babylonian fashion, and carved vessels of hard stone of Babylonian shape. Even the strange composite monsters of Babylonian invention were reproduced by the artists of Egypt. The Egyptian language itself bears testimony to its Asiatic origin; it belongs fundamentally to the Semitic family of speech, though it has been subjected to a strong African influence. This African influence must be due to the fact that the "dynastic" Egyptians — the Egyptians, that is to say, who drained the marshes, established organised states, and founded what we mean by Egyptian culture — found a population of African origin already existing in the valley of the Nile. Recent excavations have brought the remains of this early population to light, and have allowed us to reconstruct their mode of life. In three essential respects they differed from the Egyptians of history. They were unacquainted with the use of metals, their tools and weapons being of stone; they did not practise the art of writing; and they were herdsmen of the desert rather than agriculturists. But they had attained to a considerable amount of civilisation of their

own. Some of their flint implements are exquisite works of art, their vases of hard stone are well made and of artistic shape, and their pottery was of a high order.

A Land in the Making

There had been a stone age in Babylonia, as in Egypt; but at this early period the greater part of the Babylonian plain was still under water, what settlements there were being on the rocky plateaus to the east and west of the Tigris and Euphrates. The plain, called Edina, or the land of Eden, by its inhabitants, was formed by the silt brought by the rivers from the mountains of the north, and it was while it was in course of formation that the discovery of the use of copper was made, and a picture writing was introduced. The copper was imported from abroad, thus carrying back the commercial relations of Babylonia to the very dawn of history, while a running hand or cursive script developed out of the pictorial hieroglyphs. Wood and stone were alike scarce; clay was plentiful, and it was accordingly employed as a writing material. The written characters were impressed upon it by means of a reed pen or metal stylus, the result being that they assumed a wedge-like shape, and became what is known as cuneiform.

The stone age had been of very long duration. At Susa, in Elam, the strata representing it are of great depth, and the pottery that characterises it had time to make its way westward to the Mediterranean, and even to the shores of Spain. But, as in Egypt, so, too, in Babylonia, it is prehistoric; history begins in each country with the use of metals and the art of writing.

In each country, also, history begins with a number of independent states. In Egypt these gradually coalesced into two kingdoms, those of the north and south. The capital of the southern kingdom was at Hieraconpolis, north of Edfu; its kings regarded themselves as the successors and vicegerents of Horus, the hawk-god, and divine honours were paid to them. In Babylonia, also, the king was a god. How far back this deification of the Babylonian monarch may go, however, it is at present impossible to say. The first kings of whom we have evidence that they were worshipped during their lifetime were Sargon of Akkad and his son. It has, therefore, been thought that the belief and custom originated among the Semites, and that the deification needed the sanction of the priests of the great sanctuary of Nippur.

Deification of the Monarchs

Nippur and Eridu were the two sacred cities of primeval Babylonia. Nippur, now Niffer, stood in the northern part of the Babylonian plain, to the south-west of the later Babylon. The city grew up round the temple of Enlil, the "lord," or Bel, of earth. Here American excavators have been patiently digging year after year. They have made their way through the vast mounds of ruin in which the past history of the temple is recorded down to the virgin soil. But everywhere there is the same tale to tell. Even the lowest strata contain written monuments which show that the primeval hieroglyphs had already passed into the cursive or cuneiform stage. Babylonia was already a land of culture; it possessed organised states under kings or high-priests, and had already reached a comparatively high level of art. Hard stones were cut into seals in the form of cylinders and covered with delicate engravings, and at Tello —the ancient Lagash— in Southern Babylonia, French explorers have brought to light a large vase of silver, dedicated in early days by the priest-king Entemena and richly chased with figures of two-headed eagles, heifers, and lions [see tenth illustration on page 1587].

Art and Culture in Earliest Babylonia

The primitive inhabitants of the Babylonian plain belonged to a beardless, round-headed race, usually termed Sumerian [see pages 266 and 1594]. They spoke an agglutinative language, like that, for instance, of the modern Turks or Finns, which is called in the native inscriptions "the language of Sumer," or Southern Babylonia. To them were due all the elements of Babylonian civilisation. It was they who had drained the marshes, had built the great cities of the country, and invented the cuneiform system of writing. Later ages believed that their culture had come to them from the Persian Gulf. Tradition told how Ea, the culture-god of Eridu, once the seaport of Babylonia, had risen morning by morning from the waters of the sea, bringing with him a knowledge of all the arts and industries of life. The tradition points to intercourse with the incense-bearing lands of Southern Arabia, and the culture that follows in the track

of maritime trade. For just as Nippur in the north was the cradle of agriculture and the reclamation of the Babylonian plain, so Eridu was the birthplace of Babylonian navigation. In the days when it was founded—some seven or eight thousand years ago—it was on an inlet of the Persian Gulf; now the growth of the land through the silt annually deposited by the Tigris and Euphrates has made it more than a hundred miles distant from the shore. Even in the historical age of Babylonia it had ceased to be a seaport [see map on page 260].

Babylonian Account of Good and Evil

But its religious influence continued to the last. It was the home of the spells and incantations to which the Babylonians trusted for protection against the demons who were believed to surround them on all sides. While the darker side of Babylonian religion was represented by Nippur, its brighter side was reflected in Eridu. Enlil of Nippur was lord of the demons, whose habitation was in the dark places of the earth, whence they issued to terrify and plague mankind; it was the office of Ea of Eridu and his son "Asari, the good being," to discover how to counteract their malice and communicate the knowledge to man. At Babylon, which seems to have been originally a colony from Eridu, Asari passed into Marduk, the Sun-god who, when his city became the capital of Babylonia, superseded and abolished the older gods of the country, including Ea and Enlil themselves.

But long before this happened a new race had entered the land. Semitic nomads and settlers poured in from the Arabian side of the Euphrates, and established themselves securely in Akkad, the northern half of Babylonia. Thence they made their way northward into the later Assyria, and even into the mountains of Elam to the east. They soon adopted the higher culture of the Sumerians, and gave it a fresh development and a new impulse. Out of the fusion of the Semite and the Sumerian arose the culture and civilisation known to us as Babylonian, which made so profound an impression upon Western Asia, and through Western Asia upon the world. In Akkad the culture, like the language, became predominantly Semitic; in Sumer, on the other hand, the older population succeeded better in holding its own and in retaining its language down to comparatively modern times.

Origin of Babylonian Civilisation

For a while it seemed as if the Semitic race were to be the ruling power from the shores of the Mediterranean to the deserts of Persia. Like the Arabs in the early days of Islam, they spread in a resistless stream from east to west. Recent excavations in Palestine have shown that at least as early as the third millennium before our era they had dispossessed the older Neolithic people of their territory and were filling Syria with cities surrounded by massive walls. The older people had not been acquainted with the use of metals; they were a long-headed race who lived in caverns, and buried their dead. The Semites brought with them a knowledge of copper, which had long been employed in Babylonia, and it was doubtless the superiority of their weapons of war which enabled them to conquer and hold their new possessions in the west. They burned their dead instead of burying them, and the caverns of the earlier race were replaced by houses of brick and cities built in imitation of those of the Babylonian plain. To the Babylonians these Semites of Palestine and Syria were known as Amorites, and, as trade developed along the high-roads that ran between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, Amorite merchants passed to and fro between Canaan and Babylonia, and Amorite traders settled in the Babylonian towns.

The First Semitic Imperialist

The time was ripe for the rise of a Semitic empire in Western Asia, and this came with the conquest of Sargon of Akkad. The date of Sargon is given as the beginning of the third millennium B.C. by Nabonidus, who was an antiquarian as well as a Babylonian monarch, and had at his disposal innumerable records which have now perished. Sargon's capital was at Akkad, a suburb of Sippar, north of Babylon, which is mentioned for the first time in the annals of his reign. His first work was to unify Babylonia itself; next he led his victorious army across mountains and deserts, subduing Elam on the one side and the provinces of Syria on the other. His campaigns in "the land of the Amorites" occupied him for three years; then, we are told, he formed his widespread dominions into "a single empire," and assumed the proud title of "King of the Four Zones." Nearly the

whole of the known world acknowledged his rule. His policy and conquests were continued by his son and successor Naram-Sin, who marched as far as Magan, or Western Arabia, and there wrenched the copper mines of Sinai from Egyptian hands. The empire was knit together by a system of roads and posts; at home, literature was encouraged, and libraries of clay books were collected together. The cuneiform script was modified and perfected, and the gem-cutter's art attained a degree of excellence which it never reached again in later ages. Sculpture also made similar progress, and a broken bas-relief of the king found in Mesopotamia is one of the finest examples that have come down to us of the sculptor's art in Babylonia.

Semitic Power at its Greatest Height

But the empire of Sargon and his son represents the apogee of Semitic power in Western Asia. The wave of Semitic progress had already begun to ebb, and it never overpassed the bounds to which it had already attained. In Elam Semitic governors were replaced by native kings, and the language of its capital, Susa, ceased to be Semitic Babylonian and became agglutinative. The provinces of the west regained their independence, though the memory of the empire of Sargon was never lost, and was again and again invoked in later times to enforce the claims of Babylonian supremacy. In Babylonia itself, at all events in the southern part of the country, Sumerian princes once more held rule, and the brilliant epoch which had witnessed the union of Semite and Sumerian was succeeded, as is generally the case in the East, by a long period of stagnation.

Meanwhile, Egypt also had been passing through a period of high attainment in culture, to be followed by stagnation and decay. Here, too, there had been a fusion of two races. But whereas in Babylonia it had been the non-Semitic race from which the civilising impulse was derived, in Egypt it was the invaders from Asia who had brought with them the elements of a higher civilisation. Later tradition ascribed their conquest of the Nile valley—without doubt, justly—to their possession of metal weapons, and traced their gradual progress from south to north. Near Edfu they had first reached the Nile after their passage across the eastern desert, and thence they made their way northward, erecting a sanctuary at each spot where they had been victorious over their foes.

Egypt Civilised from Asia

For several centuries Egypt was divided into two kingdoms. It was during this period that the so-called "dynastic" civilisation was matured; the land was drained and canalised, cities were built, the hieroglyphic script was evolved, and the government organised. Eventually, Menes, the hereditary king of This, in the neighbourhood of the modern Girga, succeeded in uniting "the two lands" of the south and north, and founding the first dynasty of the united monarchy. His own tomb has been discovered at Negada, north of Thebes; those of his successors close to the reputed sepulchre of the god Osiris at Abydos, the sanctuary of This. The objects disinterred from the tombs prove to how high a level Egyptian culture had already advanced. There was trade with the Red Sea on the one side, and with the Ægean on the other, the obsidian of Melos being worked into exquisitely shaped vases; the art of the goldsmith and jeweller had attained to high perfection, and household furniture was wrought into artistic forms. A cursive hand had been evolved from the hieroglyphic signs, and massive blocks of granite were hewn out of the quarries of Assuan and floated on rafts down the river to This, there to be shaped for architectural purposes. In the age of Menes Egyptian civilisation was already nearing its bloom.

The Bloom of Egypt's Civilisation

It was in the schools and workshops of Memphis, however, the capital of the united monarchy, that this bloom displayed itself in all its fulness. Memphis had been built on an embankment won by Menes from the Nile, whose original course he had diverted into a new channel some seventy miles in length. Egyptian history thus begins with a stupendous work of engineering, the reality of which has been verified by modern English engineers. It was no wonder, therefore, that under the fourth dynasty, some four thousand years before our era, the development of mechanical science went hand in hand with that of art. The huge granite blocks used in the construction of the great pyramid of Gizeh were cut with tubular drills fitted with points of a stone

hard as the diamond—an instrument which was rediscovered only when the Mont Cenis tunnel was half completed. The hardest of hard stones were carved into statuary instinct with life and portraiture; indeed, one of the finest statues in the world is that of Khafra, the builder of the second pyramid at Gizeh, which is of a greenish diorite. The king is seated on his throne with the imperial hawk behind his head, and the face—speaking likeness though it clearly is—wears the divine calm of an omnipotent god. So far as the sculptor's art was concerned, its history in Egypt after the age of the fourth dynasty was that of a continuous decline.

A hawk's head of gold, with obsidian eyes, found at Hieraconpolis, shows that the goldsmith's art was equally advanced. A statue of King Pepi of the sixth dynasty, more than life-size, and made of hammered copper, which was found at the same place, bears similar testimony as regards work in other metals.

But with the sixth dynasty the Old Empire of Egypt comes suddenly to an end. Memphis became the scene of revolution and struggles for power; the political organisation of the country, which had rested on the divinely-derived autocracy of the king, was broken up, and Egypt passed into its feudal stage. The great landowners became a feudal nobility, who acknowledged the authority of the Pharaoh in name, but ignored it in fact, and even the old line of kings ceased to exist. The ninth and tenth dynasties belonged to the provincial city of Heracleopolis; but they possessed neither the power nor the prestige of their predecessors, and after carrying on war for several generations with the rival princes of Thebes, they too passed away. Henceforward, Thebes, which had grown up around the ancient sanctuary of Amon at Karnak, became the leading city in the valley of the Nile.

Egypt in the Feudal Stage

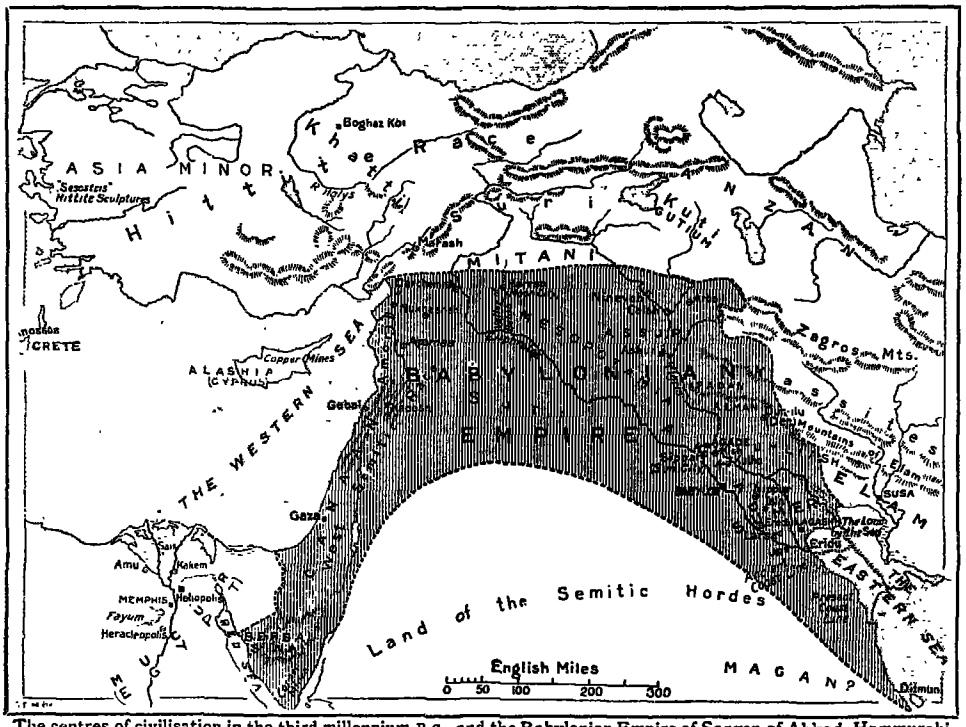
In the strong and capable hands of the three Theban dynasties which constituted "the Middle Empire," Egypt again took its place in the front rank of history and civilisation. The artistic impulse which in the time of the Old Empire had found expression in statuary, now turned to architecture; stately temples of stone arose all over the country, adorned with sculpture and painting, the execution of which, if we may judge from the recently excavated eleventh dynasty temple of Mentu-hotep at Thebes, was exceptionally fine. Great engineering works were undertaken for regulating and distributing the waters of the inundation and for improving the system of irrigation which the political disturbances of the last few centuries had allowed to fall into decay. The Fayyum was reclaimed and a large additional acreage of cultivable land given to the Egyptian agriculturists. But the control of the river necessitated the control also of the regions in the south through which it flowed. Egypt consequently became, for the first time, a conquering power; the Sudan was added to the dominions of the Pharaoh, and the cataracts were guarded by strongly built fortresses. The armies which had been trained in war with the negroes of the south, were used for service in the north also. The desert, which had hitherto separated Egypt from Asia, was crossed, and the Amorites of Southern Palestine were forced to send tribute to Thebes.

The First Egyptian Conquests

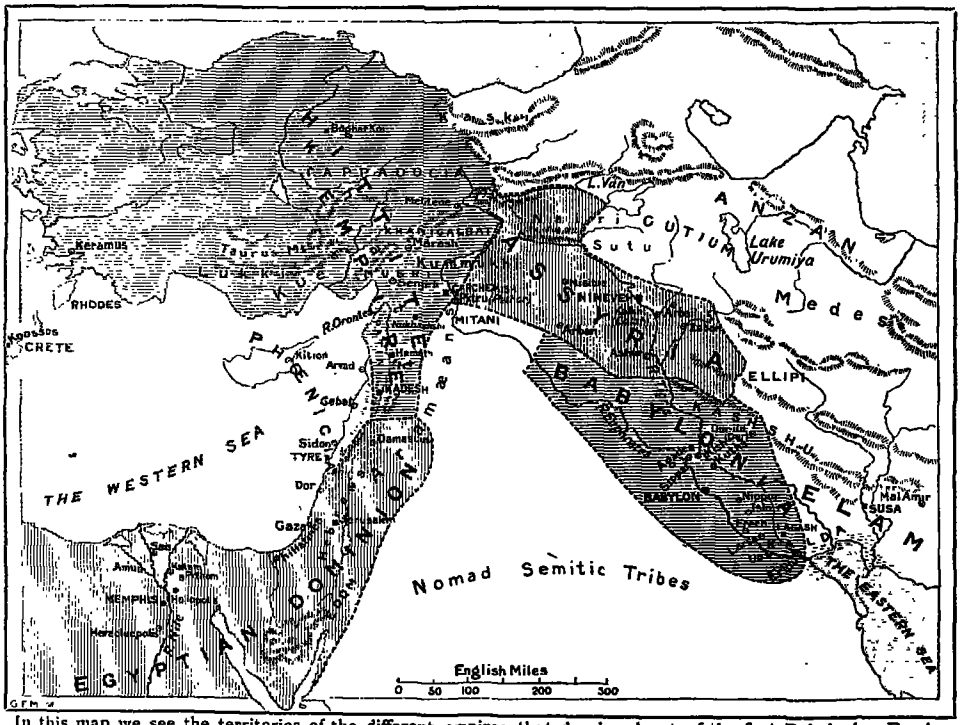
Scarabs and stone vases of the twelfth dynasty have been met with in the excavations at Gezer, west of Jerusalem. Here, too, the tombstone of an Egyptian of the same age has been discovered in the "high-place" of the city—a line of nine great monoliths, surrounded with a platform of stone, under the pavement of which have been found the bones of infants who had been burnt or otherwise sacrificed to the gods of Canaan. The high-place was that of the second city built by the Semitic settlers on the site, the huge stone wall of which was intersected with towers. Objects of bronze occur among the ruins of this second town in harmony with the fact that the earliest bronze of Egypt belongs to the epoch of the twelfth dynasty. A knowledge of the metal, it is probable, had come alike to Egypt and to Canaan from Asia Minor, to which the first use of it has been traced. Was it from Britain that the tin was brought with which the alloy was made? The gold of Asia Minor had already been transported to Egypt in the age of the sixth dynasty.

Egyptian Arts from Asia Minor

The pottery of Asia Minor followed in the wake of the metal trade. Before the second Amorite city at Gezer came to an end, the polychrome pottery of the Hittites, north of the Halys, had not only

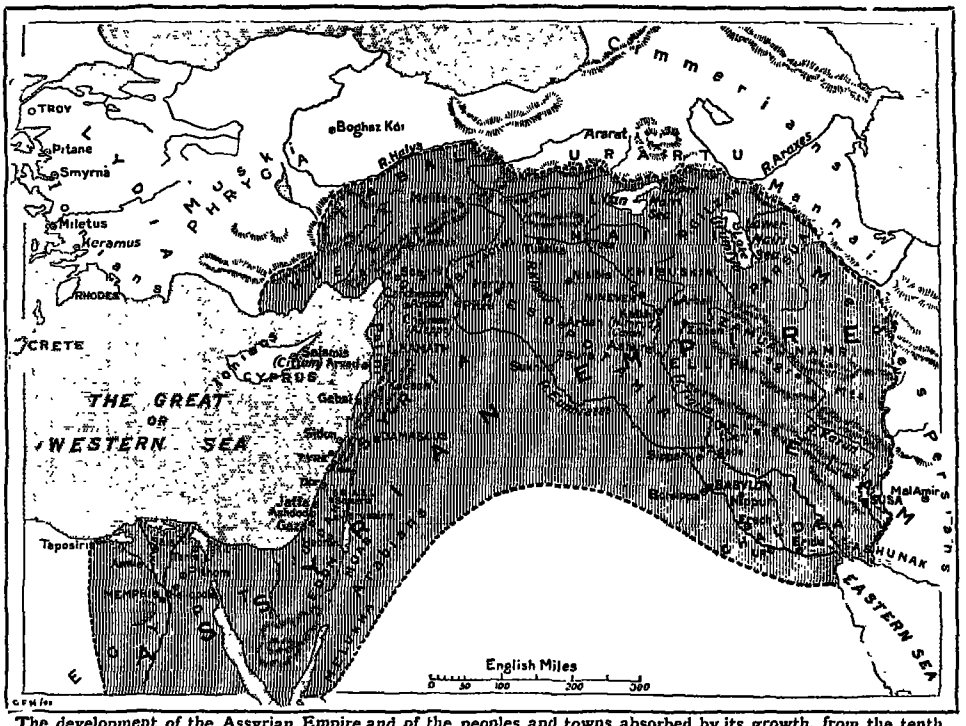


The centres of civilisation in the third millennium B.C., and the Babylonian Empire of Sargon of Akkad, Hammurabi and his successors, until the eve of the Kassite and Hittite domination in the sixteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C.

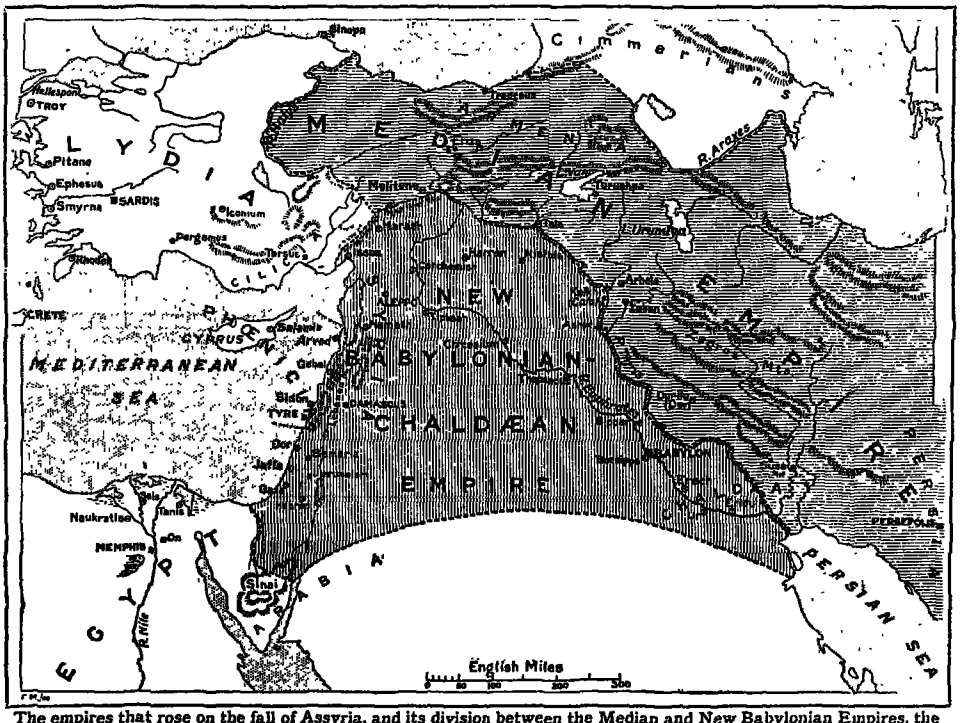


In this map we see the territories of the different empires that developed out of the first Babylonian Empire between B.C. 1500 and 1000, showing the balance of power between the twelfth and tenth centuries B.C.

THE EARLY EMPIRES OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST



The development of the Assyrian Empire and of the peoples and towns absorbed by its growth, from the tenth century B.C. to the time of its greatest expansion in the seventh century, is illustrated in the above map.



The empires that rose on the fall of Assyria, and its division between the Median and New Babylonian Empires, the whole constituting the Persian Empire until the rise of Alexander, covering the sixth, fifth, and fourth centuries B.C.

THE LATER EMPIRES OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

made its way to Palestine, but had to a large extent superseded the native pottery of the country. It is possible that it had also influenced the arts of the islands in the Greek seas. At all events, excavation in Crete has brought to light vases of egg-shell faience, exquisitely decorated in various colours with flowers and other conventionalised emblems. The faience is generally known as "Kamares ware," from the name of the place where it was first found, and it characterises the period called by Dr. Evans, "Middle Minoan II."

High Culture of Early Crete

The discovery of the highly developed culture of early Crete is one of the most striking revelations of archæological science. There, as elsewhere in the Levant, a neolithic age of long duration was succeeded by one in which copper took the place of stone. The copper was in great measure derived from the mines of Cyprus. How early the latter were worked is shown by the fact that innumerable seals of cylinder shape, made in imitation of those of Babylonia, have been found in Cyprian graves of the early copper age, and that these seals go back to the period of Sargon of Akkad. One of the commonest symbols engraved upon them is the picture of a copper ingot, often accompanied by a bull's head, which in Crete represented a weight. We may thus see in them the signets of the Cyprian exporters of the metal.

The conquest of Sargon of Akkad had carried a knowledge of Babylonian culture to the shores of the Mediterranean. Of this culture, the use of the seal-cylinder and of clay as a writing material formed an integral part, and wherever they are found their presence is a sure witness of Babylonian influence. The Cretan tablets of clay, which have been discovered in such abundance in the ancient palaces of the island, thus point unmistakably towards Babylonia. They make their earliest appearance in what Dr. Evans has termed the first stage in the Middle Minoan period, though the strange hieroglyphs incised upon them go back to the third and last stage of an earlier epoch. This epoch, which followed the neolithic age, is itself divided into three stages, to the last of which belong the seals of button shape, whose original home was in Asia Minor, and which in the time of the sixth dynasty replaced the older seal-cylinder in Egypt. To the same stage belong also the geometric designs which distinguish the early Ægean pottery, and which, thanks to recent discoveries, can now be traced back through Asia Minor to Elam on the east of Babylonia. Here, M. De Morgan has found abundance of pottery of exactly the same character which was manufactured in the neolithic ages long before the epoch of Sargon.

Babylonian Influence in Crete

The second and third stages in the Middle Minoan period represent the high-water mark of Cretan civilisation. It was then that the splendid palaces of the Cretan kings were first built, with their spacious halls, their frescoed walls, their elaborate drainage, and their luxurious bath-rooms. The absence of walls or forts to protect them proves plainly that those who built them were lords of the sea, with no fear of the invader before their eyes. The beautiful "Kamares" pottery, with which they were filled, was imitated from vessels of gold and silver, while porcelain like that of Egypt was moulded into realistic figures of fish and animals and plants, and a linear or cursive script makes its appearance by the side of the hieroglyphic writing. But the palaces in which all this magnificence and luxury had been displayed were sacked and burned, and for a time Cretan culture passed under eclipse. It revived again at the beginning of the "Late Minoan" period; the palaces rose once more in their former splendour, and in the south a summer villa was erected whose walls were decorated with the choicest specimens of the painter's art. A change had, however, come over the face of Cretan culture. The old hieroglyphics had made way for linear characters similar to those used in Cyprus and at Troy; bronze was taking the place of copper, and the long sword was substituted for the dirk. The pottery, moreover, had assumed the form known as "Mycenæan," and was already beginning to degenerate. But wealth was still abundant; at Cnossos the ruler sat in state on an elaborated fashioned throne and watched the bull-fights and boxing matches in the arena of the theatre where slaves and captives made sport for their Cretan masters. A sword has been found with its pommel formed of translucent agate, and its hilt plated with gold and engraved with delicate designs, while the royal draught-

Cretan Kings as Lords of the Sea

board has been disinterred from its grave of centuries still brilliant with gold and silver, ivory and crystal, and the blue glass paste of which we read in the Homeric poems. The art displayed in some of the objects that have been brought to light was never surpassed, even in the later Greek world. The ivory figure of a diver, or the religious procession exquisitely carved on a vase of black steatite, declares in no uncertain tone that the art of classical Greece was but a renaissance. The lords of Minoan Crete, however, were no Greeks; that is made clear by their portraits on the Egyptian monuments as well as by the strange composite figures of their religious art—combinations of a man and bull, of an eagle and a woman, or a winged cherub with a lion's legs.

Grecian Art a Cretan Renaissance

The Middle Minoan period of Crete was coincident with a period of decay and foreign rule in both Babylonia and Egypt. The Semitic empire of Sargon and his son Naram-Sin was succeeded by a revival of Sumerian power and influence. The Sumerian princes of Southern Babylonia made themselves independent or founded dynasties which claimed rule over the whole valley of the Euphrates. When the curtain rises once more, it is, however, again a Semitic dynasty, which claims to have inherited the empire of Sargon. But the dynasty has its seat not in Northern Babylonia, but in the south, in "Ur of the Chaldees," on the western bank of the Euphrates, where bodies of Amorites from Canaan and Bedouins from Arabia had long been settled. The dynasty extended over five reigns and lasted for 117 years. Numberless legal documents dated in the reigns of its kings have come down to us, and have made us well acquainted with the social life, the law and commerce, and religious beliefs of the time. The old supremacy of Babylonia in Western Asia, which had once belonged to Sargon, was again asserted, and Syria and Canaan were again laid under tribute. Gudea, the Sumerian high-priest of Lagash, who, vassal though he was of the king of Ur, nevertheless exercised an almost independent authority, ransacked the whole known world for the materials for his buildings. Blocks of limestone and alabaster were brought from Palestine and the Lebanon, beams of cedar from the Gulf of Antioch, gold-dust and acacia from the deserts of Northern Arabia, and diorite from the peninsula of Sinai, while other costly stones were quarried in the Taurus Mountains and floated down the Euphrates on rafts. About 2300 B.C. Gudea was viceroy of Dungi, the second king of the dynasty of Ur, who, like his father, the founder of the dynasty, covered Babylonia with his buildings and restorations. The provinces of the empire were carefully organised and taxed, and part of a cadastral survey made by Urimelech, the governor of Canaan, for the purpose of taxation is still in existence. But the dynasty went down in disaster. Its last representative was captured in battle against the Elamites, and the lordship of Babylonia passed to the kings of Isin, whose dynasty lasted for 225 years.

Babylonia Again Triumphant

Then evil days fell upon Babylonia. City fought against city; the Elamites raided it from the east, while Amorite invaders attacked it from the west. The Amorites eventually possessed themselves of the northern half of the country, and made Babylon their capital. For the first time in history it became the leading city in Babylonia, and, eventually—when the kingdom of the Amorite dynasty grew into an empire—the capital and holy city of the civilised Asiatic world. Marduk, its patron-god, followed the fortunes of his city; he, too, became the supreme Bel, or "Lord," of the Babylonian deities in heaven, as his vicegerent and adopted son, the king of Babylon, was the supreme lord of their worshippers upon earth.

The Holy City of Civilised Asia

But it needed a long struggle before the new dynasty succeeded in overcoming all rival claimants to the throne of Western Asia, and in re-establishing the empire of Sargon. At one time it seemed as if Elam were destined to take the place of Babylonia, and the wave of Semitic influence which had been rolled back from the Elamite mountains would retreat from the Babylonian plain itself. Babylon was taken and plundered by the Elamite monarch, and Esagila, the temple of Bel-Merodach, was burnt with fire. Its king, Sin-muballit, disappears from history, and his son, Hammurabi, or Amraphel, a mere boy, was set on the vacant throne as an Elamite tributary. At the same time Southern Babylonia was transformed into another dependent state and given to an Elamite prince, Eri-Aku—called Rim-Sin by his Semitic subjects

—who fixed his capital at Larsa. Eri-Aku's father was appointed governor of Syria and Palestine, which had passed to Elam with the conquest of Babylonia.

Hammurabi grew up and proved to be one of the ablest rulers that have ever lived. In the thirtieth year of his reign he felt himself strong enough to rise in rebellion against his Elamite suzerain. The forces of Elam were overthrown in a decisive battle, and Larsa forced to surrender. Once more Babylonia was united under a Semitic king, whose authority was acknowledged as far as the shores of the Mediterranean. Indeed, Hammurabi seems never to have forgotten his Amorite descent, and on one of his monuments found in Northern Mesopotamia the only title he bears is that of "King of the land of the Amorites."

With the restoration of peace and the consolidation of his power, Hammurabi set himself to the work of reorganising and administering the provinces of his empire. Nothing seems to have been either too great or too small to escape the notice of the king. Numerous letters of his, written by his own hand, have survived to us, and they show that he took as much pains to investigate a complaint of bribery or oppression on the part of a petty official as he did to inquire into the administration of the Crown lands or the discipline of the standing army. The compilation of the great code of laws, which was henceforth to be obeyed throughout Western Asia, was his work. Babylonian law, like English law, was "judge-made," and its codification was at once a desirable and a difficult task. One of the most remarkable points about the code is its purely secular character; the gods may be invoked in the introduction and peroration, but in the code itself it is the civil law as laid down by the judges and sanctioned by the authority of the king that is alone regarded. Equally remarkable is the way in which the old law of blood-revenge is superseded in it by a system of fixed legal penalties, which can be inflicted only by the judge after full and impartial trial.

Hammurabi Law-giver and King

The publication of the code was doubtless suggested by the efforts Hammurabi was called upon to make for the suppression of crime, and more especially the acts of brigandage, to which the intestine troubles of Babylonia had given rise. But it was also part of a literary revival which characterises the age of Hammurabi as it had characterised the age of Sargon. The great Chaldæan Epic of Gilgamesh was composed, embodying older poems or traditions, other literary works were re-edited or published for the first time, astronomical and medical treatises were compiled, commentaries were written upon the earlier literature of the country, and grammars, dictionaries, and reading books were drawn up to facilitate the study of Sumerian. Learned men as well as poets and lawyers were welcomed at the court, and the libraries of Babylonia were again stocked with books on clay. Foremost among these were collections of the letters which passed between the king and his high officials.

Literature 4,000 Years Ago

The long reign of Hammurabi was followed by that of his son, Samsu-iluna, who, like his successor Abishu, made vain attempts to suppress a revolt which had broken out in the marshy lands at the head of the Persian Gulf, where the Aramæan tribe of Kaldâ, or Chaldæans, afterwards settled. Here an independent dynasty established itself which, on the fall of the house of Hammurabi, may have succeeded in making itself master of the whole of Babylonia. This did not happen, however, until the death of Samsu-ditana, the third successor of Abishua. His power had been weakened, if not shattered, by an invasion of Babylonia by the Hittites from Cappadocia, when it seems probable that Babylon itself was captured and its temple despoiled.

The kings of "the sea-coast" did not long enjoy their possession of the disunited and tottering kingdom. Wild Kassite hordes poured down upon the Babylonian plain from the mountains of Elam, and eventually founded a dynasty at Babylon, which lasted for 576 years. But the spell of Babylonian culture soon passed over the semi-barbarous conquerors; the Kassite kings became Babylonian in manners and customs, even in language and names. Their foreign origin, however, was never forgotten, and in spite of intermarriages with the Semites of Assyria and of Babylonia itself, their right to the inheritance of Sargon of Akkad was never fully recognised. Like the Hanoverians in England, their "right divine" was rejected, and with the rise

Barbarians in Babylonia

of the Kassite dynasty the deification of the Babylonian monarch comes practically to an end.

One result of the fall of the Hammurabi dynasty and the Kassite conquest was the loss of the Babylonian empire in the west. It is true that Babylon still claimed to be mistress of western Asia, and the Tell el-Amarna letters are witness that even when Canaan had become an Egyptian province, Babylonia was still ready to intrigue with its inhabitants against their new masters. But, politically, Syria and Palestine were never again to be Babylonian until the day came when Nebuchadnezzar restored the old glories of his fatherland and created the second Babylonian empire. Babylon, indeed, continued to be the sacred city of Asiatic civilisation; it was revered as the venerable fountain-head of Asiatic culture and theology, but its political supremacy was gone. Babylonian influence ceases to be a living principle outside the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, and the Babylonian culture of Western Asia and in the lands of the Mediterranean becomes merely the inheritance of the past.

Babylon Loses its Foreign Power

In Babylonia itself the Kassite conquest completed the work of unifying the Semitic and Sumerian elements in the population which had been begun under the Hammurabi dynasty. Thenceforward there is only one people, the Babylonians of later history, outwardly Semitic, though inwardly Sumerian. The language is Semitic, but, like English, profoundly modified by the foreign element; the religion is also Semitic, but its roots lie far back in Sumerian animism. The spirits of the ancient cult pass into human deities, in accordance with the Semitic belief that man was made in the image of the gods, and conversely the gods revealed themselves in the image of man. The changes that thus passed over the map of Western Asia were reflected in the valley of the Nile. The Pharaohs of the Middle Empire had shown how the desert which separated them from Asia could be crossed, and the lesson was soon learnt by their enemies. The Semites of Canaan and Arabia descended upon Egypt and founded the three successive dynasties known as Hyksos, or Shepherd, which lasted for more than 500 years. Like the Kassites in Babylonia, they were rude warriors armed with the bow and unskilled in the arts of life when they first poured over Egypt like a flood. Its cities were sacked and destroyed, and its temples profaned; but, like the Kassites, they, too, soon passed under the spell of a higher civilisation. The Hyksos court became outwardly Egyptian, the kings assumed the old titles, and even gave themselves Egyptian names. Science and literature were patronised, and one of the Egyptian works on mathematics that has come down to us was written for a Hyksos Pharaoh; but, as in Babylonia, so also in Egypt, the foreign origin of the new line of kings was never forgotten. Up to the last they were compelled to garrison it like a foreign country; and their court was fixed in the Delta, where they could be in touch with their kinsmen in Asia.

Barbarians in Egypt

As long as the Hyksos rule lasted Egypt was an appanage of Canaan. The desert ceased to be a dividing line between the two countries, just as in Norman days the English Channel ceased to be a dividing line between Normandy and its English province. The Semites of Canaan passed to and fro across it, and, like Abraham, found a welcome at the court of their Hyksos kinsfolk. That a Hebrew like Joseph should rise to be Vizier was no marvel; nor was it strange that he should reduce the native population to a state of serfdom, and thereby strengthen the power of their Hyksos masters.

Why Joseph Ruled in Egypt

But through all the centuries of Hyksos domination the Egyptians were awaiting their opportunity for revolt. Tradition averred that the opportunity was given by an attack on the native religion. The religious passions of the people of Upper Egypt were aroused, and the Prince of Thebes headed the insurrection. For five generations the struggle was carried on; it ended in the expulsion of the foreigner and the foundation of the native eighteenth dynasty by Ahmes I., about 1600 B.C.

The war which had been begun in Egypt was carried into Asia. Under Ahmes and his successors Canaan was made an Egyptian province, and the boundaries of the Egyptian empire were fixed at the banks of the Euphrates and the ranges of the Taurus. The campaigns of Thothmes III. brought boundless spoil

and numberless captives to Egypt, while the gold-mines which were opened in the eastern desert made it the California of the ancient world. Maritime trade was encouraged, and Cyprus and Crete paid tribute to the Pharaoh. Even at distant Mycenæ, on the mainland of Greece, plaques of porcelain were imported from Egypt to adorn the palace of its rulers. Gifts came from the king of Assyria which the Egyptian courtiers construed into tribute. In the south the Sudan was once more conquered, and Egyptian temples were erected on the banks of the Upper Nile.

Egypt Realises the Dangers of Empire

But the Asiatic empire of Egypt brought with it the destruction of the dynasty to which it owed its origin. The court became Asiatised. The Pharaohs married Asiatic wives, and filled the high places of state with Asiatic officials. Eventually a king arose who attempted to overthrow the national faith of which he was the official guardian, and to substitute for it a kind of pantheistic monotheism. He changed his own name from that of Amon-hotep to Khu-n-Aten, "the brilliance of the solar disc"—the visible symbol of the new deity—and for the first time in history there was persecution for religion's sake. But the priesthood of Thebes were too powerful for the king. He was forced to quit Thebes and build a new capital further north, at Tel el-Amarna, where he gave daily lectures on the articles of his creed, and erected a temple to Aten, as well as a palace for himself, gorgeous with statues and frescoes, and glittering with gilded bronze.

The archives of Thebes were moved at the same time to the foreign office of the new city, where their discovery in 1887 brought about a complete revolution in our conceptions of ancient Oriental history. They consist of letters and despatches written in cuneiform characters and the Babylonian language on tablets of clay. They prove that the culture of Western Asia was so thoroughly Babylonian that even the Egyptian Government had to correspond with its own officials in the foreign language and script. They also prove how widely diffused education must have been. Not only were the educated classes of Canaan, including ladies, able to read and write in Babylonian cuneiform; it was also the common medium of educated intercourse throughout the eastern world. Not only the kings of Assyria and Babylon, but the kings of the Hittites and Cappadocia, of Mesopotamia and the coast of Asia Minor used it as well. The roads must have been kept in good order, for the posts were constantly passing to and fro along them. So, too, were the commercial travellers, for whose benefit a system of international law had been organised.

Education in the Ancient East

Canaan was governed much as India is governed to-day. There were protected states as well as cities under Egyptian governors. From time to time Egyptian high commissioners traversed the country, which was garrisoned partly by native troops, partly by a small force of Egyptians. Bodies of Bedouins were in the service of the petty princes and governors, together with numbers of Hittite freelances, who sold their services to the highest bidder. In later days when the authority of the home Government was growing weak, these hired troops and their paymasters fought with one another, and endless were the complaints brought before the Egyptian king by one governor against another. The vassal king of Jerusalem, who seems to have been of Hittite origin, was especially clamorous, and also especially urgent that Egyptian troops should be sent to his help.

Canaan a Parallel to India

But the Egyptian Government was already involved in difficulties at home. Civil and religious war was breaking out in Egypt itself, and when Khu-n-Aten died, leaving only daughters behind him, the doom of the eighteenth dynasty was sealed. A few short reigns followed, and then the nineteenth dynasty was founded in the person of Ramses I., about 1350 B.C. It represented the national reaction against the Canaanite and the foreigner who had captured Khu-n-Aten and his court. The Asiatic strangers were driven from the country or reduced to serfdom, and the high offices of state were again held by native Egyptians. The Asiatic provinces of Egypt had been lost, and it was necessary to reconquer them. To this task Seti I., the son of Ramses I., accordingly set himself, and when he was succeeded by his son, Ramses II., Canaan was once more a province of Egypt. North of Canaan, however, the Syrian province had fallen into the hands of the Hittites, who

had established their southern capital at Kadesh, on the Orontes, and were threatening Canaan itself. The struggle for its possession was long and strenuous, but at last, in the twenty-first year of Ramses, the two antagonists, weary and exhausted, agreed to come to terms. A treaty was drawn up, offensive and defensive, recognising the existing boundaries of the two empires, and providing for the pardon and return from exile of all political offenders.

The rest of Ramses' long reign of sixty-seven years was mainly spent in covering Egypt with his buildings or in restoring and usurping the monuments of his predecessors. Of all his own monuments, the most famous is Abu-Simbel, in Nubia, where a temple has been carved out of a mountain. Among the cities built by him were Ramses and Pithom in the Delta, at which the Israelites were compelled to toil.

Ramses II. was succeeded by his son Meneptah. The death of the "Grand Monarque" of Egyptian history was the signal for attack on the part of the surrounding nations. The Libyans from the west overran the Delta, while ships filled with Achæans and Lycians and other tribes of the eastern basin of the Mediterranean invaded the coast. But in the fifth year of Meneptah the threatened destruction of Egyptian civilisation was averted by a decisive victory which he gained over the invading hordes. The Libyans and their allies were practically exterminated. It was under the cover of this Libyan invasion that the Israelites—called *Israelu* on a monument of the Pharaoh—would seem to have escaped from their Egyptian taskmasters; the land of Goshen was deserted, and three years later we find its pasturage handed over to Edomite herdsmen.

The Grand Monarque of Egypt

But neither the Egyptian monarchy nor the dynasty that ruled it recovered from the blow which the barbarians from the west and north had dealt it. Its Asiatic empire was lost for ever, and the frontier cities of Canaan which guarded the entrance to Asia fell into the hands of Philistine pirates from Crete. The nineteenth dynasty perished from decay, and after a short interval of anarchy was followed by the twentieth.

Once more Egypt was called upon to repel an attack of the northern tribes. But it was a more formidable confederacy that Ramses III., the second king of the dynasty, had to face than that which had invaded Egypt half a century before. While the Libyans again entered the valley of the Nile from the west, the Philistines of Crete, the Danaans of Asia Minor, and other Greek and Asiatic tribes, forced their way through the Hittite territory into Syria, and moved southward, partly on land, partly by sea. After defeating the Libyans, Ramses marched into Canaan; the invaders were overthrown in battle, and pursued northwards to the harbour where they had stationed their fleet. Here a great maritime struggle took place, which ended in complete victory for the Egyptians. The ships of the enemy were destroyed, and vast numbers of prisoners taken. On its way back to Egypt, various Canaanitish towns surrendered or were captured; among them were Hebron and Jerusalem. The entrance of the Israelites into Canaan cannot have taken place long after this event.

Egypt's Wars at the Time of the Exodus

Ramses III. was the last of the native Egyptian conquerors. His immediate successors became little more than puppets in the hands of the high-priests of Thebes, and when a strong Pharaoh again appeared on the throne it was in the person of Sheshonk or Shishak I., the founder of the twenty-second dynasty and chief of the Libyan bodyguard. But for many centuries Egypt ceased to be a factor in international politics; its influence did not extend beyond its own natural confines, and it needed all its strength to protect itself against the negro princes of the Sudan. One of them eventually overran Egypt, and plundered Memphis, while another succeeded in permanently occupying the country, and establishing a dynasty of Ethiopian kings. The Ethiopian conquest was followed by the Assyrian conquest; for a time Assyrian satraps collected tribute in the cities of Egypt and Assyrian armies ruthlessly suppressed revolts against the foreign rule. In 662 B.C. Thebes—the No-Amon of the Old Testament—was sacked and burnt, and the ancient capital of Egypt lived thenceforward upon its past fame. When Egypt recovered its independence under Psammetichus and his successors of the twenty-sixth dynasty, the seat of power was transferred permanently to the north.

Egypt Under Eclipse

For five centuries—from the age of Ramses III. to that of the Ethiopian Tirhakah—Egypt thus remained outside the sphere of international politics, in a sort of backwater of the world's history. Babylonia was in like condition; the leadership had passed to other lands and younger races. At first it was the Hittites who promised to become the leading people in Western Asia. With their yellow skins, protrusive jaws, and beardless faces they descended from Cappadocia and the Taurus Mountains upon the fertile plains of Syria, and at an early date had possessed themselves of Carchemish, which commanded the ford over the Euphrates and the high-road of commerce from east to west. A kindred race founded a monarchy—that of Mitani—in Northern Mesopotamia, where in the age of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty they became so powerful as to be allowed to marry into the Royal house of the Pharaohs. Long before this the Hittites had invaded Babylonia, and helped to overthrow the dynasty of Hammurabi, but it was not until the fifteenth century before our era that they founded an empire, which extended to the coasts of the Greek seas, and bid fair to make Canaan what the Assyrians called it, a "Hittite land." Under Khattu-sil I. and his successors the larger part of Asia Minor was transformed into a confederacy of vassal states; Hittite soldiers poured southward through the passes of the Taurus, and the possession of Syria and Palestine was disputed with the Pharaohs of Egypt. The way had already been prepared by the Hittite freelances, who had hired their services to the Egyptian Government and the petty princes of Canaan: as the power of Egypt declined the regular forces of the "great king of the Hittites" followed in their rear, and Kadesh on the Orontes was made the southern capital of his empire. The old Hittite capital at Boghaz Köi, north of the Halys, became one of the chief cities of the world; strong walls of stone, wide in circuit, enclosed stately palaces and temples, which contained libraries of clay books inscribed in cuneiform characters, and written sometimes in the Assyrian language, sometimes in that of the Hittites themselves. A knowledge of the cuneiform script had doubtless been communicated to the Hittites by the Assyrian colonies which had been planted in the heart of Cappadocia as early as the age of Hammurabi, the ruins of one of which have been found at Kara Eyuk, near Kaisariyeh. It was the mineral wealth of Asia Minor that had attracted the colonists and raiders of Assyria and Babylonia; the gold of the sixth Egyptian dynasty was already derived from its mines.

Rise of the Hittites

Dominance of Hittite Empire

For a time the Hittites dominated the civilised world of the East. Their armies marched to Lydia, and carried their art and culture to Greek lands. The culture itself was of Babylonian origin, but had been modified in a peculiar fashion. Just as the cuneiform signs of Babylonia superseded the native hieroglyphs, except for monumental purposes, so, too, the native art had to give way before the artistic conceptions of the Babylonians, and even the old fetish worship of the country was replaced by the anthropomorphic divinities of Babylon. The Greek centaur and the winged horse Pegasus came from Babylonia to the West through Hittite intermediaries. A treaty between Ramses II. and the Hittite king marks the extreme limit of the Hittite advance. It is probable that the irruption of the northern tribes, which overthrew the foreign power of Egypt and sapped its internal forces, also broke up the Hittite empire. Isolated fragments of this empire alone survived; there was never again a "great king" who could summon his vassals from the furthest bounds of Asia Minor, and treat on equal terms with one of the mightiest of the Egyptian Pharaohs.

Fall of Crete and the Hittites

It was to the movement of the northern tribes that the downfall of Cretan civilisation seems also to have been due. The maritime supremacy of Crete was lost; pirates landed from the north and destroyed its palaces, and the dynasty of Minos passed away. The period at which this took place is coeval with that known as "Mycenæan," when a peculiar class of pottery was spread over the Ægean world, and when artists from the Greek seas made goblets and vases for the Egyptian Pharaoh Khu-n-Aten, and painted the floors of his palace at Tell el-Amarna with naturalistic scenes. A century or two later half-civilised Dorians, speaking the Greek language, streamed southward from their northern homes; Mycenæ, Sparta, Crete, all alike were overwhelmed, and the old Minoan culture was lost and forgotten.



THE LATER EMPIRES

PHŒNICIA, ISRAEL, ASSYRIA AND PERSIA

THE break-up of the powers that had so long been supreme in the Oriental world was the opportunity of Canaan. At first it seemed as if Canaan, the battlefield of the nations, would itself be swallowed up in the cataclysm. The Israelites, fresh from their desert training, and moulded into a compact nationality by the legislation of Sinai and Kadesh, after an unsuccessful endeavour to invade Canaan from the south, overran the country east of the Jordan, and then forced their way into the plains and mountains of the West. The Canaanites, weakened by intestine feuds and the long war between Egypt and the Hittites, were in no condition to resist them; city after city fell into the hands of the rude desert tribes, and for a while became a deserted ruin. The native Canaanites retreated into the north or to the coastland of Phœnicia,

Phœnicia Becomes a Power

or else made terms with the invaders, and, as time went on, intermarried with them. The population of the coast had always been more maritime than agricultural; now they turned entirely to their sea trade. There were no longer either Cretan or Egyptian fleets to bar their enterprise, and the Greek seas soon passed into the possession of the Phœnician merchantmen. The murex was discovered with its purple dye, and Tyre and Sidon, with their companion cities, grew rich with the development of their trade. Phœnicia became the centre of the carrying trade of the civilised world, the intermediary between East and West. The art and culture of Asia was carried as far as Spain and the Straits of Gibraltar, Phœnician colonies were founded on the shores of Africa and Europe, and a new art arose in which Assyrian, Egyptian, and Asiatic elements were mingled together, without, however, any attempt at originality. The old amber trade from the Baltic to the head of the Adriatic passed into Phœnician hands; so, too, did the trade in British tin, which travelled overland to Massilia, the modern Marseilles.

Tyre, secure in its insular position, took the lead among the Phœnician cities.

Tyre, the Island City

Under Abibal and his son, Hiram I., its temple of Melkarth, its royal palace, and its fortifications, were rebuilt and enlarged, and the simpler Phœnician alphabet replaced the cumbrous cuneiform. Along with the change of script went a change in the literary language; the native language of Canaan—Hebrew, as we should call it—was substituted for Assyrian, and papyrus and parchment for the clay tablet.

The development of Israelitish power was synchronous with that of Phœnicia. An abortive attempt to establish an Israelitish monarchy had been made by Abimelech, but the tribes were not yet ripe for organised union. This was forced upon them by the Philistine conquest of the country; resistance to the "uncircumcised" foreigner from Crete developed first a feeling of common origin and worship, and then of the necessity for a leader in war. The destruction of the national sanctuary at Shiloh, with its priesthood and archives, removed what might have been a rival to the royal authority; Saul, indeed, fell in the struggle with the enemy, but under David and his able general, Joab, the Philistines were not only driven back, but compelled

David, Emperor of Israel

to acknowledge the supremacy of the Hebrew king. With an army behind him, composed partly of foreign mercenaries, David found himself strong enough not only to weld the Israelitish tribes into a monarchical state, but to create an empire which extended as far as the Euphrates. There was no other power in Western Asia to dispute his progress; Egypt and the

Hittites were alike effete; so were the Babylonians; and the Aramæans of Mesopotamia had successfully blocked the Assyrian advance.

Israel's Short Dream Ended

The consolidation of the kingdom, begun by David, was completed by his son Solomon. Jerusalem had already been made a capital; now a new central sanctuary was erected in it, built by the king and attached like a chapel to the royal palace. As in Assyria, the king took the place of the high-priest. Alliance was made with Tyre, and the Israelitish treasury was replenished with the wealth which Tyrian trade helped to pour into it. But the extravagance of the king knew no bounds. Taxation was increased until the freemen of Israel began to murmur, and the subject territories to rebel. Expenditure was for the most part on palaces and similar luxuries, which brought the state but little profit, and foreign loans were as yet unknown. When Solomon died, the empire was already breaking in pieces, and discontent was seething at home. Without his prestige and experience, his son Rehoboam failed to meet it: the northern tribes burst into revolt, and from thenceforth a kingdom of Israel stood by the side of that of Judah. Of the empire of David all that was left were Edom, which was kept by Judah, and Moab, which went with Israel. Five years later, the Egyptian Pharaoh Shishak invaded Judah; Jerusalem was taken, its palace burned and its archives destroyed. Its short dream of political power was gone for ever; thenceforward it was in the world of religion, and not of politics, that its influence was to be felt.

The political stage was thus cleared for the advent of Assyria. And for many centuries Assyria had been preparing itself for its future work. At first it had been merely the district surrounding the deified city of Assur, now Kala Sherghat, on the western bank of the Tigris. The names of the early kings and high-priests who had founded or repaired the Temple of Ashur were remembered down to later days, and from the first it had been a stronghold of the Semite. For many centuries it had been included in the Babylonian empire, and a letter of Hammurabi refers to the troops who were stationed there. With the Kassite conquest of Babylonia, Assyria recovered its independence and the high-priest became a king. The sources of his power lay in the north; there Nineveh had been built at the junction of the Tigris and the Upper Zab, and communication was kept up, not only with Southern Armenia, but even with the colonies in distant Cappadocia. Bronze, of which the earliest known examples have been found in Asia Minor, was imported into Palestine and Egypt on the one side, and into Assyria on the other, and the horse followed in the wake of bronze.

Military Empire of Assyria

From the outset, the Assyrian was a trader rather than an agriculturist. Circumstances forced him to be a soldier as well. The need of keeping the road to the north open obliged Assyria to be from the first a military kingdom, and the neighbourhood of the Kurdish mountains, with their wild and thievish population, kept the Assyrian troops constantly employed. The power of the Assyrian kings, like that of the kings of the northern kingdom of Israel, rested on the army; they were, in fact, military commanders who owed their authority to a successful revolt from Babylonia. Hence in Assyria the head of the state was the king, and not, as in Babylonia, the god; while the Babylonian monarch was subordinate to the priesthood, the Assyrian monarch was himself the high-priest. Like Jahveh in Israel, Ashur in Assyria was a "Lord of Hosts"; without wife or child, he led the Assyrian armies to victory, and destroyed those who would not acknowledge his name.

Assyria Independent of Babylonia

Babylonia was long reluctant to recognise the independence of its rebellious vassal. Burnaburiash, the Babylonian king, in his letters to the Egyptian Pharaoh, still claims sovereignty over the northern kingdom. But facts were too strong for theories, and finally, in the thirteenth century before our era, Tiglath-In-aristi, or Tukulti-Ninib I., king of Assyria, took the sacred city of Babylon by storm and had himself crowned king of Babylonia. His father, Shalmaneser I., the builder of Calah near Nineveh, about 1300 B.C., had carried on campaign after campaign against the Aramæans and Hittites, and had brought Northern Mesopotamia under his rule.

For seven years, Tiglath-In-aristi was lord of Babylon. Then a conspiracy was formed against him at home; he was



IN THE DAYS OF ASSYRIA'S GREATNESS: A KING ISSUING FROM HIS PALACE

assassinated in his palace, and one of his sons seized the crown. A Babylonian king of the Kassite dynasty once more sat on the Babylonian throne. But the political prestige of Babylonia had departed. From thenceforth Assyria, and not Babylonia, was the ruling power in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates. The sceptre had passed from the mixed people of Babylonia to the purer Semites of Assyria.

Under Tiglath-pileser I., in 1100 B.C., Assyria resumed its career of foreign conquest. The nations of Northern Asia Minor were driven back from the Assyrian provinces which adjoined Cappadocia, the Armenian highlands were harassed by Assyrian armies, and the command of the high-road from Mesopotamia to Palestine was transferred to Assyrian hands. From the Phœnician coast the Assyrian king sailed out to sea in a ship of Arvad, and there he received presents from the Pharaoh of Egypt, which included a crocodile and a hippopotamus. Perhaps these were intended for a zoological garden, since the king had established botanical gardens at Ashur and Nineveh, planted with the trees and shrubs of foreign lands. An attempt to invade Babylonia was unsuccessful, and the immediate followers of Tiglath-pileser do not seem to have been gifted with high military qualities. At all events for several generations the armies of Assyria remained at home, and by the capture of the Assyrian fortresses at the fords of the Euphrates the Aramæans once more barred the way to the West. Palestine, accordingly, which had been threatened by the Assyrian advance, was allowed a respite; opportunity was given for the founding of David's empire, and the merchants of Nineveh were compelled to leave the trade of the Mediterranean in the hands of the Phœnicians.

The Assyrian Lion Wakes

Under Ashurnasirpal II., who ruled B.C. 883-858, the Assyrian lion again awoke. Year after year the Assyrian army marched out of the gates of Nineveh, carrying ruin with it wherever it went. The campaigns were largely of the character of raids; their chief object was plunder. But they not only filled Nineveh with the wealth of other lands and made the name of Assyria one of terror; they also trained the Assyrian army itself so that it became well-nigh irresistible. East, west and north it made its way, and the ruthlessness of its king—the cruellest of a cruel race—marked its track with fire and blood.

Ashurnasirpal's son and successor, Shalmaneser II., who reigned B.C. 858–823, maintained the military traditions of his father. But, unlike his father, he aimed at something more than mere raiding. The conquered lands were placed under Assyrian governors and required to pay tribute, which was also exacted from the vassal princes who had submitted to the rule of Ashur. We can thus speak once more of an Assyrian empire, which had a more permanent character than that of Shalmaneser I. or Tiglath-pileser I. And with the establishment of the empire was associated a commercial policy. Every effort was made to open and keep the high-road to the Mediterranean; the Phœnician cities were made tributary, and for the first time Palestine became an Assyrian battle-ground. Its possession meant the supremacy of Assyria in Western Asia, and therewith its commercial supremacy in the civilised world.

Shalmaneser Establishes an Empire

In B.C. 853 Shalmaneser met at Karkar a confederacy of the Syrian states, which had been formed against him by the king of Hamath. Damascus was represented in it as well as "Ahab of Israel"; Arabs, Ammorites and Phœnicians had also sent their chariots and infantry. The battle ended in favour of the Assyrians, but Shalmaneser found himself too much weakened to pursue his advantage. Four years later he returned to the attack, and once more the Hamathites and their allies were defeated. The conquest of Syria, however, proved more difficult than he had anticipated, and even when he led 120,000 picked troops of Assyria against Ben-Hadad of Damascus, in B.C. 845, the result was a drawn battle. But events fought for him in the West. Ben-Hadad was murdered by Hazael, and the throne of Ahab usurped by Jehu. When the Assyrian forces again appeared, in B.C. 841, there was no longer the formidable league of a few years earlier to oppose it. Hazael was besieged in Damascus; Jehu paid homage, and sent tribute by his ambassadors, whose portraits are sculptured on an obelisk of black marble now in the British Museum [see page 1664].

Assyria Gains Syria

The other campaigns of Shalmaneser were directed partly against the Armenian highlands of the north, from which it was always possible for the invader to swoop down upon Assyria, partly against the Hittites on the Orontes and in Cilicia, who stood in the way of his schemes for creating an Assyrian province in Syria. But before the schemes could be realised the old king grew too infirm to take the field. The command of his armies was entrusted to a general, and intrigue and conspiracy began at home. First Ashur, the ancient capital, then Nineveh and the neighbouring cities, revolted under his son Ashur-dan-pal, and for five years a rival prince reigned over the divided monarchy. Thanks, however, to the military abilities of another son, Samsi-Raman (Shamshi-Adad), and the veteran soldiers who followed him, the revolt was at last put down; Nineveh was taken and the rebel king perished in the ruins of his palace. Shalmaneser died shortly afterwards, and Samsi-Raman IV. was proclaimed his successor. He reigned for thirteen years, the earlier of which were occupied in campaigns against Armenia and the Medes, who for the first time appear on the horizon of Asiatic history, while the later years were distinguished by a successful invasion of Babylonia.

Shalmaneser's Son Revolts and Reigns

His son Adad-nirari IV. once more turned his attention to the West. The policy of Shalmaneser was resumed, and an Assyrian army again entered Syria. Damascus surrendered, and its king, Marih, purchased safety by submission and tribute.

But a new power had risen out of the north. While the Assyrians had been engaged in repressing the raiding tendencies of the semi-barbarous Aryan Medes on the eastern side of their territories a new dynasty had established itself in Armenia, on the shores of Lake Van, full of life and energy and eager to adopt all the arts and habits of Assyrian civilisation. The cuneiform script of Assyria was introduced in a modified form; cities and palaces were built in imitation of those of Assyria; Assyrian art was adapted to the older art of the country; above all, an army was formed modelled after that of the Assyrian kings. From their capital, on the site of the modern Van, the Armenian sovereigns went forth to conquer and to establish an empire which extended from Lake Urumiya on the east to Cappadocia on the west, and robbed Assyria of its fairest provinces in the north. The descendants of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser were in no position to resist the new force that had thus suddenly grown up beside them. They became feebler every year, and the revolt of Ashur in B.C. 763 brought matters to a crisis. The revolt spread to the provinces of the empire, and an expedition against Arpad in B.C. 754 was the last expiring effort of the old régime. Eight years later the army itself rebelled; the reigning king, Ashur-nirari II., disappeared from the scene, and on the 13th of Iyyar, or April, B.C. 745, a military adventurer, Pulu, or Pul, seized the crown and assumed the name of Tiglath-pileser IV.

Armenian Imitation of Assyria

Tiglath-pileser, the founder of the later Assyrian empire, was a man of unusual ability and military skill. His first task was to reorganise the kingdom, his next to create an army which, by the help of superior discipline and arms, should become an irresistible engine of war. Assyria was in a perilous condition. In the north it was threatened by the Armenians; westward its road to the Mediterranean had been cut off; to the south, Babylonia was restless and menacing; while the Medes on the east took advantage of its weakness to recommence their raids. The new ruler of Assyria had not even the prestige of birth and descent; his title had not been legitimised by the priesthood of Babylon, and the Assyrians had just tasted the pleasures of a successful revolt.

Pul, an Empire Founder

The Aramæan nomads of Northern Arabia and the Median raiders were the first to learn that order had been restored in Assyria. They were driven out of the Assyrian territories, and an expedition which reached the Caspian taught the Medes to respect Assyrian power. Then Tiglath-pileser turned to the Armenians and their northern allies. A hard-fought battle, not far from Malatiya, decided the fate of the campaign. Sarduris, the Armenian king, fled from the field, where 72,950 of his soldiers, with his state carriage and a vast amount of spoil fell into the hands of the victors. The Hittite and Phœnician princes hastened to pay



WHEN THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE WAS AT THE ZENITH OF ITS POWER: HEBREW CAPTIVES BROUGHT BEFORE THE KING

homage to the conqueror, and the merchants of Nineveh found themselves once more able to share in the profits of the Mediterranean trade.

Tiglath-pileser, however, was not content with the almost nominal ties which had hitherto connected the conquered provinces of the Assyrian empire with the governing state. For the first time he introduced into politics the conception of a centralised government. Thenceforward the provinces of the empire were to form a single organism, strictly controlled by a bureaucracy, at the head of which was the king. The amount of taxation each should contribute was carefully defined, and the royal residence became an imperial city into which the wealth of its dependencies was poured. The empire was extended and maintained by a standing army, in the wake of which followed the civil functionaries. The army itself was provided with new weapons and instructed in new tactics. Thoroughly disciplined, and consisting as it did of conscripts raised partly in Assyria, partly in the dependent provinces, it soon became practical master of Western Asia.

Centralised Government Begun

With this new instrument at his disposal, Tiglath-pileser undertook what he determined should be a lasting conquest of the West. The king was as keen as his merchants to direct into the coffers of Nineveh the trade of the world, and for this the subjugation of the Phœnician cities was essential. But campaign after campaign was needed before the spirit of the Syrian states could be finally broken, and Tiglath-pileser was forced to have recourse to the new expedient of transporting a troublesome nationality from its home. Hamath vainly tried to preserve its independence by alliance with Azariah of Judah and other Syrian princes; it was taken by storm and reduced to the condition of an Assyrian satrapy. In B.C. 732 the same fate befell Damascus.

Rezon, the Damascene king, and Pekah of Israel had endeavoured to dethrone the young king Ahaz of Israel, and to substitute for him a creature of their own who would join them in the defiance of their Assyrian suzerain. Ahaz appealed to Tiglath-pileser, who, nothing loth, soon made his appearance upon the scene. Samaria and its king were crushed, Rezon fled to his capital, where, after a siege of two years, he was starved out and put to death. Meanwhile, a pretext was found for exacting a heavy fine from Tyre, and the expenses of the wars in Syria were paid for with the 150 talents of gold—about £400,000—which the merchant princes of that city were compelled to provide.

In B.C. 735 a campaign into the heart of Ararat had effectually put a stop to all immediate danger from that quarter.

Syrian and Armenian Conquests

The Armenian king was forced to retreat to his capital and there watch helplessly the wasting of his country by the Assyrian army. Leagues of fertile land were reduced to desert, and Tiglath-pileser added the insult of setting up a memorial of his successes just outside the gate of Van.

Tiglath-pileser had thus justified in deed his right to be king; it was now time that his title should be justified in law. In B.C. 731, accordingly, he marched into Babylonia, and two years later he was crowned king at Babylon, and his right to rule the empire of Sargon of Akkad acknowledged by the priests of Bel. The long struggle between Babylonia and its insurgent vassal Assyria was over; the vassal had prevailed, and the Babylonians, though with an ill grace, had to submit to Assyrian supremacy.

Tiglath-pileser IV. died in December, B.C. 727, and was succeeded by a certain Ulula, who took the name of Shalmaneser IV. While besieging Samaria, he died or was murdered in December 722 B.C., and the throne was seized by another general, who assumed the name of Sargon, "the legitimate king," and subsequently endeavoured to justify his title by claiming to be descended from the ancient kings of Assur. The army was now all-powerful; frequent revolution, as in the northern kingdom of Israel, had destroyed among the people all feeling of veneration for the ruling monarch, and the throne consequently was the prize of the ablest or most influential military commander. Sargon,

Military Regime in Assyria

however, proved that he had the ability to conquer and govern, as well as to influence the soldiery, and he also succeeded in doing what his immediate predecessors had failed to accomplish—handing on his power to his descendants.

The year after his accession saw the capture of Samaria. Its leading citizens, 27,280 in number, were carried into exile, and the country placed under an Assyrian governor. In B.C. 717 came the fall of

Carchemish, with which the history of the Hittites finds its end. The city became the seat of an Assyrian satrap, and the ford across the Euphrates was henceforth under Assyrian control. Trade had definitely passed into Assyrian hands.

But the northern kingdoms made one last struggle for resistance. Rusas I. of Van placed himself at the head of a great confederacy which included the Minni of Lake Urumiya and Midas the Moschian in Asia Minor. Year after year the war lasted with varying fortunes. At last the time came when the Assyrians were victorious all along the line; their armies penetrated the barrier of the northern mountains, and the strongest fortresses of the enemy fell into their hands. Even the Medic tribes had to submit to the conqueror. The power of Ararat was broken for ever; the Assyrian king had nothing further to fear from its rivalry.

Sargon was now free to turn his face southward. The revolution which had placed him on the throne had cost Assyria the possession of Babylonia. Merodach-baladan, the Chaldæan, had emerged from the marshes at the head of the Persian Gulf, and with his Aramæan followers had made himself master of Babylon. When the fortune of war began to set against the nations of the north he did his best to prepare for the coming storm. Alliance was made with Elam on the east, and ambassadors were sent to Palestine in the west to stir up disaffection there and form a league against the common oppressor. All, however, was in vain. Before the confederates were ready, Sargon had struck his blow. His tartan, or commander-in-chief, took the Philistine town of Ashdod by storm, while he himself swept Babylonia with fire and sword. Merodach-baladan was driven back to his ancestral marshes and the Assyrian conqueror crowned king at Babylon B.C. 709. Five years later he was murdered and succeeded by his son Sennacherib on the 12th of Ab, or July, B.C. 705. Brought up in the purple, Sennacherib had neither the ability nor the tact of his father. His reign was to a large extent a failure. From the first, Babylonia was in constant revolt, and the vassal kings he appointed over it were dethroned either by their subjects or by the Elamites as soon as the Assyrian garrisons were away. Elam, after so many centuries of seclusion thus once more entered the political world of Western Asia. With its help Babylonia continued to resist the Assyrian domination, and though Assyria was apparently successful its strength was drained in the contest and Babylonia triumphed in the end. What Elam was to Babylonia, Egypt was to Palestine. Ethiopian princes had conquered the valley of the Nile and put fresh blood into the old kingdom of the Pharaohs. Lavish in their promises of help they induced the nations on either side of the Jordan to rise against the Assyrian. Hezekiah of Judah put himself at the head of the confederacy, secure in the strong walls of Jerusalem and the expectation of Egyptian aid.

Babylonia Swept with Fire and Sword

Sennacherib at Jerusalem

In B.C. 701 a huge army marched out of Nineveh under the command of the king himself. Tyre, indeed, remained untaken, but Sidon was captured along with the other towns of the Phœnician coast. Judah was ravaged up to the gates of its capital, but it was in vain that Sennacherib called upon the Jewish king to submit. At Eltekeh a drawn battle was fought with the Egyptian forces, and when pestilence soon afterwards descended upon the invading army, Sennacherib had no resource left but to return to Assyria. The rebellious vassal at Jerusalem remained unpunished, like Greece after the retreat of Xerxes.

For the next few years Sennacherib had more than enough to occupy him in Babylonia and Elam. The great battle of Khalulê in B.C. 689 brought matters to a crisis. According to the Assyrian annals the chariot of Sennacherib waded through pools of blood and rode over heaps of slain. Countless numbers of Babylonians and Elamites strewed the ground, and the Assyrian victory was complete. But the Babylonian records tell a different story, and claim the victory for Bel of Babylon. As a matter of fact, the battle would seem to have been a drawn one, with the advantage on the side of the Assyrians. In the following year, when they appeared before Babylon, there was no force to resist them, and the holy city of Western Asia was taken and razed to the ground. Its temples and palaces were destroyed, and its ruins choked the canals. The act of sacrilege and brutality made a

The Sack of Babylon

profound impression upon the civilised world, and more than a century afterwards Babylonian historians held up the name of Sennacherib to execration. His right to rule was never legitimised, for it was never acknowledged by the Babylonian priesthood. When he was murdered by his two sons on the 20th Tebet, or December, B.C. 681, his death was regarded as the righteous vengeance of heaven. Another son, Esarhaddon, was at the time commanding the Assyrian army on the frontiers of Armenia. For forty-two days the conspirators held Nineveh; then they fled with their followers to the Armenian camp, and a decisive battle took place in Cappadocia, on the 12th of Iyyar or April. The Assyrian veterans gained the day, and at the close of it saluted Esarhaddon as king. At once he set out for Nineveh, which had no choice but to confirm the decision of the soldiery.

Heaven-sent Vengeance on Sennacherib

Esarhaddon, however, proved to be one of the best of the Assyrian kings. At once he entered on a policy of conciliation. One of his first acts was to go in person to Babylonia and there set about the restoration of Babylon. The temple of Bel-Merodach rose again from its ruins, the priests were recalled from exile, and Esarhaddon was acknowledged king of Babylon as well as king of Assyria. Babylon became the second city of the empire, where the king held court during part of the year.

But an unexpected danger threatened both Assyria and the whole fabric of Asiatic civilisation. One of Sennacherib's acts of folly had been to destroy the kingdom of Ellip, which formed a "buffer-state" between Assyria and the wild tribes of the east. Cimmerians or Scyths from Southern Russia crossed the Caucasus and settled in the devastated land, where they allied themselves with the Median tribes. Esarhaddon now found himself confronted by the northerners, who had overrun Armenia and attacked the border cities of the empire. Public prayers were ordered to avert the danger, and finally a battle in Cilicia drove the invaders to the Greek and Lydian settlements on the coast of Asia Minor.

World-rule of Assyria

The supremacy of Assyrian trade was the next object of Esarhaddon's concern. All attempts at rivalry on the part of Phœnicia were suppressed for the future by the destruction of Sidon, and the building of a new Sidon, which was filled with Assyrian colonists; while the tranquil acquiescence of Palestine in Assyrian rule was secured by the invasion of Egypt. In B.C. 674 Egypt was conquered and divided into twenty satrapies, each of which was placed under an Assyrian governor. Of all the kingdoms of the civilised Oriental world Elam alone remained independent.

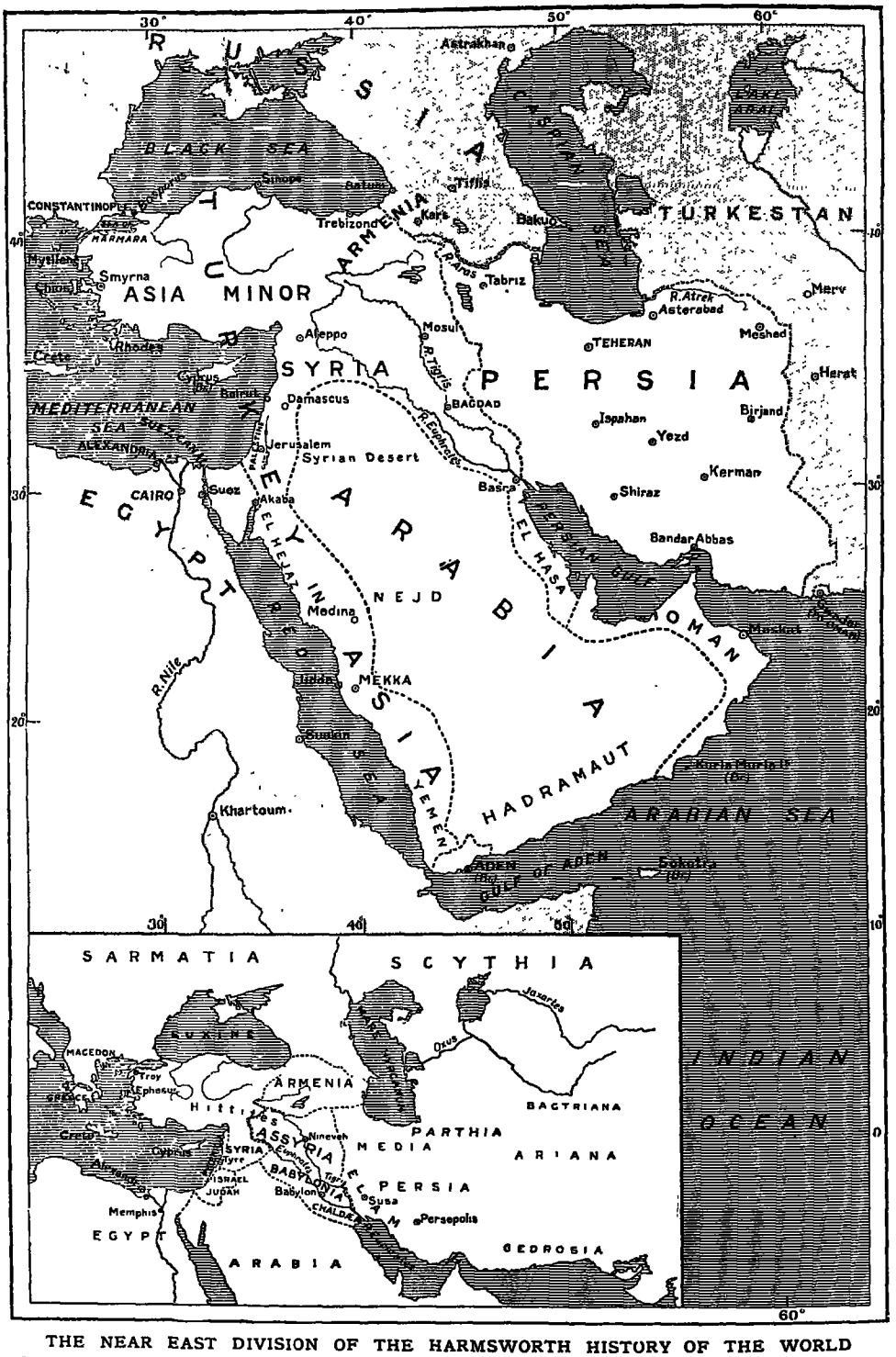
The Bedouins of Northern Arabia had been coerced into order by a punitive expedition which penetrated through the trackless and waterless desert into the very heart of the peninsula. The expedition was an amazing one, and is a remarkable proof of Esarhaddon's military capacities, and the excellence of the Assyrian commissariat.

The Egyptians, however, did not submit to Assyrian rule with equanimity. A revolt broke out, and while on the march to suppress it Esarhaddon died on the 12th of Marchesvan, or October, B.C. 667. His empire was divided between his two sons, Shamash-shum-ukin receiving Babylonia, and Ashurbanipal the rest. At first the arrangement seemed to work well, the Babylonians being flattered by this acknowledgment of their equality with Nineveh. But after a time Shamash-shum-ukin became more Babylonian than his subjects, and indulged in the dream of restoring the ancient empire of Hammurabi, while, on the other side, Ashurbanipal's claim to be his suzerain became more and more articulate. With a restless Elam behind Babylonia, sooner or later a conflict was inevitable.

Ashurbanipal's Literary Ambitions

Ashurbanipal, however, was no lover of war. He was fond of ease and luxury; his desire was to be a patron of art and literature, and to be known as the founder of the greatest library in the world. The copy of an old book was the most precious spoil that could be sent to him from a conquered city, and his scribes were busily employed in re-editing the ancient literature of the country and compiling works for the use of students. If war broke out, he sent his generals to fight for him while he feasted—or fasted—at home.

Moreover, the earlier years of Ashurbanipal's reign were fully occupied in repressing the attempts of Egypt to recover its freedom. Time after time the Assyrian garrisons were withdrawn, only to be



THE NEAR EAST DIVISION OF THE HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

Our geographical plan brings us, in this division, to the countries of Western Asia—Persia, Arabia, Syria, Armenia, Asia Minor, and Turkey in Asia. The inset map indicates the great ancient empires of Nearer Asia, whose history is here treated of, including Babylonia, Assyria, Elam, the Hittite Empire, Phœnicia, Israel and Judah, ancient Armenia, ancient Asia Minor, Media, Persia, and the Græco-Bactrian Empire.



ANCIENT EMPIRES OF WESTERN ASIA

BY DR. HUGO WINCKLER & LEONARD W. KING, M.A.

BABYLONIA AND ITS PEOPLES

OF the two civilisations developed in the two great river-basins of the Nile and of the Euphrates and Tigris, the Babylonian civilisation has unquestionably exercised the greater influence on the moulding of the conditions in Nearer Asia, though Greek civilisation, and in consequence thereof our own, has been less influenced by the latter than the former. It is not yet possible to discover all the threads that were woven indirectly between Babylon and Greece, and the paths are still unknown by which some of the ideas and thoughts of the earliest Babylonians reached the civilised nations, European as well as others, dwelling outside the immediate sphere of Babylonian culture. In order to characterise the connection of Greece with Babylonian civilisation, it is enough to point to the one Babylonian word borrowed by the Greeks, μνᾶ, *mina*. As to the other aspect of the influence of the civilisation along the Euphrates, let us call attention to one of its products, which we still carry with us in our pockets—the watch, with its twelve divisions, corresponding to the ancient Babylonian division of the day into twelve double hours. The paths on which the Oriental world, lying apparently so far from us, established these connections with Europe are up to the present still shrouded in complete obscurity. Thus, to take a single example, it is still a matter for investigation to what extent and by what channels the laws embodied in the Code of Hammurabi may have influenced later systems of legislation. But in one striking instance the mythology of Babylon has survived in European beliefs, and the track of this connection may be followed; for it is now generally admitted that the biblical accounts of the Creation and the Deluge were in great part derived from a Babylonian source.

Our Babylonian Watches

Babylon and the Bible

The decipherment of the cuneiform writing and of the Egyptian hieroglyphs has practically doubled the space of time which our historical knowledge covers—that is to say, the period we can survey by means of written documents in comparison with that which was regarded as history for the districts of Western civilisation. It is true that excavations on early Greek sites have yielded abundant remains of the Mycenæan and of pre-Mycenæan cultures, while recent discoveries in Crete have included hundreds of clay tablets inscribed in the writing and language of an early Mediterranean people. Further, through periods of pre-Minoan culture, the civilisation of the Mediterranean races may now be traced back to the Neolithic Age. But in a more restricted sense of the term it may be said that the history of Greece can be followed back

to the seventh or eighth century B.C.; while the oldest written records of Babylon and Egypt go back to the fourth millennium B.C. The interval which divides their first founders from the Dorian migration and the beginnings of Rome is therefore as great as that which lies between our own days and those of the beginnings of Hellenic history.

Widespread Influence of Babylon

The regions influenced by the civilisation and history of Babylon stretch far beyond the countries watered by the two rivers. States which had reached so high a stage of civilisation as those of ancient Babylonia could not exist without laying under tribute the neighbouring countries, and bestowing on them in return their own achievements. Thus we see in remote antiquity that Babylonia encroached on Palestine, Armenia, Elam, even Arabia; trading, conquering, and depositing there her superfluous population and the products of her civilisation, but also exposed to the attacks of her barbarian neighbours, by whom she was often worsted. The history, therefore, of the other states and nations of Nearer Asia, taken all in all, is grouped round that of Babylonia. It is not mere accident that we possess few or no accounts of these except the Babylonian, in consequence of which their history seems to us influenced by Babylonia; for all the surrounding nations looked and were drawn toward the seat of that civilisation, whether they were under its supremacy, or they imposed their own rule upon it. This is most clearly demonstrated by the widespread use of the cuneiform writing, the most conspicuous achievement of the Babylonian intellect, the development of which has already been traced and illustrated on page 265 by Professor Petrie. It was the vehicle of intellectual intercourse in all Nearer Asia. Everywhere, so far as our view at present extends, we meet it: in Elam, in Armenia, and even in the heart of Asia Minor. In Palestine men wrote in cuneiform letters, and must accordingly have been acquainted with the Babylonian language and the Babylonian world of thought. Even in Egypt itself we shall find that the Babylonian writing and language were the means of intercourse with the countries of Western Asia. In fact, in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries B.C. Babylonian was the language of diplomacy and commerce, and its employment at this period throughout the Nearer East resembled very nearly the use of French at the present day.

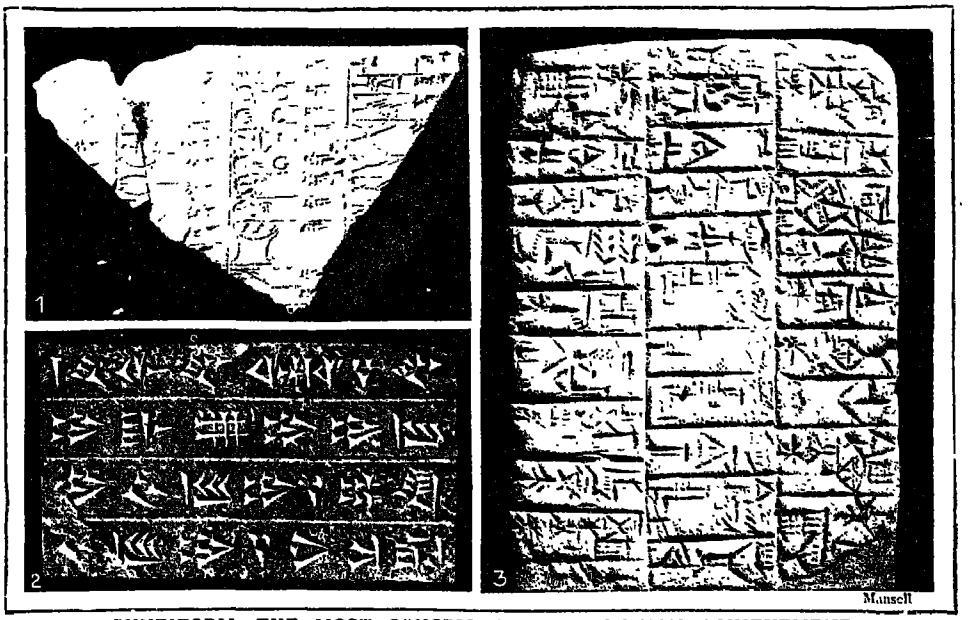
Cuneiform the French of the East

If a study of the development of Babylonia implies in itself a history of almost all Western Asia, the task will be still more complex when we consider that the history, comprising more than 3,000 years, of a civilised world surrounded by barbarians must show the most varied succession of nationalities. It is not *one* people that meets us in Babylonia as the bearer of the "Babylonian" civilisation; it is a long series of most heterogeneous nations belonging to various races, which one after the other advanced into the great plain between the rivers, and lived out the rest of their existence under the dominion of that civilisation. The same holds good of the adjoining countries which were subject to its civilising influence, although, from want of information, we cannot trace the fact so clearly there.

Sources of Babylonian Immigrants

Just as the great civilisations of antiquity have been developed on great rivers, the natural highways of communication, so natural migrations take their origin in wide regions of steppes, which supply nomadic man with food for the animals by means of which he lives. For, owing to the vast districts required by a nomadic life, these extensive plains can contain and support comparatively few inhabitants. Thus the overgrowth of the population, which is periodically felt, compels the wandering tribes to seek more productive lands, whither the simple but sturdy son of Nature is invited by the alluring splendours of civilisation, and by the prospects of an easy victory over more effeminate and civilised races.

Three such cradles of the human race have to be considered in connection with the region of Babylonian civilisation—the European steppes, from which the peoples migrated over the Caucasus or round the Caspian Sea, and in the other direction through Asia Minor; the Inner Asiatic steppes on the north-east; and Arabia on the south and south-west. Of these, the first district may be almost excluded from our inquiry, since the approach on this side is the most difficult: more important is the Inner Asiatic



CUNEIFORM, THE MOST CONSPICUOUS BABYLONIAN ACHIEVEMENT

These reproductions of Babylonian tablets illustrate the development of cuneiform writing. The first shows the Sumerian picture writing with archaic cuneiform equivalents; the third is a memorial tablet of a governor of Lagash, inscribed about B.C. 4500; while the second is an inscription of Xerxes, about B.C. 470, in the most modern form.

region. With regard to this and the European district, it must be noted that each of the waves of peoples coming from that quarter first beat against the states that were posted in front of Babylonia and were subject to her civilising influence—namely, those of Asia Minor, Armenia, Elam and Syria. Babylonia thus presented against invaders from these directions a natural bulwark of buffer states, and could not, therefore, be so easily overrun by them directly.

On the other hand, the third district, Arabia, with its extensive steppes, from earliest times the home of robber nomads, immediately adjoins the territory of Babylon itself. The only natural boundary here is the Euphrates; and the nomads could roam unhindered up to the towns built upon the right bank, even when a strong power attempted to prevent their crossing into the pasture grounds lying east of the river. It is a long stretch of frontier, running in places through wide steppes, which the Babylonian forces had to guard, and they were seldom able to defend the passage of the river against the nomads who pressed onward from Arabia. It was from this quarter that Babylonia was exposed to the most frequent and most lasting immigrations, and the nations who came from that side took possession successively of the plain between the Euphrates and the Tigris. But Arabia, so far as our knowledge reaches, was the home of the nations which, according to a linguistic classification, we designate as Semites.

The Semites' Entrance to Babylonia

The history of Babylonia itself is in great part Semitic; that of the adjoining nations, so far as they are subject to its influence, is also largely Semitic, or supplied in the manner stated from the two other storehouses of mankind. The Semites, in fact, attained their highest civilisation in Babylonia. It is true that in its origin much of this civilisation was non-Semitic. Not only their method of writing, but much of their art and many of their religious beliefs, to say nothing of less important elements of culture, were derived from the Sumerians, who at a very early period occupied the whole of Southern Babylonia. But the Sumerian culture was adopted by the Semitic population to meet their own needs, and they brought to its development all that their natural gifts could produce. Even in the earliest times of which we have knowledge we may trace results of Semitic influence, and during the later historical periods it gradually became the preponderating element in Babylonian culture.

Babylonian Civilisation is Semitic

So far back as we can survey the history of Babylonia, its actors were largely composed of Semites. Accordingly, the distinct Semitic character of the population comes out in the language, however much other elements of population were mixed with the Semites. It is, however, obvious that our historical knowledge cannot reach the beginning of the Babylonian culture. The growth of the means to hand down history, the introduction of a written language, must indeed presuppose a long course of development in culture. It is a long cry from the picture-writing of savages to the written reports of campaigns and of the building of temples, such as the earliest Babylonian inscriptions give us, and to the official records drawn up according to set forms belonging to the same period; and it may be that the nations which reached that stage of development worked longer at perfecting their inventions than the three thousand or more years during which we know that cuneiform writing was employed.

The Lack of Babylonian Prehistory

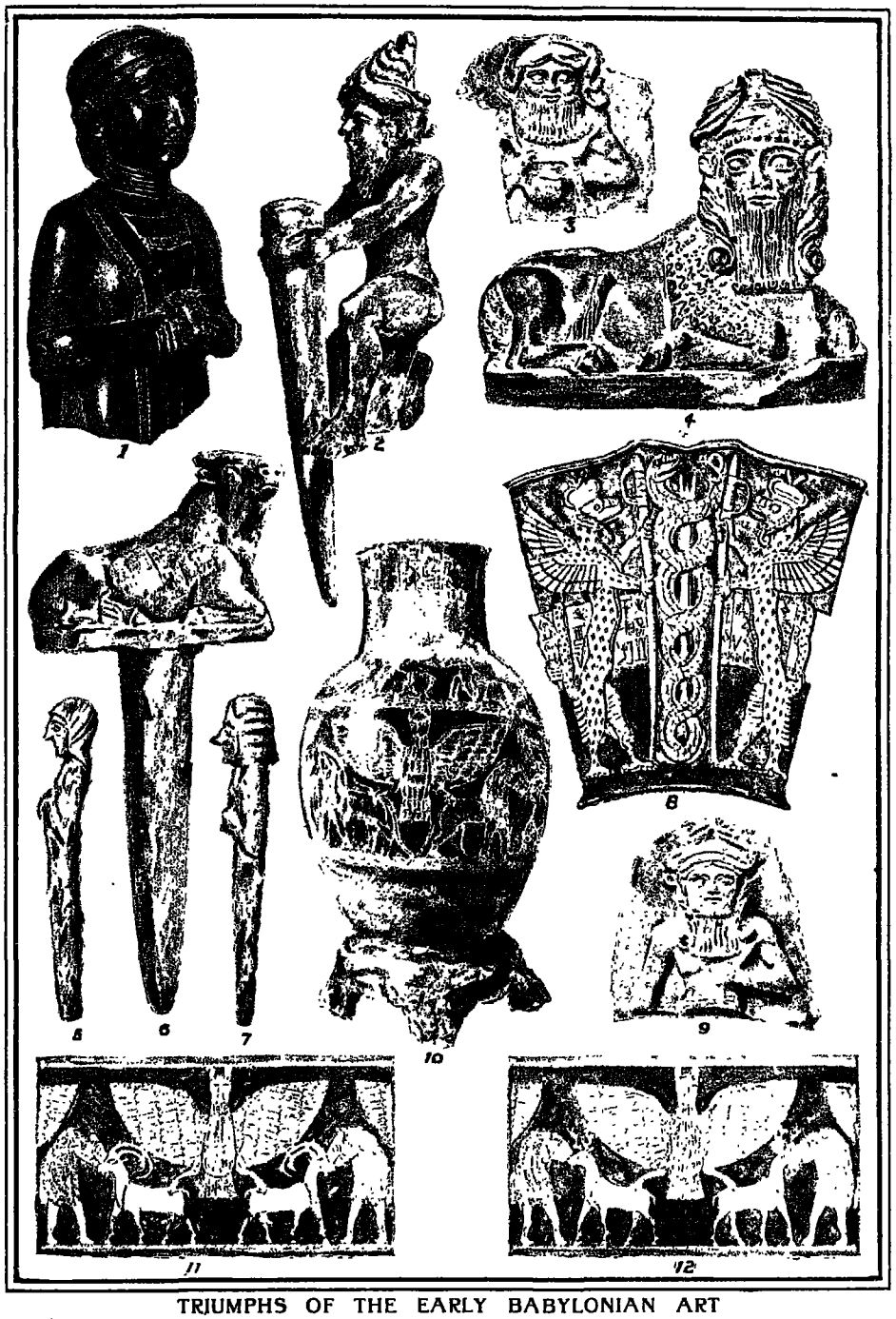
We shall see that the oldest records with which we are yet acquainted come both from Sumerians and Semites. These records show very clearly the influence of both the peoples who had settled in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates. On the one hand, the inscriptions of the earliest Sumerian rulers which have been recovered show linguistically numerous traces of Semitic influence. On the other hand, the earliest Semitic rulers of whom we have knowledge employ not only the Sumerian method of writing, but also in great part the Sumerian language, for their inscriptions. Of a time when there were no Semites or no Sumerians in Babylonia we have as yet no knowledge, and it is still a matter for conjecture which of these two races was first settled in the country. All that we can say with certainty is that Southern Babylonia was the centre of Sumerian influence, while it is in Northern Babylonia that the Semites were first settled.

Sumerians and Semites

It has recently been suggested that the Semites may have been the earlier of the two races to inhabit the country, and that they succeeded in establishing themselves in Northern Babylonia, and possibly also in the south, where they lived a primitive and agricultural life in an undeveloped state of civilisation. According to this theory the Sumerians were the conquering race, who, before their invasion of the country, had already attained a high level of culture, and brought with them into Babylonia not only the art of writing, but also the method of fighting in close battalions of heavily armed men; and that, in virtue of their better weapons, they imposed their own higher civilisation upon the Semitic peasant population, whom they found in possession of the country. Their conquest of Babylonia might, on this theory, be compared to the Dorian invasion in Greece or the Norman conquest in England. On the other hand, it is possible that the Sumerians preceded the Semites in their occupation of Babylonia, and in that case the conquering race was the less civilised of the two. Pressing into the country in overwhelming numbers, they would gradually have gained the upper hand in the northern districts, and have absorbed the higher civilisation of the conquered race. At present we have not sufficient evidence available for deciding definitely between these conflicting views. The earliest remains that have yet been recovered exhibit the Sumerians settled chiefly in the south, while in the north we find a Semitic population preponderating, and borrowing for their written records both the script and language of their southern neighbours.

The Latin of Babylonia

The first records which we possess are composed in the non-Semitic Sumerian language. This language is one of the principal characteristics of the creators of the Babylonian civilisation, the inventors of the cuneiform characters. It is also the most valuable testimony to their racial importance. For, long after men ceased to speak Sumerian; when the most heterogeneous nationalities had occupied Babylonia, and had gone the same way as the ancient Sumerians themselves; when the various Semitic peoples in the valley of the Euphrates had played their part; when Persians, Macedonians, or Parthians ruled there, down to the age immediately preceding the Christian era—Sumerian was still used in Babylonia as a sacred religious language. It played, therefore, a similar part to Latin, which has been the language of the learned world and of the Church in the Middle Ages and modern



TRIUMPHS OF THE EARLY BABYLONIAN ART

Some of these beautiful objects, found at Tello, and now in the Louvre, were executed over 6,000 years ago. The earliest are the copper votive figures (5 and 7) dating from the reign of the first Babylonian king, before B.C. 4500. The beautiful vase (10) is of silver, richly chased and engraved (11 and 12), and was made in the time of King Entemena, about B.C. 4500. Somewhat later are the copper figures of an early Chaldæan god (2) and a bull (6), the decoration for a sculptured vase of Gudea (8), and two gods in terra-cotta (3 and 9). These are all about B.C. 2500. The other objects are a finely-sculptured woman's head from Tello (1) and a Chaldæan bull in stone (4).

times; only, its survival in this form extended over a period nearly twice as long.

A Language that Lasted 3,000 Years

For considerable periods of their history the Sumerians speak to us in inscriptions of their own, and thus the past of this remarkable people, from the close of whose era the tradition of civilisation descends in an unbroken line to our own times, has been in some degree revealed. Moreover, by the preservation of the language, inscriptions and religious texts in the Sumerian tongue are in our hands, extending over a period which comprises more than three thousand years. The most ancient of the native Sumerian records are the inscriptions of the kings of Lagash, and Sumerian continued to be used as a living language under the later kings of Sumer and Akkad.

With the rise of Babylon under the Western Semitic kings of the first dynasty a great impetus was given to the increased employment of the Semitic tongue in the inscriptions of the period, and Sumerian gradually dropped out of general use. It can easily be imagined that in the succeeding ages the language, which was now only artificially preserved, must have gone through stages like those of Latin in the Middle Ages; for a revival in the spirit of classicism, like that of Latin by the Renaissance, was quite foreign to the Oriental character. Sumerian became, therefore, more and more corrupt when used by later ages. The texts are filled with Semiticisms: the later the period, the more the texts give the impression that they were composed of words merely adapted and declined according to Sumerian; that is to say, the originally quite distinct syntax had been given up. This Sumerian exhibits the same features not merely as the monkish Latin, but even as the Macaronic burlesques; only, what was merely jesting in the latter was seriously intended in the former. If we add the fact that the more ancient the inscriptions are, the more ideographic they are—that is, each separate word is written with a special hieroglyph—we shall realise that our information as to the pronunciation of the old Sumerian is still very unsatisfactory. We know the meaning of the old inscriptions indeed from the signs which are familiar to us from their significance in Semitic texts, but we learn the Sumerian pronunciation of the words only from the statements of later centuries.

Sumerian Pronunciation Unknown

Notwithstanding the numerous texts that have been recovered, we can therefore arrive at no certain conclusion as to many features of the language; but we may establish enough to show roughly the character of Sumerian, one of the oldest civilised languages of the world. It is an agglutinative language, whose construction is not dissimilar to that of the Turkish languages, and therefore completely different from that of the Semitic tongues. Let the following construction serve as an example: egal Ur-Engur lugal Uri galu e-Anna in-ru-a-ka-ta = palace + Ur-Engur + king + Ur + man + e-Anna + he built + genitive particle + in = in the palace of Ur-Engur, the king of Ur, the builder of the (temple) e-Anna. The connecting genitive, which in Semitic, as in English, stands between palace and Ur-Engur, goes to the end of the whole expression, which therefore composes a connected whole, something like a German compound word. In the same way that which is the most important word, and therefore placed at the beginning of our sentences, the designation of place "in" (= ta) comes at the end. We must notice also the periphrasis of a Semitic participle by galu....in-ru-a, man.... + he built.

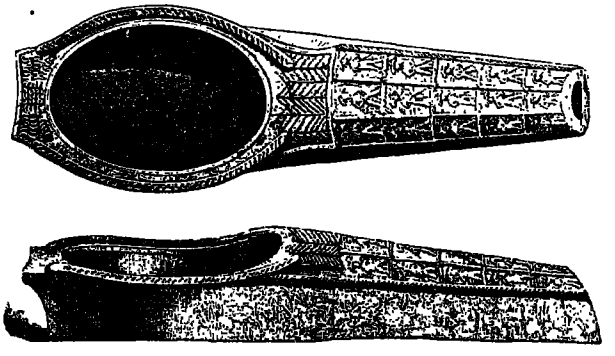
Construction of Sumerian Language

All attempts to establish an affinity with any language of the ancient world, even with the various languages of the neighbouring nations or of those still living, are precarious. Phonetically, Sumerian had already become to some extent corrupt, even as exhibited in the earliest inscriptions that have been recovered. Most words show only simple syllables of vowel and consonant, or consonant-vowel-consonant, the last of which has usually been lost; and a great number of originally distinct words are again phonetically assimilated. Sumerian has thus been worn smooth in the same way as Chinese.

We know nothing of the history of Babylonia before we already find Sumerians and Semites both settled in the country, and both split up into groups of independent city-states. One conclusion, however, can be drawn with perfect certainty from the analogy of similar relations and of later times. The development of civilisation was not possible in a

idyllic and peaceful twilight on the fertile banks of the Euphrates. The same relations of hostility and friendship which we find later between the populations of different districts, and which exist between all civilised peoples not separated by insuperable difficulties of communication, must have existed even in the still dark ages of Babylonian history. Even then there must have been trade between the different places; the kings of separate cities must have exchanged communications, and have made war on one another.

Where the dark veil is lifted by means of historical documents—that is, by inscriptions to be reckoned among the most ancient monuments of mankind which speak to us in words—Semites meet us as rulers of the northern districts in the plain of the Euphrates and Tigris. By the term Semites, we designate, in accordance with the table of nations in Genesis, chapter x., the group of races which spoke the same tongue as the Hebrews, there included in the posterity of Shem. It may be noted that since the introduction of this term the fact has been established that some of the nations there classed among the descendants of Shem did not speak Semitic; however, the designation is now universally accepted.



SEPULTURES OF EARLY BABYLONIA

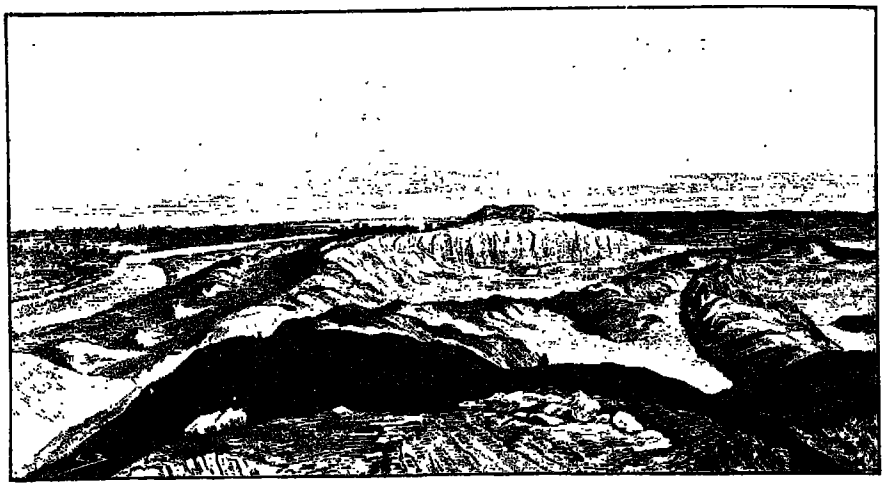
Glazed clay coffins discovered in the ruins of Warka, the ancient Erech, where they were found in amazing abundance. They were covered with elevated ridges forming panels containing embossed and sculptured figures, and were finished with a thick glazing of rich green enamel.

We may regard Arabia as the home of the Semites; indeed, on geographical grounds, no other land can be taken into consideration. Arabia is, up to the present day, the land where Semites have kept their purity of race, and where they live under the same conditions and in the same stage of civilisation as their kinsmen who, in the fourth millennium before the Christian era, attained the object after which their descendants sigh; they won the rich civilised lands, which were certainly richer and better cultivated then than they are now. The only roads on which nomadic nations could migrate from Arabia led to Syria and Palestine. On the other sides the country is surrounded by the sea, and a migration westward or eastward presupposes that the people possessed ships, and had therefore passed from the stage of nomadism on the steppe to that of a settled life, or at least had taken up fishing, although this industry can support only a small people No emigration on a large scale took place then from the south of Arabia; but when the kingdom of Saba and the nations in alliance with it had produced a sort of civilisation, there was emigration to Africa and Abyssinia. The real tide, however, of Semitic migration set toward the north.

Arabia the Home of the Semites

The Tide of Semitic Migration

We are in a position to determine roughly the course and the date of the later migrations, for we can fix their beginning and end with tolerable accuracy; for those of the first we depend to a great extent upon conjecture. They result as a natural consequence of the over-population of the country, and must, if the state of civilisation and conditions of life remain similar, be repeated at a similar interval of time. We can distinguish altogether three, and possibly four, great Semitic migrations toward the north. The last, to begin with that one which is traceable in the full light of history, is the Arabian. This culminated in the conquests of Islam. It begins somewhere in the seventh or eighth century B.C., when the advance of the Arabs into Syria is demonstrable. This is preceded by the Aramæan, and we can again roughly determine its beginnings. From the fifteenth to the thirteenth centuries B.C. we find Mesopotamia already flooded by Aramæan nomads. The advance of these tribes must have therefore begun somewhat earlier. The Canaanite-Hebraic migration precedes this, and, as

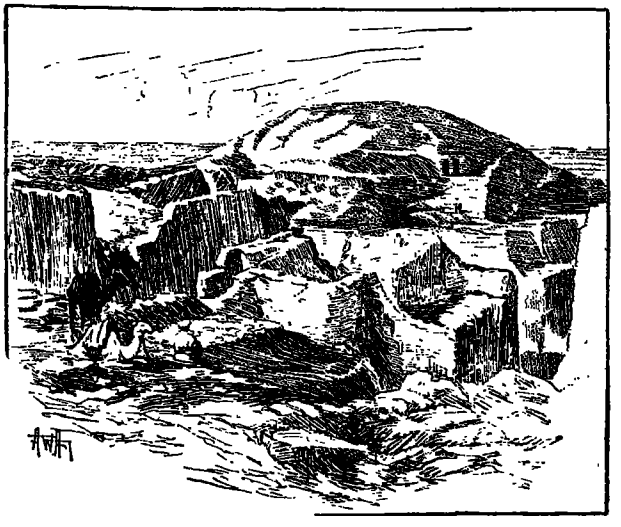


BABYLON AS IT APPEARED AFTER TWO THOUSAND YEARS

This picture of ruin and the uttermost desolation, reproduced by permission from "The Struggle of the Nations" (S.P.C.K.), shows the ruins of Babylon in the first half of the nineteenth century, before they were disturbed by excavations.

a result, we find that shortly before 2000 B.C., a population, to be described as West Semitic, or Canaanitic, was in possession of Babylonia. Lastly, at the very dawn of Babylonian history as revealed to us by the remains that have been recovered, we find Semites settled in Northern Babylonia, and engaged in acquiring the elements of Sumerian civilisation from their southern neighbours. It is not unlikely that the original home of these Semitic Babylonians was also Arabia, and that their settlement on the banks of the Euphrates was due to a migration similar to those which took place at later times. But, for fixing the date at which this earliest migration may possibly have taken place, the excavations in Babylonia have as yet furnished no evidence.

These are the four great groups of Semitic peoples who have in succession produced great effects upon the history of the Nearer East. It must be noted, however, that any calculation as to dates can give only approximate results, and that obviously a sharply defined division of the several migrations is impossible. In the migration of races, one wave pushes another before it, and the last portions of a great group of nations may be still in movement when the vanguard of the next is already drawing near. As an example, we may cite the case of the Hebrews and Aramæans about the middle of the second millennium B.C. The immigrating Western Semites of the second migration found existing in Babylonia a highly developed civilisation, which they adopted, like every barbarous people in similar circumstances, and its institutions were valid for them.

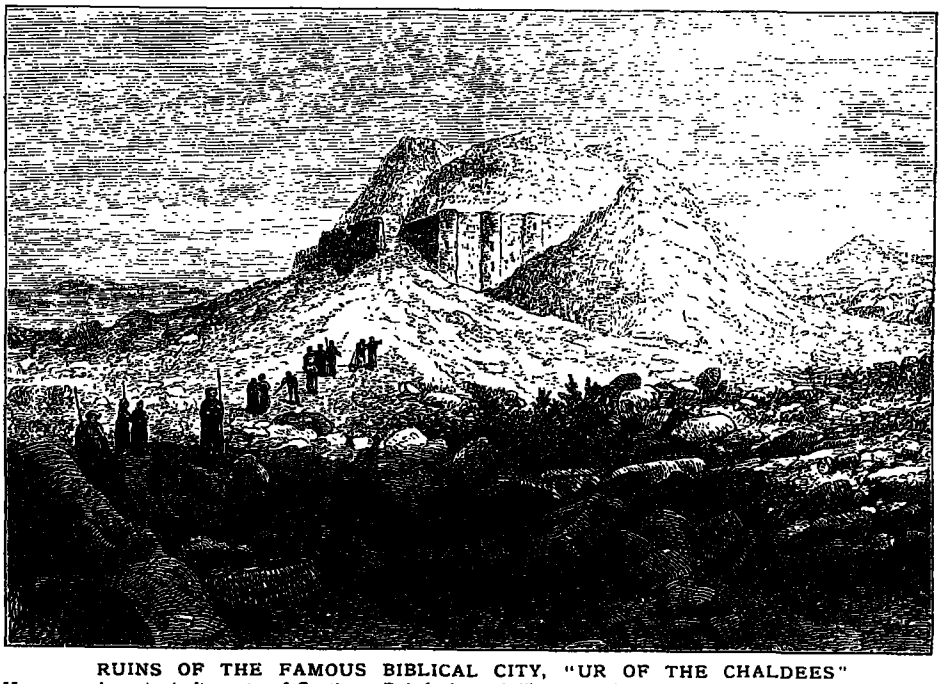


ALL THAT REMAINS OF NIPPUR, THE CITY OF ENLIL

Nippur was the principal religious centre of the whole of Babylonia.

Wherever our records speak to us, we find in Babylonia a number of towns whose divine cult was

in high reputation, and whose importance as the centre of high-roads, and the focus of intercourse and civilisation, was maintained throughout all history. We shall mention here the most important, following the Euphrates upward from the south: Eridu, or Abu Shahrain, the seat of the Ea cult; Ur, or Mukayyar, the town devoted to moon-worship in Southern Babylonia; Lagash, also called Shir-pur-la, with phonetic reading of the ideographic style of writing, marked by the mounds of Tello, and known to us by the excavations of the French consul, De Sarzec, and a town not far from Tello, on the other bank of the Shatt el-Hai, whose name is expressed by the signs Gish-khu, but was probably pronounced as Umma. The rulers of this city waged a constant warfare with the early kings of Lagash, and their history is typical of that of the early Babylonian city-states. Further, Isin, which was later the seat of a Babylonian dynasty; Larsa, or Senkereh, where the South Babylonian sun-cult had its seat; Erech, Uruk, or Warka, the seat of Nanâ-Ishtar; Nippur, or Niffer, the city of Enlil, which has been examined by American excavators, and is now known to have been the principal religious centre of the whole of Babylonia. In Northern Babylonia the most important towns are Babylon, the city of Marduk, which did not assume the chief rôle until later; Kish and Opio, in the neighbourhood of the later city of Seleucia; and Kutha, or Tell Ibrahim, the city of Nergal; and more to the north Sippar, or Abu-Habba, the Sun-town of Northern Babylonia; and Dur-ilu, with the cult of Anu, probably marked by the mound of Der. Further to the north begins the steppe of Mesopotamia, and we now meet on the banks of the Tigris, going up stream, the important towns of Ashur, or Kala Shergat, Calah Kalkhi, or Nimrud, and Nineveh, at a much later period of the greatest importance as capitals of the kingdom of Assyria. More easterly, toward Media, lies Arbail, or Arbela, now Erbil, which commands the East Assyrian country, the district between the Upper and the Lower Zab. Here the roads to Media and the places on Lake Urumiya converge. Returning to the district between the rivers, we find the Sinjar range of hills, certainly once occupied by towns, even if nothing has



RUINS OF THE FAMOUS BIBLICAL CITY, "UR OF THE CHALDEES"
Ur was an important city-state of Southern Babylonia, and, like others in the Mesopotamian valley, a town of the most ancient past when first it appears in history. It was the seat of the worship of Sin, the moon-god.

hitherto been definitely settled on the point. The great steppe of Mesopotamia becomes again suitable for considerable settlements in the two valleys of the Khabur and Belikh. Here there are a number of hitherto unexplored "tells"—that is, sites of towns now covered by earth, and rising in the form of rounded mounds above the surrounding plain. Harran, the moon-city in the upper valley of the Belikh, was the most important, and flourished until a late period.

Babylonia's Dense Population

These are by no means all the chief towns of the region of Babylonian civilisation. On the contrary, we cannot picture to ourselves the density of the settlements with which all the districts that come under our notice—if we omit the parts of the steppe where water was deficient—were then covered. Babylonia, at the time of her prosperity, was, like Egypt, cultivated in a manner which resembles gardening more than our notions of agriculture, and was proportionately covered with settlements. The towns which we have named are only those which have played a particularly prominent rôle through their political and religious importance, or of which we have considerable knowledge in consequence of excavations on their sites. There are besides countless other "tells" which are still awaiting the spade of the excavator.

On the assumption that the Sumerians first occupied the whole of Babylonia, their displacement by the Semites may be described as follows. We may suppose that the Semitic immigrants occupied the country in the same way as at a later period their kinsmen who followed them, the Chaldæans and the Hebrews, can be shown historically to have taken possession of Babylonia and Canaan. They pressed into the open country, where they maintained their position, half on sufferance, half by force, and gradually gained possession of the towns; and thus their supremacy over the whole country was secured. Instead of nomads they were then settled townsfolk, who adopted the civilisation of the country unconditionally. Politically, an important change was thus effected in them. The free nomads, under the headship of a sheikh, became the subjects of a king; for their leader turned the existing institutions to his own advantage more quickly than his "brothers" who followed him. We must, then, assume that there were gradually formed a series of separate city-states corresponding to the old Sumerian centres of civilisation in the districts which were occupied by the several invading tribes. They had scarcely taken possession of these when their kings—just like the separate tribes in the nomadic era, so far as they were not connected by "blood relationship"—became natural rivals; and the struggle between them necessarily began and continued until it ended in the subjugation of the one by the other, and in the gradual formation of one or more great empires.

Sumerians Displaced by Semites



THE KHABUR, A HISTORIC RIVER OF MESOPOTAMIA
A tributary of the Tigris, at Arban, the site of Shadikanna, which was the capital of an Aramæan prince



EARLY STATES OF BABYLONIA

WE should naturally expect to find as the earliest monuments of Babylonia inscriptions of kings of the various great towns which were at war with one another. This expectation has been fulfilled by the most recent discoveries. Small as they are in comparison with what may still be won from the soil, they are amply sufficient to give a picture of the political conditions of the period.

The earliest inscriptions hitherto known are those of kings of Lagash in Southern Babylonia, of Kish, and of the city of Gish-khu, or Umma, whose rulers we find at war with each other and alternately gaining the upper hand. There is no object in following them minutely, or in attempting to arrange in chronological order all the names of rulers that have been recovered. But a sketch may here be given of the principal facts that have been established. The result of these wars is the development of larger kingdoms; for the king of the victorious town is reckoned the lord of the subjugated princes, who call themselves "Patesi," or priest-kings. In the earliest period we know that Lugal-shag-engur, patesi of Shirpurla, or Lagash, was the contemporary of Me-silim, king of Kish, for a mace-head has been discovered at Tello, bearing an inscription of the latter king, which records his rebuilding of the temple of Ningirsu at Lagash at the time Lugal-shag-engur was patesi of that city. We may see in this fact evidence that Me-silim exercised suzerainty over Southern Babylonia, and it was in consequence of his position as over-lord that he was called in as arbitrator in a dispute between the cities of Lagash and Gish-khu, or Umma.

The Early Priest-Kings

The history of the rivalry which existed at this period between these two neighbouring cities may be summarised, as it is typical of the relations existing between the early city-states. After a treaty of delimitation between their respective territories had been drawn up under the direction of Me-silim, a stele was set up to commemorate the fixing of the boundary, and peace ensued between the two cities for several generations. But at length an ambitious patesi of Gish-khu, named Ush, removed the stele and invaded the plain of Lagash, where he succeeded in conquering and holding a fertile district named Gu-edin. But he was defeated by the men of Lagash, and his successor, a patesi named Enakalli, concluded with Eannatum, patesi of Lagash, a solemn treaty concerning the boundary between their cities, which is still preserved upon the famous "Stele of Vultures" in the Louvre, of which an illustration is given on page 262 of this work. A deep boundary ditch was dug, the old stele was restored and a new one set up beside it, and Enakalli agreed to pay heavy tribute in grain for the supply of the great temples in Lagash. Again there was a period of peace, but on Eannatum's death, Urlumma, the successor of Enakalli, broke the treaty by destroying the frontier ditches and breaking the steles in pieces; but he appears to have been defeated and kept in check by Eannatum I., the reigning patesi of Lagash. In the reign of Entemena, the son and successor of Eannatum, fresh trouble arose in consequence of raids on the part of the men of Gish-khu, and peace was restored only after a pitched battle and the capture of the latter city by Entemena, who henceforth ruled Gish-khu through a governor and administrative officers appointed by himself.

Rivalry of the City-States

Beginnings of Empire

The history of Gish-khu and Lagash illustrates the independent position enjoyed by the separate cities of Babylonia at this early period, and it also enables us to watch the process by means of which the more powerful of two neighbouring cities in process of time succeeded in gaining the ascendancy. But the temporary character of these political combinations is also well illustrated by the sequel; for in the reign of Urukagina, who styled himself King of Lagash, Lugal-zaggisi, the patesi of

Gish-khu, succeeded in capturing Lagash, which he laid waste, destroying its temples and putting its inhabitants to the sword. In consequence of this victory and of his successes against other cities in Southern Babylonia, he claimed the title of "King of the land." Other rulers of this early time, whose period cannot be exactly stated, are Lugal-kigub-nidudu and Lugal-kisalsi, kings of Erech and of Ur; Enshag-kushana, a king of Southern Babylonia; and Urumush and Manishtusu, who reigned in Kish at a time when that city was at the height of its power.

The earliest empire in the proper sense of the term was formed with its capital in the city of Agade, under whose kings the Semitic inhabitants of Northern Babylonia for the first time succeeded in enforcing their authority over the whole country. At this time the South Babylonian patesis were subject to the sovereignty of the North Babylonian kings, of whom Shargani-shar-ali, usually called Sargon, and his son Naram-Sin are known to us by a number of inscriptions. The first of the two styles himself King of Agade, in North Babylonia, and had therefore conquered the south from there; and accounts of his reign and that of his son prove that they extended their victorious career over Nearer Asia, so far as it ever came under the influence of Babylonian culture. They ruled not merely Babylonia and Mesopotamia, but Syria and Palestine. Sargon, indeed, is said, in a late copy of an inscription, to have sailed out into the Mediterranean, and an attempt has been made to prove that in Cyprus are to be found traces of the influence of Babylonia from the most ancient times. But, although this theory is now disproved by recent discoveries, it is certain that he extended his conquests to the Syrian coast. Wars with the northern barbarians necessarily followed, as well as expeditions to the south. In this way a great Semitic-Babylonian empire was founded, embracing the whole of Nearer Asia. The names of Sargon and Naram-Sin mark, therefore, the zenith of the power attained by the earlier Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia. This is shown by purely external evidence, for their inscriptions are, in distinction from those of Southern Babylonia, composed in Semitic.



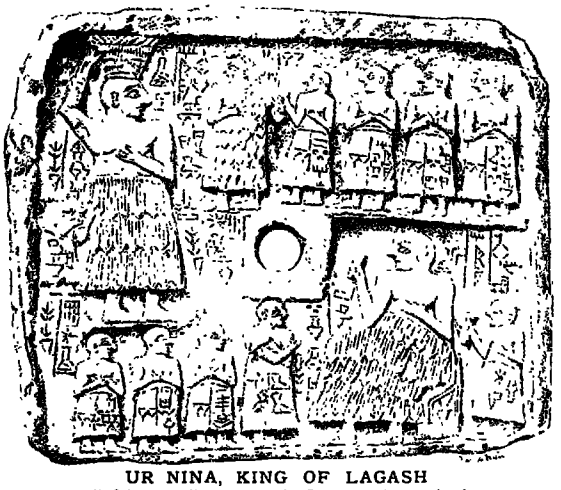
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AN EARLY KING OF LAGASH
The statue of a Sumerian royal personage of Lagash, an important city-state.

Of the later patesis of Lagash, Gudea [see illustration on page 270 of this work] may be specially mentioned, owing to the number and length of his inscriptions, which bear witness that the dominion of Babylonian civilisation was as wide as all accounts make out. He had the materials for his buildings brought from distant countries: cedar from Amanus, stone for his statues from Arabia or Sinai. This is a proof of the extent of peaceable intercourse at that time. It is noteworthy that Gudea did not assume the title of king, so that we may probably regard him and his immediate predecessors as still acknowledging the suzerainty of the northern kingdom founded by Sargon of Agade. The fame of Sargon and his political achievements was handed down to the latest times, even when men were not altogether clearly informed about him. Sargon of Agade became a legendary hero, and when the last king of Babylon, Nabonidus, found an inscription of his son Naram-Sin, and asked his learned men for information as to its date, they could give him no correct answer, and finally reckoned an age of 3,200 years before Nabonidus himself—that is, about 3800 B.C., a figure which they considerably overestimated. In arriving at this very early date, it is probable that the scribes of Nabonidus reckoned as successive many of the early local dynasties of Babylonia which had ruled contemporaneously. If, as is now certain, we must reject this very early estimate of the period of Sargon's rule, it is difficult to ascertain his date with accuracy. It is probable, however, that no very long period separated the empire which he founded in Northern Babylonia from that of the kings of Sumer and

Akkad; in these circumstances we may conclude that he did not live at a period earlier than 2800 B.C. or 2700 B.C.

Within the sphere of the Babylonian civilisation, at one time fighting with the rulers of Babylonia, at another submitting to them, as can be best realised by the testimony of the Assyrian era, there were then Elam, with its border state of Ernutbal, and the tribes inhabiting the mountainous districts extending from Media to Cappadocia. To the north-east of it lived the barbarians of the Umman-Manda, the Manda hordes, the Babylonian "Scythians," and the inhabitants of Gutium, or the district of the "Kuti." We possess an inscription of one of the kings of the last-named country, in the language and style of the Naram-Sin period, about a votive offering in Babylonia, probably in Sippar, similar to the dedications of foreigners to the Greek oracles. Toward Asia Minor, beginning in Cappadocia, lies the district of the "Khatti" and "Hittites," who were soon to make themselves felt in Babylonia, and were to change the course of Babylonian history by bringing the powerful dynasty of Hammurabi to an end. Northern Palestine meets us as "the western land," and formed an integral part of the empire founded by Sargon of Agade. Arabia may have been more accessible to the earlier Babylonians than later to the Assyrians or even to us. In the south there must have been navigation on the Persian Gulf, for Dilmun, the island of Bahrein, was situated within the sphere of Babylonian interests, and has left monuments in cuneiform characters. It is also hardly imaginable that Gudea obtained his stone from Magan except by sea.



UR NINA, KING OF LAGASH

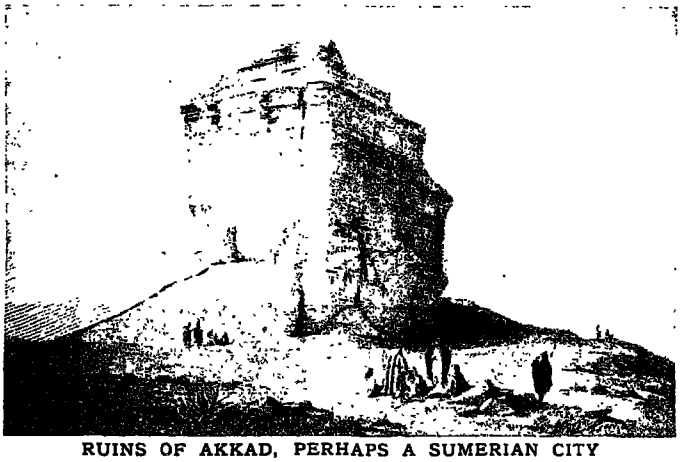
This bas-relief from Tello, now in the Louvre, shows the king, about B.C. 1500, performing a religious ceremony in the temple of Ningirsu.



NINGIRSU

The divinity of the city-state of Lagash. From a sculptured fragment in the Louvre.

The numerous monuments of this period display a high technical perfection. The first inscriptions and monuments of the kings of Lagash are indeed very rude, but later a stage is reached which is comparable to that of the old empire in Egypt. The inscriptions of Sargon and Naram-Sin, written in a peculiar ornamental script, and the statues of Gudea display great skill. Countless documents concerning the management of temples and estates dating from this period have been discovered on the site of



RUINS OF AKKAD, PERHAPS A SUMERIAN CITY

The kings of Sumer and Akkad gained the supremacy in Babylonia about B.C. 2500.

Lagash. Such is Babylonia, its range and its civilisation, in the third millennium B.C., when it reached, perhaps, a higher stage in the development of art and culture than was attained for many centuries later.

The Kings of Sumer and Akkad

The last inscriptions of the patesis of Lagash known to us, the direct descendants of Gudea, partly contain dedications to new kings, of whom many inscriptions are extant from towns in Southern and Northern Babylonia. These rulers term themselves "Kings of Sumer and Akkad," and their inscriptions, at least the South Babylonian, like those of Lagash, are composed in Sumerian. We have therefore to notice a great alteration since the preceding era: North Babylonia has yielded the supremacy to South Babylonia. The kings of Ur rule Babylonia in the place of those of Agade; for even the north belongs to them, as inscriptions found there prove clearly enough.

We have in this kingdom of "Sumer and Akkad" to distinguish generally between three dynasties. The first, of which the kings Ur-Engur and his son Dungi are best known to us, was termed the Dynasty of Ur, after the title and seat of government. The numerous inscriptions of the two kings tell us only about the erection of temples in all the important towns of Babylonia, but do not contain information as to their political activity and power. It follows, however, from the dispossession of the Semitic sovereigns of Northern Babylonia that they must have largely encroached upon their territory, and a recently-discovered chronicle definitely proves that such was indeed the case. We learn from this document that Dungi, who succeeded his father, Ur-Engur, the founder of the dynasty, undertook active operations against the north and finally broke the power of the Semitic rulers, who had inherited the empire built up by Sargon of Agade and his son, Naram-Sin. We learn that he succeeded in capturing and sacking the city of Babylon, and he is recorded to have laid hands upon the treasures which had been accumulated in Esagila, the temple of Marduk, the city-god of Babylon. Moreover, it is related that Dungi cared greatly for the city of Eridu, which is described in the chronicle as having still stood at this period "upon the shore of the sea"—that is to say, upon the Persian Gulf, whose waters had not yet receded owing to the detritus carried down by the Euphrates and deposited at its mouth.

Dynasty of "Ur of the Chaldees"

In Dungi's care for Eridu to the detriment of Babylon, we may see evidence of the Sumerian reaction inaugurated by the dynasty of Ur in Southern Babylonia against the Semitic supremacy of the north. This new record proves that Esagila, the temple of Babylon, had already begun to rival the more ancient shrine of Nippur, the seat of Enlil, as the most sacred temple of Babylonia. The Semitic rulers of Sargon's dynasty had doubtless lavished their offerings at the shrine of Marduk, which had consequently gained in prestige and importance, and had acquired the sanctity and influence of a national shrine. The blow which Dungi struck at its very existence was thus the outcome of a consistent policy, for, by sacking Babylon, and carrying off the treasures of its temple, he demolished the existing symbol and sanction of northern rule. The revolution which Ur-Engur and Dungi carried out was thus not only political, but was also based upon a racial and religious movement.

A Rival to Babylon

Moreover, Dungi did not confine himself to a destructive policy, for he at once set about the task of substituting a national shrine, which should furnish a counterweight to the former influence of Babylon, and by its position and associations should assist the transference of power to the Sumerian districts of the south. For this purpose he selected Eridu, the oldest and most sacred shrine of the Sumerians, which was situated in the extreme south of Babylonia. Here we may conjecture he deposited the temple treasures from Esagila, and, by reviving the splendour of the ancient Temple of Enki, he furnished Southern Babylonia with a shrine which he hoped would rival the fame previously enjoyed by that at Babylon.

The building inscriptions of Ur-Engur and of Dungi which have been recovered are evidence of the extent of the empire founded by these two earliest kings of Sumer and Akkad, for they prove that their influence was not confined to Southern and Northern Babylonia, but extended also to Elam. Moreover, the date-formulæ which have been recovered upon tablets and date-lists of the period prove that Dungi undertook other military expeditions, after his subjugation

of Northern Babylonia, in the effort to extend the boundaries of his kingdom. The fragment of a dynastic chronicle, which has recently been identified among the tablets from Nippur, proves that the dynasty of Ur lasted for 117 years, and, in addition to Ur-Engur and Dungi, comprised the reigns of Bur-Sin, Gimil-Sin, and Ibi-Sin, these five rulers following one another in direct succession.

The dynasty of Ur was directly succeeded by that of Isin, which took its name from the city forming its capital. The new dynastic chronicle states concisely that "the supremacy of Ur was overthrown, and that Isin took its kingdom." We may therefore infer that Isin obtained the hegemony among the Babylonian cities as the result of a war with Ur, in which Ibi-Sin was overthrown by Ishbi-Ura, who founded the dynasty of Isin, and reigned for thirty-two years. He was followed in direct succession by Gimil-ilishu, Idin-Dagan, Ishme-Dagan, and Libit-Ishtar. We possess short inscriptions of the two last kings named in the above list, but they throw no light upon the history of the period. From the fact that Libit-Ishtar was succeeded by Ur-Ninib, who is not stated in the chronicle to have been his son or brother, we may possibly infer that the latter usurped the throne. About this period we know that another son of Ishme-Dagan, named Eannatum, held the office of high-priest in the temple of the moon-god at Ur, which was then under the protection of a certain Gungunu, king of Ur, who also claimed the titles of "King of Larsa" and "King of Sumer and Akkad." It has therefore been suggested that at the end of Libit-Ishtar's reign an invasion of Babylonia took place, possibly from Elam, which overthrew the direct line of Isin. Eannatum, who would naturally have succeeded his brother in the event of the latter dying without issue, may have sought refuge with Gungunu, who had taken advantage of the political disturbance to set up an independent kingdom in Ur and Larsa. However this may be, it is clear from the chronicle that Ur-Ninib occupied the throne of Isin, and after a reign of twenty-eight years was succeeded by his son Bur-Sin II., and his grandsons, Iter-Kasha, and a brother whose name has not been recovered. Of the five succeeding rulers, the name of one only, Enlil-bani, is known with certainty, and since none of these rulers are recorded in the chronicle to have been related, it is possible that each was a usurper, and that a period of trouble and unrest followed the reign of Ur-Ninib's last descendant.



GUDEA, THE PRIEST-KING

Gudea was the most famous patesi of Lagash, and under his rule early Babylonian art reached its zenith.

Enlil-bani reigned for twenty-four years, but his predecessor ruled only for six months; and the reigns of his three successors lasted altogether for only twelve years, facts which may be cited in favour of the view that it was a period marked by palace revolutions and political unrest. The last two kings of the dynasty were Sin-magir and his son Damik-ilishu, who reigned for eleven and twenty-three years respectively. In an inscription of the former, which has been recovered, the king claims dominion over the whole of Babylonia, so that we may conclude that he succeeded in establishing his throne upon a firm basis. Thus the dynasty of Isin endured for 225 years and six months, and comprised no fewer than sixteen kings. During this period it is probable that the hegemony of Isin was disputed by other great cities of Babylonia. We have already noted the

appearance of Gungunu, an independent ruler of Ur, soon after the reign of Ishme-Dagan, and we may probably assign to the same period another king of Ur, Sumu-ilu, whose name has been found upon a votive model of a dog which was offered to the goddess Nin-Isin, "the Lady of Isin," on behalf of Sumu-ilu, by a high official of Lagash. Two rulers of Erech, named Sin-gashid and Sin-gamil, are also to be set in this period, or in that of the dynasty of Larsa, the city which probably succeeded Isin in obtaining the lead among the great cities of the land.

The Last King of Sumer

We thus come to the third and last independent dynasty of the kings of Sumer and Akkad, which had its seat in Larsa, the town of the Sun-god Shamash. From the times of these kings—up to the present are known Nur-Adad, Sin-idinnam, Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin, who probably followed each other—as of their predecessors, we have a great number of records of business life, the dates of which are mostly fixed by great events, and thus supply us with much information as to wars and other important undertakings. There are absolutely no royal inscriptions with historical announcements; only the usual inscriptions as to buildings and dedications. The last two kings of the dynasty, Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin, were not Babylonians, but Elamites. They expressly style themselves in their inscriptions sons of the Elamite Kudur-Mabuk, who seems to have conquered a considerable portion of Southern Babylonia, and established his son Arad-Sin in the cities of Larsa and Ur. We learn from the accounts of the earlier times that Elam was the mightiest opponent of Babylonia. A vigorous blow must at this time have been struck which made Southern Babylonia a dependency of Elam for a time. Arad-Sin was succeeded by his brother Rim-Sin, who was the last of the "Kings of Sumer and Akkad." The wars which he carried on with Hammurabi, the most famous king of the first dynasty of Babylon, and his final defeat and death at the hands of Samsu-iluna. Hammurabi's son, will best be narrated when we have described the rise of Babylon to power under the West-Semitic kings of its first dynasty.

Elam in Babylonia

Coincidentally with the South Babylonian kings of Larsa, and partly with their predecessors, the dynasty of Isin, there reigned in Northern Babylonia, in the city of Babylon, a succession of princes which, in accordance with the lists of Babylonian kings, we designate the First Dynasty of Babylon. We have seen that after the days of Sargon and Naram-Sin, when the north had the supreme power, kings were again ruling in the south, in the dynasty of Ur, who styled themselves kings of Northern Babylonia. But now in the numerous business documents of that time and region the rulers of Northern Babylonia, up to the subjection of the south, which we shall soon mention, are not called "kings," although in point of fact they conducted the government. The conclusion may be drawn that we have to deal with the vassal kings of those South Babylonians. The South Babylonian kings of Isin accordingly had vassal kings in Babylon who exercised independent government within their own district. The same conditions continued under the several kings of the house of Larsa. The last king of this dynasty, Rim-Sin, the Elamite, was signally defeated by the fifth of these kings, after the relation of vassal had long been merely formal, and his power was finally broken by his successor. It has hitherto been assumed that when once the Elamites were driven from the cities of Southern Babylonia the independence of the south was ended for ever. We shall see, however, that a new foe was to arise, who succeeded in forming another independent kingdom in the south. But, in spite of the rise of this new kingdom on the shores of the Persian Gulf, it may truly be said that Babylonian history from this time becomes really a history of Babylon.

First Dynasty of Babylon

The dynasty under which the sovereignty was for ever transferred to the city, and which, in consequence, gave the name to the country, and thus to the whole civilisation, was not "Babylonian-Semitic," but West Semitic or Canaanite, for meanwhile the second of the great Semitic migrations mentioned above had been completed. This migration flooded Babylonia also. The advancing nomads forced their way from the open country into the towns, and Babylonia received another ruling population in place of that which had lived its day, and this in turn assimilated the Babylonian civilisation.



THE RISE OF BABYLON

THE HAMMURABI AND KASSITE DYNASTIES

THE founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon, named Su-abu or Sumu-abu, came to the throne shortly before 2000 B.C., and a recently-discovered chronicle proves that he waged war, not with Southern Babylonia as we might expect, but with Assyria, whose existence as a kingdom is thus proved to have been far older than has hitherto been supposed. Su-abu's opponent in Assyria was Ilu-shuma, one of the earliest priest-kings of Ashur whose names have been recovered, and it is not unlikely that he seized the opportunity of a change of dynasty at Babylon to make a bid for his country's independence. Of the result of this early conflict between Babylon and Assyria we know nothing, and our information is equally scanty with regard to the foreign relations of Babylon under Su-abu's four successors, Sumu-la-ilu, Zabum, Apil-Sin, and Sin-muballit, for the date-formulæ of the period record building operations and the like, and do not reflect the history of the period. Under Sin-muballit's son, Hammurabi [see illustration on page 266 of this work], a change took place, for by signally defeating Rim-Sin, he expelled the Elamites from Babylonia, and extended the authority of Babylon over the southern portion of the country. He thus succeeded in welding together a mighty empire with its capital at Babylon. It is true that Rim-Sin was not finally defeated until the first years of the reign of Samsu-iluna, Hammurabi's son. But it was Hammurabi who practically put an end to the empire of the southern kings of Sumer and Akkad, and raised Babylon to the position of the principal city in the land. So far as her external influence was concerned, we may conclude that Babylonia kept at this period also the supremacy over the West. The Nearer East is still Babylonian, and the conception that we have to form of the importance of Babylonia for the rest of Western Asia at that time corresponds in all main points with the earlier period. The East, which was in the possession of the "Canaanites," resembles on the whole that of the "Semitic Babylonians."

Hammurabi's Empire Welding

Upon the social condition of Babylonia during the period of the first dynasty of Babylon considerable light has been thrown by the discovery of Hammurabi's famous Code of Laws. This invaluable inscription is engraved upon a huge block of black diorite, which was discovered by De Morgan during excavations carried out in the "tell," or mound, of the acropolis at Susa in the winter of 1901–2. The laws, together with introductory and concluding texts, were engraved upon the monolith in forty-nine long columns of writing, of which forty-four are still preserved; and at the head of the stone is a sculptured representation of Hammurabi receiving the laws from Shamash, the Sun-god.

Hammurabi's Code of Laws

It would be out of place in the present work to attempt any discussion of the question as to how far the laws of Babylonia, as embodied in this document, have influenced other ancient legal codes, and in particular the Mosaic legislation. We are here concerned only with Hammurabi's code, as an important and recently discovered source of information concerning early Babylonian life and custom. It was drawn up and published by the king for the guidance of his people, and it regulates their duties and their relations to one another in all the pursuits and occupations of their daily life. It defines the responsibilities and privileges of the various classes of the population, and, since it formed an exhaustive set of regulations, it enables us to construct a fairly complete picture of Babylonian society during this early period.

The numerous contracts and letters of the time of the first dynasty of Babylon which have come down to us, and in particular the series of royal despatches of Hammurabi

himself, which are preserved in the British Museum, abundantly prove that the code was no dead letter, but was actively enforced under the personal supervision of the king. It may thus be employed as a trustworthy and accurate witness to the conditions which existed in Babylonia during the period at which it was drawn up.

Babylonian Society in B.C. 2000

From the code we learn that the population of Babylonia was composed of three principal classes, each of which occupied a separate and well-defined position in the social community. The lowest of these three classes were the slaves, who must have formed a considerable proportion of the population. The class next above them in the social scale consisted of free men, who were possessed of some property of their own, but were poor and humble people, as was implied in the name they bore—mushkenu. The highest, or upper class in the community, comprised the owners of large estates and landed property, the higher officials and servants of the State, and all the officers and ministers of the Court. The privileges and responsibilities which the two classes of free men in the Babylonian community respectively enjoyed are well illustrated in the code by the scale of payments as compensation for injury which they were obliged to make or were entitled to receive.

The penalties enforced upon a member of the upper class were far heavier than those his humbler free neighbour had to pay, but the latter's privileges in this respect were counter-balanced by a corresponding diminution of the value at which his injuries were assessed. Slaves could be owned by both classes of free men, though they were naturally more numerous in the households and on the estates of members of the upper class. The slave was the absolute property of his owner, and could be bought and sold, and deposited as security for a debt; but on the whole his life was not a hard one, for he was a recognised member of his master's household, and was a valuable piece of property, which it was to the owner's advantage to keep in good condition. Moreover, the slave had rights and privileges of his own which the code explicitly sets forth. Thus, under certain conditions, it was possible for a slave to acquire property of his own, and by so doing he was entitled, if he obtained his master's consent, to purchase his own freedom. Marriage between a male slave and a free woman was also possible, and the children of such a union were free, and did not become the property of the slave's master; while if the owner of a female slave had begotten children by her he could not use her in payment for a debt. Thus it will be seen that the law afforded protection even to the humblest members of the community.

Rights of Slaves

The code also supplies considerable information concerning the family life of the early Babylonians. We here have detailed regulations concerning marriage and divorce, the giving of marriage portions, the rights of widows, the laws of inheritance, and those which regulated the adoption and maintenance of children. It is unnecessary to describe or discuss these regulations in detail, but one striking fact which they emphasise may here be pointed out—the recognised status occupied by the wife in the Babylonian household. Evidence of the extremely independent position enjoyed by women at the time of the first dynasty of Babylon may also be seen in the existence of a special class of women, who followed the profession of religious votaries, though their duties were not strictly sacerdotal. Most women of this class, who are mentioned in the contract-tablets of the period, were attached to the temple of the sun-god at Sippar or to that of Marduk at Babylon, but it may be inferred that all the important temples in the country had similar classes of female votaries in their service. The duties of these women do not appear to have resembled in any way those of the sacred prostitutes in the service of the goddess Ishtar, at Erech. On the contrary, they occupied a position of considerable influence and independence. While they generally lived together in a special building, or convent, attached to the temple, they were free to leave it and to contract marriage. Their vows, however, entailed the obligation to remain virgins, and though a married votary was thus precluded from bearing children herself, she could provide her husband with a concubine for this purpose, while she still retained her position as the permanent head of the household.

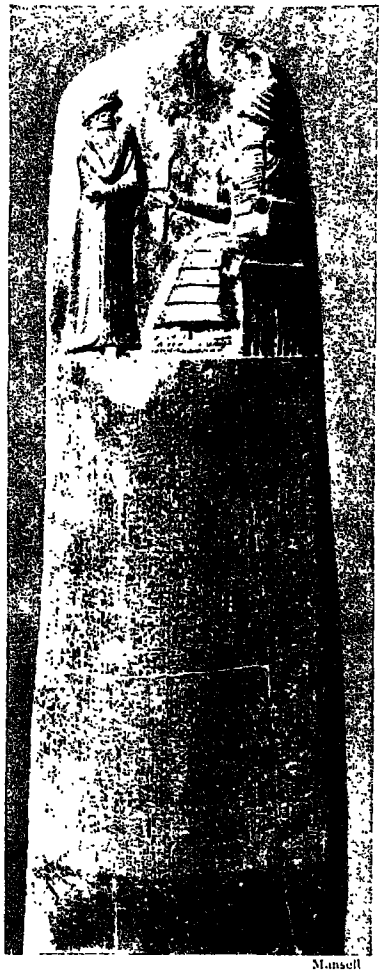
Independence of Women

Even when unmarried, however, the votary enjoyed the status of a married woman, and was protected from slander by special regulations. In return for these

privileges, she was obliged, under severe penalties, to maintain a high standard of moral conduct and was precluded from any occupation or act which was derogatory to her high position. She could possess property of her own, and on taking vows was provided with a portion by her father which, on her death, did not pass to the temple, but returned to her own family, unless her father had assigned her the privilege of bequeathing it. The social prestige enjoyed by the votaries is attested by the fact that they included within their body many women of good family, and even members of the royal house; while the rules of the order and the high repute which it enjoyed may be taken to indicate a very enlightened conception of the position of women at this early period.

The large body of regulations which deal with the duties of debtors and creditors are evidence of the extent to which the early Babylonians engaged in commercial pursuits and undertakings, and we learn that an active interchange of commodities was carried on between distant cities. Thus, a wealthy merchant would extend his business and obtain large profits by trading with other towns, and for this purpose he would employ agents, who may thus be regarded as the forerunners of the modern commercial traveller. The agent received from the merchant the money, grain, wool, oil, or whatever sort of goods he had to deal in, and he gave to his employer a properly attested receipt for the same. So far as his trading was concerned, he acted independently, and on his return he would pay to the merchant a fixed share of his profits, retaining the remainder as payment for his own services and the dangers he had incurred.

In the event of the caravan with which the agent travelled being attacked by robbers or by enemies in a foreign country, the loss of the goods was borne by the merchant at home; the code, however, regulates the procedure to be followed in such circumstances, while at the same time it attempts to protect the agent from any risk of being defrauded by his employer. Immense profits were obtained by merchants and agents who engaged in this foreign commerce, and we may conclude that at the period of the first dynasty, and for many centuries earlier, the great trade routes of the East were even more crowded with caravans than they are at the present day.



Mansell

THE CODE OF HAMMURABI

Hammurabi, B.C. 2200, was one of the ablest of the world's rulers. He drew up the Code of Laws engraved on the block of diorite illustrated above, which is now in the Louvre. The king is shown receiving the laws from the Sun-god.

Water-transport was, however, usually employed for the carriage of grain, wood, and other bulky or heavy materials, wherever it was available, and the code contains detailed directions concerning the fees to be paid to boatmen engaged in the carrying trade upon the rivers and large canals of Babylonia. Other regulations sought to ensure good work on the part of boat-builders by fixing on them the responsibility for faulty or unsound work, while the boatmen were responsible for the loss or damage incurred through their own carelessness to goods entrusted to their charge. A still more important function of the rivers and canals in Babylonia was the irrigation of the cultivated lands, and the code contains detailed regulations for the repair of the channels and dykes and the right to the use of the water. A large body of legislation deals, in fact, with the agricultural life

of the early Babylonians, and regulates all cases of dispute which were likely to arise between owners of land and their farming tenants, owners and hirers of cattle and asses, or between shepherds and herdsmen and their employers; while fines were levied in cases of damage or injury arising through carelessness in looking after cattle.

It is of interest to note that Hammurabi's code attempted to protect the public from carelessness on the part of two important classes of the community—doctors and builders, and it was singularly just that death or injury arising from bad work on the part of either was held to merit punishment in kind. Thus, if a doctor through unskilful treatment caused the death of a member of the upper class, or inflicted a serious injury upon him, such as the loss of an eye, the doctor was liable to have both his hands amputated—a drastic, but certainly an effective method of preventing other unsuccessful operations on his part. Similarly, if his unfortunate patient had been the slave of a member of the middle class—of poor free men—and had died under his hands, he had to give the owner a new slave, or, in the event of his patient merely losing an eye, he had to pay the owner half the slave's value.

Penalties for Careless Doctors

The penalties attaching to jerry-building were even more severe. For if a builder built a house for a man, and his work was so unsound that the house fell and killed the owner, the builder himself was put to death; and if the owner's son was killed by the fall of the house, the builder's son was put to death. If one or more of the owner's slaves were killed, the builder had to restore him slave for slave, and besides compensating the owner for any damage to his goods, he had to rebuild the house anew, or such part of it as had fallen. These interesting survivals of the law of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth prove that in the medical profession and the building trade, as practised by the early Babylonians, the payment of compensation alone had not been a sufficiently strong deterrent to prevent bad work.

Death to the Jerry-builder

From the brief discussion that has been attempted of some of the most striking enactments of Hammurabi's code, an idea will have been formed of the extent to which the administration of law and justice had been developed in Babylonia at the time of the first dynasty of Babylon. The laws, however, were not the invention of Hammurabi himself, who merely codified them. They were based upon centuries of tradition, and were the result of innumerable judgments drawn up upon tablets and carefully preserved in the legal archives of the State. In discussing the enactments of the code therefore, we have not been dealing with a temporary phase in the life of ancient Babylonia. On the contrary, its enactments reflect the spirit in which justice had been administered in Babylonia for a long period anterior to the rise of Babylon under her West-Semitic kings, and we may conclude that it continued to influence the administration of the country during its subsequent domination by successive dynasties of foreign origin.

In the native list of kings the first Babylonian dynasty is followed by a second, consisting also of eleven kings. Their Sumerian names, many of which are ingeniously interpreted, and the lengths of their reigns are preserved for us by the lists. Until quite recently we knew nothing more, since other information about this period was strangely deficient. Its total duration was 368 years, according to the list, but of the events which took place at this time we knew absolutely nothing. It seemed strange that so long a period of Babylonian history should have left no trace behind it on the sites of the ancient Babylonian cities which had been already excavated. If a dynasty of kings had occupied the throne of Babylon during this protracted period, how did it happen that among the many thousands of contract tablets which had been recovered, none had been found dated in the reigns of these eleven kings?

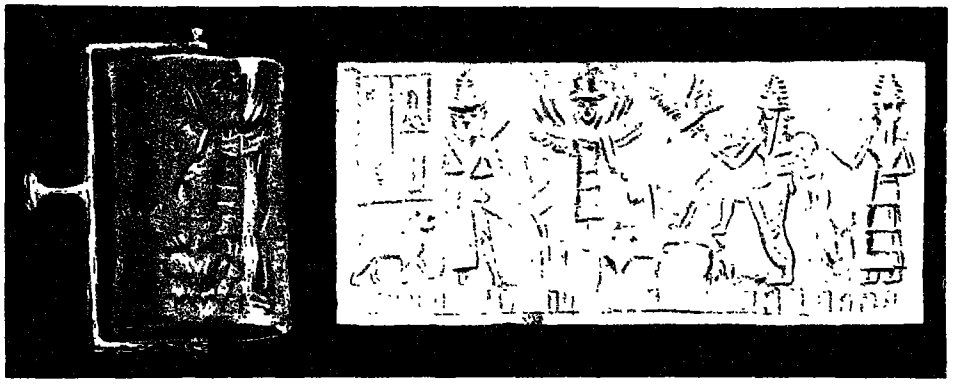
Second Dynasty of Babylon

The answer to this question has recently been supplied by a newly-discovered chronicle which is preserved in the British Museum. From this invaluable document we now learn that the second dynasty of the list of the kings never in reality occupied the Babylonian throne. In fact, the eleven kings of which the dynasty was composed ruled only in a district of limited extent in the extreme south of Babylonia on the shores of the Persian Gulf. This district was known as the *mat tamti*, or "Country of the Sea," taking its name from its position on the littoral of the gulf, to which the

Babylonians gave the name of "The Sea in the East," or the Eastern Sea. From the newly-discovered chronicle we learn that the territory of the eleven kings, who formed the so-called "Second Dynasty," was confined to this strip of coast, and was never extended so as to include the northern and central districts of Babylonia proper. We further learn from the chronicle that the rulers of this little state did not live in the period between the first dynasty of Babylon and the Kassites, as has hitherto been assumed on the evidence of the kings list; but that their reigns were contemporaneous with those of the later kings of the first dynasty of Babylon, and of the earlier Kassite rulers.

The exact date at which Iluma-ilu, the founder of this kingdom on the shores of the Persian Gulf, declared his independence

Under the reigns of Ammi-ditana and Ammi-zaduga, the successors of Abeshu upon the Babylonian throne, we know little of the foreign policy of Babylon, with the exception of the fact that Ammi-zaduga inflicted a defeat upon the Elamites. It may be inferred, however, that Babylon had trouble upon her eastern border from the Kassites, who already in Samsu-iluna's reign had begun to make raids on Babylonian territory, and from the kings of the Country of the Sea in the south. When, therefore, under Samsu-ditana, the last king of the dynasty, Hittite tribes from Cappadocia and Northern Syria descended the Euphrates and attacked Northern Babylonia, the capital fell an easy prey to their onslaught. The great temple of Marduk, the city god, was destroyed, and the statue of the god himself was carried back by the Hittite



A BABYLONIAN SEAL CYLINDER AND ITS METHOD OF USE

A reproduction of an early Babylonian seal, showing the River-god, Sun-god, Ishtar, and other deities. Impressions of the seal were obtained by passing the cylinder, seen on the left, over soft clay, which was then baked.

is not certain, but we know that he waged successful wars with Samsu-iluna, the son of Hammurabi, and Abeshu, his grandson, who succeeded Samsu-iluna upon the Babylonian throne. From the narrative of the new chronicle it would seem that Samsu-iluna took the initiative in Babylon's struggle with the Country of the Sea. In his first expedition he succeeded in reaching the Persian Gulf, but he was defeated, and in a second campaign he met with no better success. His son Abeshu, after his accession to the throne, again attempted to conquer or curb the state upon his southern borders, but Iluma-ilu succeeded in eluding him. In fact, from this time forward the southern portion of Babylonia passed into the possession of the kings of the Country of the Sea.

invaders in triumph to their own country. In this manner we now know that the powerful dynasty of Hammurabi came to an end. How long a period elapsed between the Hittite conquest and the occupation of Babylon by the Kassites we can not at present determine, but it is unlikely that they would have long delayed their descent upon the city when once its defences had been reduced and it lay at the mercy of an invader.

The Kassites, who now occupied Babylon as the dominant race, and whose rulers are reckoned as the third dynasty upon the list of kings, at first occupied only Northern Babylonia. They formed, in fact, the vanguard of an advancing tide, and they left many of their own tribes behind them in the mountains of Elam. Even in later times,

under Sennacherib, traces of them are to be found in the Zagros Mountains. We are compelled to account for their appearance by a great racial movement which poured itself from the east and north-east over the civilised countries, just as the Turks and Mongols did some thousands of years later. We know very little about the past of that tide of nations which flowed on to Babylonia. Later discoveries will, perhaps, some day explain more clearly the form of its connection with Elam and the other neighbouring countries. The migration of these barbarians assumed in any case great dimensions. The mixture of races in Babylonia thus received a new component, and in the Babel-like confusion of tongues we hear the sound of Kassite, which is known to us only by a list of words and proper names. The scheme of the dynasties of Babylon reckons as Kassite its third house of thirty-six kings, a period of 576 years, extending from about 1700 to the eleventh century. We know most of these kings by name, and have information as to the events of that time from inscriptions, royal and otherwise, although there are here also considerable gaps in the tradition.

Appearance of the Kassites

An insight into the order of things at the beginning of this period is afforded us by the inscription of one of the early princes in this dynasty, the seventh, by name, Agum II. He styles himself "King of the Kashshu and Akkadians, King of the wide dominion of Babylon, who settled with numerous inhabitants the land of Umliash, the border land to Elam, King of Padan and Alman—frontier territories to Media—King of Gutium, the king who rules the four countries of the world." The whole enumeration of titles, different from that of the Babylonian monarchs, and the precedence given to the Kassites, show that the Babylonians did not quickly absorb their new conquerors; a later king, Karaindash, bears the usual Babylonian titles, and only adds at the end "King of the Kashshu," which his successors actually omit. These barbarians thus only gradually adapted themselves to civilisation, and became Babylonians. It is interesting to note that the inscription of Agum II., from which his titles above enumerated are taken, commemorates the recovery from Khani in Northern Syria of the statue of Marduk, which had been carried off by the Hittites on their capture of Babylon in Samsu-ditana's reign. Thence Agum brought it back to Babylon.

Barbarians Become Babylonian

A fact of considerable importance with regard to the Kassite occupation of Babylonia has recently been demonstrated, to the effect that their conquest of the whole country did not take place at one time. There were, in fact, two Kassite conquests. The first occurred shortly after the Hittite invasion, and was confined to Northern Babylonia, to which the empire of the earlier Kassite kings was limited. During this period the kingdom of the Country of the Sea continued its independent existence on the shores of the Persian Gulf. But we may infer that the Kassites, who had remained behind in the mountains of Elam, continued to harass Southern Babylonia, and it was probably to put an end to trouble from this quarter that Ea-gamil, the last king of the dynasty founded by Iluma-ilu, invaded Elam.

But his temerity was the signal for a fresh advance of the Kassite hordes, who, under the leadership of one of their chieftains named Ulam-Buriash, drove him from the country, and, following him into Southern Babylonia, signally defeated him, and brought his dynasty to an end. The chronicle from which we learn these facts states that Ulam-Buriash exercised dominion over the Country of the Sea, and that fresh conquests were made there by his nephew Agum. It is therefore probable that from this time forward the Kassites occupied the whole of Babylonia, but it is not clear whether the two halves of the country were at once united under one administration with its centre at Babylon. It is probable that the unification of the kingdom was only gradually achieved, and that during the process the country underwent more than one convulsion. The result of these several invasions and the racial conflicts which ensued was naturally to exhaust the resources of the land, and render its rulers incapable of adopting an aggressive foreign policy.

Kassites Conquer the South

The feebleness of Babylonia and the exhaustion of the population are clearly visible in two further occurrences of this time. The third Semitic migration, the Aramæan, makes its mark in the age of the Kassites (1700–1100 B.C.), and the dominion of Babylonia over the west is disputed and finally destroyed by a new

power, which now develops itself from a "town kingship" and seeks aggrandisement—namely, Assyria. The future belongs to these two. The Kassites, the temporary lords of Babylonia, shared the fate of their kingdom, which was forced to resign its suzerainty. As the sovereignty had moved up stream from the south to Babylon, so it moved further to Assyria. The history of Nearer Asia after the encroachment of Assyria, which begins at this period (about the sixteenth century B.C.), is changed essentially by this fact.

The struggle between Assyria and Babylonia for supremacy began under the Kassite dynasty, and, owing to the abundant sources of information now open to us, we can follow its vicissitudes more accurately than the events of the earlier age. This struggle and its result constitute the most important subject for subsequent political history. The history of Babylon and that of Assyria concern us, therefore, in the first place, in so far as they touch each other and are interconnected. Thus we are confronted by two streams of development flowing side by side, the course of which we can best indicate in a combined account. On the other hand, Babylon almost always asserted her independence, and after she had been for a time subdued, she emerged at the end once more the conqueror. At the beginning of this war Babylon was the predominant power, and never ceased, even when under the influence of Assyria, to have a separate history and development. If, therefore, we wish to do more than merely chronicle the wars between Ashur and Babylon, if we wish to do justice to the importance of Babylon as the principal seat of the ancient civilisation, which even Assyria acknowledged, we must follow up separately the history of this independent state.

Assyria Becomes a Power

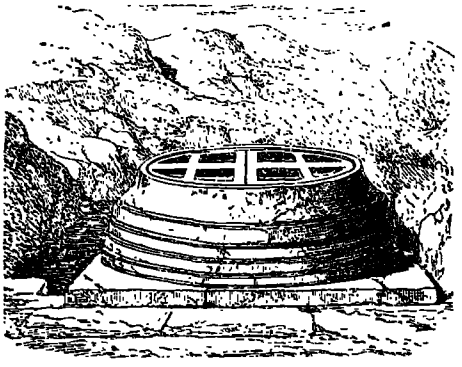
We have seen, in the first place, what districts were claimed by Agum II., the ruler of Babylonia; his power no longer extended to Mesopotamia and the west. The next known inscription, the one already mentioned of King Karaindash, claimed only the sovereignty over Babylonia. We shall see that attempts to recover Mesopotamia were not made until the power of Assyria, which had its seat there, was expelled. The dominion of Babylonia in Palestine had been replaced by that of Egypt. It seems as if Karaindash may have been the head of a new family within the Kassite dynasty; his successors, at least, speak of him in their letters in a way which suggests this idea. We must place him about 1500. All that we know of him, besides the abovementioned inscription, is that he concluded a treaty with Assyria and engaged in a correspondence with the king of Egypt. This last fact is proved to us in a document which one of his successors, Burnaburiash, sent some fifty to seventy years later to Amenophis IV., and for the knowledge of which we are indebted certainly to one of the most surprising of all the discoveries made in the soil of the ancient East. In the winter of 1887–1888, at Tell el-Amarna, in Middle Egypt, which marks the place of residence of Amenophis IV., over three hundred clay tablets inscribed in the cuneiform character were discovered. One of these tablets is reproduced by photography on page 274 of this History. They represent a small part of the State archives, and contain the letters which kings of Nearer Asia and vassal kings from Syria and Palestine addressed to Amenophis III. and IV. There are in the first group letters of the kings of Babylon, Ashur, Mitani, or Mesopotamia, the king of the Khatti, and of others. It is obvious that these letters give most valuable information as to the history of the Nearer East, and we shall therefore frequently have to refer to them in what follows. The Babylonian letters, which concern us first, tell us little of Babylon's greatness and power; but the existence of the collection is in itself evidence of the extent of Babylonian influence. The letters are written in cuneiform characters, and, with few exceptions, in Babylonian Semitic. And, what is still more significant, there are two letters among them of the Pharaoh, the one to the king of Babylon, the other to a vassal of Northern Palestine, which are also composed in that language. Cuneiform writing and Babylonian language were, therefore, the means of intercommunication throughout the whole of the Nearer East. A knowledge of Babylonian literature was the necessary preliminary to mastering them. This is evident from tablets found there containing a Babylonian myth, written in

Letters of Nearer Asia to Egypt

Egyptian Letters in Cuneiform

Babylon and apparently used in Egypt for teaching purposes.

The two kings, from whom we have recovered eleven letters addressed to the two Pharaohs, were called Kadashman-Bel and Burnaburiash. The former wrote in the last years of Amenophis III., the latter to his successor. The letters generally mention no great State events. They deal principally with marriages between the two royal houses. The Pharaohs received Babylonian princesses into their harem, but were not so liberal with their own flesh and blood to their Babylonian friends—these did not at least receive princesses. What Pharaoh sends in gifts is generally stated to be



AN EARLY BABYLONIAN TOMB
A flat-roofed tomb constructed of baked brick from Ur.

too little; the money is carefully confided to the purifying agency of the furnace and found unduly alloyed, and better metal and more of it is always demanded.

More important for history are the relations between these two regions of civilisation, exhibited in the fact that Babylonia and Mitani send as presents productions of their industries, among them the much-admired lapis lazuli, skilfully worked in Babylon. Egypt, on the contrary, sends primarily gold. It almost appears as if diplomatic negotiations were left to verbal intercourse and to the cleverness of corrupt court officials, for political questions are seldom discussed. One letter vividly pictures the manners of the age. Some Babylonian merchants, travelling for the king—the kings engaged in business, and enjoyed, it would appear, immunity from taxation—were arrested in Akko, where they apparently wished to take ship for Egypt, by a prince of Palestine, and were in some way badly used, although no reasons are assigned for this treatment. The Babylonian now demands from Pharaoh the release of the prisoners and compensation, since Akko was subject to his suzerainty. A political controversy is only once discussed. The Assyrian king, Ashur-uballit, had found encouragement at the Egyptian court in his schemes of aggrandisement at the cost of Babylonia. Burnaburiash pointed out the inadmissibility of such action, since Assyria was his vassal state, and no direct negotiations could therefore be carried on with it. He referred also to the correct attitude of his father, Kurigalzu, who, when once asked to join cause with the Canaanites, the subjects of Egypt, had refused to countenance such an act of treachery towards Egypt. That such loyalty was not so free from suspicion as these assurances of friendship would make it appear, and that in Egypt no very implicit confidence was placed in the warm friend of Egyptian gold, is proved by the fact that when one of the Phœnician princes wishes to blacken the character of another at court, he accuses him of being a secret adherent of the king of Mitani, of the Khatti, or of Kash—that is, of the Kassites of Babylon.

Relations with Egypt

Political Machinations in Egypt

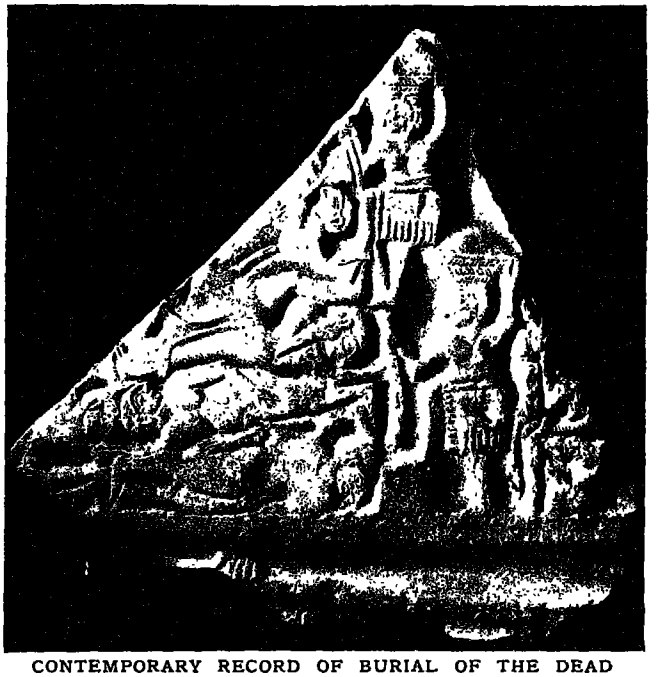


INTERIOR OF EARLY BABYLONIAN TOMB
Interior of the Ur grave. Jars and dishes containing daily fare for the dead man were left with the body.

We can, indeed, assign to a somewhat later date an attempt of Babylonia to win back the West, when disorders broke out in Egypt after the death of Amenophis IV. Burnaburiash, notwithstanding the anxiety displayed in his letter to Amenophis IV. about the encroachments of Assyria, and although wars between him and the Assyrians are proved to have taken place, had given his son Karakhardash a daughter of the energetic

Ashur-uballit as his chief wife; and her son, Kadashman-kharbe, became the successor to the throne—a sign of the Assyrian influence. We are acquainted with the attempt, just mentioned, made by this Babylonian king to regain a firm footing in the west.

Assyria, indeed, was at this time encroaching on Mesopotamia, and Babylonia had nothing left but the road diagonally through the Syrian desert. Kadashman-kharbe tried to secure this road by punishing the nomads, the Suti, who roamed those parts, and by digging wells and building fortresses and towns, which he settled with Babylonians. By this means he hoped to transform it into a commercial highway, which should facilitate communication with the coast and make the detour by Mesopotamia unnecessary. It is possible that his plan was suggested by a route already in existence; but in any case he had recognised that it was better policy to satisfy his rival with districts which had first to be conquered, and meanwhile to deprive those districts of their greatest value by diverting from them the traffic so important for Babylonia. That would, indeed, have been a solution of the dispute, then urgent, as to the possession of Mesopotamia. Perhaps Kadashman-kharbe arrived at a peaceful arrangement with Assyria about this plan. If he had carried it out he would, at any rate, have shown himself to be a man who could support his power by more effective means than arms, especially when Babylon, an industrial state, was confronted by the military power of Assyria.



CONTEMPORARY RECORD OF BURIAL OF THE DEAD

From a stele in the Louvre, showing how the Sumerian and Chaldæan dead were piled up after battle. The priests are heaping up earth to form a mound.

Kadashman-kharbe cannot have reigned long. He was murdered, and in fact fell the victim of an insurrection stirred up by the Kassites. We are not told what the immediate incentive to the deed was. We may perhaps trace the reason to the fact that the kings and the ruling classes of the Kassites had meanwhile, after 1400, become "Babylonised"—that is, that they felt, and affected to feel themselves, Babylonians. Those of the Kassites who had gone away empty-handed at the division of the spoil, or had lost their share, as often happens in the commercial life of communities engaged in industries and trade, may have formed a party of malcontents, who longed for the good old times when the Kassite was lord and the Babylonian the spoiled. The insurgents therefore raised to the throne a man of low birth, whom the two chronicles which record the fact call Shuzigash and Nazibugash—a "son of nobody." This was a welcome opportunity for the grandfather, Ashur-uballit, who was still living and had been restlessly active in extending his kingdom, to secure the supremacy for Assyria. He appeared in Babylon as the avenger of his grandson and the restorer of order, suppressed the revolt, and had Kurigalzu, the infant son of his murdered grandson, crowned as king.

But the force of circumstances is stronger than blood relationships and gratitude for benefits of doubtful intention. So long as Ashur-uballit lived, and under his son, Assyria was occupied with the conquest

of Mesopotamia. But when Adad-nirari I. drove the Mitani thence, Babylon, having no doubt lost the route which Kadashman-kharbe had attempted to open up, had no other course but to secure Mesopotamia for herself, and with it the communications with the west. Since, however, Assyria possessed this country, war ensued between it and Babylon. Under Kurigalzu and Adad-nirari I. the contest for Mesopotamia began between the two states.

Contest for Mesopotamia

We have an interesting account of a war of the Babylonian king, Kurigalzu, against Khurbatila, king of Elam, in which he defeated him and took him prisoner on Babylonian soil—that is, in one of the attacks of Elam on Babylon. He must have followed up his victory, for on the back of an inscription which a dependent of King Dungi, of the old dynasty of Ur, had consecrated to the goddess Nana of Uruk stands the words, "Kurigalzu, king of Karduniash [the designation of the Kassite kings of Babylonia] hath captured the palace of the town Shasha [Susa, formerly Shushan] in Elam, and hath presented this tablet to Ninlil of Nippur in gratitude for the preservation of his life."

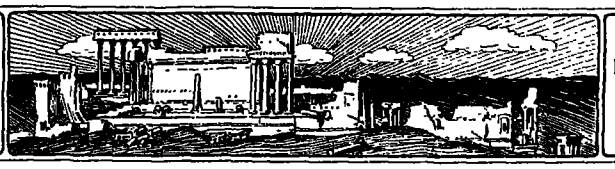
The tablet was, therefore, carried off from Uruk in a former raid of the Elamites, was then discovered, on a victorious campaign of Kurigalzu's against Elam, in a temple—if in Susa, then probably in the temple of the goddess Shushinak, mentioned in the case of Ashurbanipal—and was deposited by the king in the temple of Nippur more than nine hundred years after its completion. Finally, rediscovered during the American excavations, it has been brought to Constantinople. Not only have books their destinies! These wars prove to us that the conditions were then present which we find continually during the succeeding period. Babylonia lay as a coveted prize between Assyria and Elam. For a time it was able to face the two on equal terms, and, even if occasionally vanquished, it regained the superiority. The struggle fills up the succeeding centuries until the end of the Assyrian empire. In the last period we shall then find Babylonia as a vassal of one of these two states.

Conquests of Assyria and Elam

Even now the same ebb and flow of events is noticeable. Soon after Kurigalzu, as we shall see in dealing with Assyrian history, Babylonia and Babylon came into the power of Tukulti-Ninib I. of Assyria. Shortly after, under Belnadin-shun, who reigned for only one year and a half, Kidin-khutrutash, king of Elam, invaded Babylonia, pillaged Dur-ilu, and conquered Nippur, the favourite resort of the Kassite kings, where they often held their court. Other expeditions, with similar incidents, were made by the Elamites in the reign of Kadashman-kharbe II. and Adad-shum-iddina, when the city of Isin especially suffered. Several songs of lamentation have come down to us, which bewail, in the form of penitential psalms, the devastation of the country, and especially of the city named. In the many centuries of Babylonian history similar circumstances often recurred, but these psalms suit this period admirably, and, even if they did not originate in it, they may have been adapted from similar songs of an earlier time, and sung at this period in the temples of Babylonia. We shall see under "Elam" that Babylonia, for the rest of this dynasty, was probably subject to Elamite supremacy.

End of the Kassites

It will be seen that we are once more at the end of a period. The Kassites had long succumbed to Babylonian influence and had played out their part, and the Kassite dynasty is drawing to a close. It can reckon but four kings more; among them Marduk-aplu-iddina. Merodach-baladan I. alone seems to have offered successful resistance to Assyria and to have retained Mesopotamia. The change of dynasties presents, as always, a period of disturbance and weakness, and brings a line of kings to the throne whose task was to resist Assyria and to renew the struggle for Mesopotamia. We shall see that there is good reason to believe that the earlier rulers of this new dynasty succeeded in establishing themselves as independent kings in Isin during the rule of the later kings of the Kassite dynasty in Babylon, and that the rule of the latter was brought to an end by the powerful king Nebuchadnezzar I., who also freed the country from the yoke of Elam.



BABYLONIAN EMPIRE IN ECLIPSE

THE PREY OF ELAMITES AND ASSYRIANS

THE new dynasty is called in the list of kings the dynasty of Isin, from the Babylonian city of this name. It thus forms the second dynasty of Isin. It is probable that the first two or three kings of the dynasty were contemporaneous with the last rulers of the Kassite dynasty upon the throne of Babylon, because a boundary-stone has recently been discovered at Nippur inscribed with a text of the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I., the third or fourth king of the dynasty of Isin, which would make it appear that this monarch was the first of his dynasty to secure control over the whole of Babylonia. In this new inscription, which is dated in the sixteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar's reign, it is stated that Enlil "broke the weapon of his [*i.e.*, Nebuchadnezzar's] enemy, and placed the sceptre of his enemy in his own hand, that he might pasture Sumer and Akkad, and rebuild the sanctuaries of the City of Mankind, and regulate the tithes of Ekur and Nippur." It is not clear from the context of this passage who "the enemy" is whose weapon was broken by the god Enlil, and it might be urged that the passage refers to a defeat of the Elamites, from whose supremacy Nebuchadnezzar certainly freed his country. But upon another inscription of his reign Nebuchadnezzar bears the title of "plunderer of the Kassites," so that we may infer that it was the Kassites he defeated, and, further, that it was the sceptre of the Kassite kings of Babylon which Enlil placed within his hand. We may conclude, therefore, with some probability, that Nebuchadnezzar's immediate predecessors were merely kings of the city of Isin at a time when the last Kassite kings were still in possession of the throne of Babylon.

Dynasty of Isin

In addition to his achievements against the Kassites, Nebuchadnezzar I. comes before us as conqueror in wars with Elam, and lord of Mesopotamia and also of the "western land"; he therefore, for the last time indeed, extended the suzerainty of Babylon right down to the Mediterranean. His wars with Elam prove that, under his predecessors, the misery which the invasions of Kidin-khutrutash had already caused had become still more acute. Babylon itself had been captured, and the statue of Marduk carried away to Elam. Such a rape of the god signified the loss of national independence and a degradation of the country to a state of vassaldom. Just as Marduk served in the temple of the stranger god, so the ruler of Babylon was no king, but a servant of the Elamite. So long as the image of the god was not in Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar did not style himself king, but governor, of Babylon. He did not assume the title of "king of Babylon" until he had brought back the statue of Marduk, which he could only do after a decisive victory over Elam. Songs have been preserved to us which bewail the absence of Marduk from Babylon and commemorate his return. By Nebuchadnezzar's successes some limit appears to have been set to the advance of the Elamite, for a time at least. We shall see, when we come to describe the history of Assyria, that the victories of Nebuchadnezzar had great subsequent effects, and that a successful attack by Assyria, which led to the capture of Babylon under Tiglath-pileser I., produced no permanent results.

Babylon Captured by Elam

Not many facts are known of the reigns of the immediate successors of Nebuchadnezzar I. Marduk-nadin-akhe, who succeeded Bel-nadin-apli upon the throne, fought with Tiglath-pileser I. and won back Mesopotamia from him. He was succeeded by Marduk-shapik-zer-mati, who appears to have extended the borders of Babylonia, and to have ruled a confederacy of a large number of petty kings, or princes, over whom he had forced his suzerainty by conquest. He established friendly relations with Ashur-bel-kala, king of Assyria, and on his return after

Babylon's God Carried off

visiting Assyria took up his residence at Sippar in preference to Babylon. He was succeeded by a usurper, Adad-aplu-iddina, in whose reign a disaster overwhelmed the country. This was the invasion of the Sutu, tribes of Aramæan origin, who overran both Northern and Southern Babylonia, and ravaged the country from end to end. We know that the great temple of the sun-god at Sippar was destroyed by them, and for many years the effect of this invasion must have been felt. Not even the full names of Adad-aplu-iddina's three successors are known, but we may infer that they occupied themselves in rallying the resources of Babylon and in making good the havoc wrought by the hordes of the Sutu.

Aramæans Ravage the Land

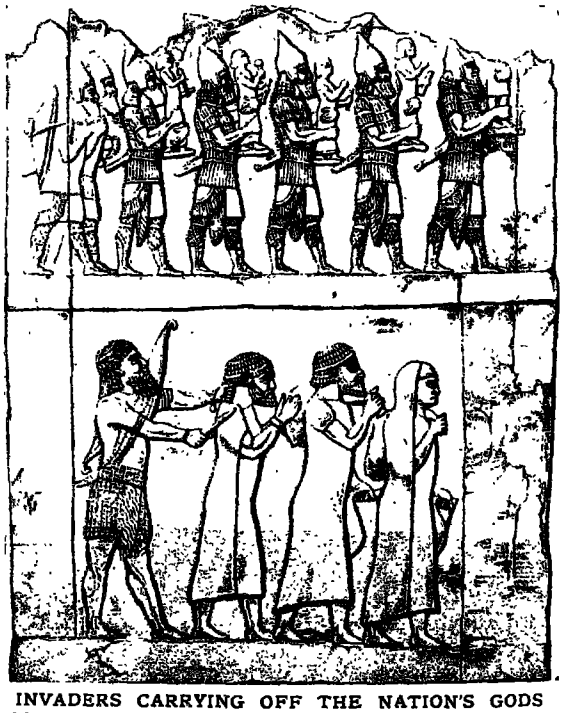
The dynasty which succeeded that of Isin upon the Babylonian throne came from the "Country of the Sea," from which it took its name. Two of the three kings of which it was composed bear Kassite names, and were probably descendants of the Kassite rulers of Southern Babylonia. That the dynasty occupied Northern Babylonia and ruled at Babylon may be inferred from the fact that its founder, Simmash-shipak, was buried in the palace of Sargon. During his reign he partly rebuilt the temple of the sun-god at Sippar, which the Sutu had destroyed in Adad-aplu-iddina's reign. Simmash-shipak was succeeded by Ea-mukin-zer, who reigned for only a few months. The last king of the dynasty was Kashshu-nadin-akhe, in whose short reign of three years the temple at Sippar experienced fresh misfortunes.

Another short dynasty of three kings succeeded that of the Country of the Sea. It is termed in the kings list the dynasty of Bazi, and in it we may probably see another line of foreigners who occupied the Babylonian throne. The three rulers were termed Eulmash-shakin-shum, Ninib-kudurri-usur, and Shilanum-shukamuna, and the total length of their reigns was little more than twenty years. They were succeeded by an Elamite, whom the native chronographers reckon as having formed a dynasty by himself. His name has recently been recovered as Aa-aplu-usur, but beyond the fact that he ruled for six years, nothing else is known of his reign.

We see, therefore, that Babylonia was completely powerless and the prey of every foreign invader, of the Elamites above all, if they were not dislodged by the Assyrians. The period of these three dynasties embraces about the years 1000–960, and at its expiry we shall find Assyria, which had been hitherto powerless, once more bent on advance.

We do not know who overthrew the Elamites, or what other causes brought a new dynasty into power. The list of kings from this point is mutilated, and we have until about 750 practically no accounts except the Assyrian. From these latter we can learn quite clearly what was the distinctive feature of this period, even if we cannot give an account of the separate reigns. Babylonia, the prize for which the two great states of Assyria and Elam were disputing, was at this time flooded by a migration similar to those of the Semites, who had settled there, and had thoroughly adopted Babylonian customs. From this

Babylonia Completely Powerless



INVADERS CARRYING OFF THE NATION'S GODS
After every invasion the Assyrians, or Elamites, carried away the Babylonian gods, thereby reducing the country to vassaldom

migration we can picture to ourselves the constant ebb and flow of such a method of occupation; a similar instance is afforded by the circumstances attending the seizure of Palestine by the Hebrews. The Chaldæans thenceforth pressed into Babylonia, inhabited the open country, and tried to gain possession of the towns.

However prominent the Chaldæans may be in the subsequent history, and however many details we have recovered of their relations to Babylonia, we cannot yet form for ourselves any satisfactory picture of their national characteristics. All the Chaldæans, indeed, who are mentioned bear thoroughly Babylonian names. No new element in the language can be ascertained to have been introduced by their invasion of Babylonia, so that we can obtain no clue to their original race. Since they evidently advanced from the south and first occupied the districts on the Persian Gulf, they may possibly be regarded as Semites, who immigrated from Eastern Arabia, while the previous migrations, starting more from the west, went first toward Mesopotamia and Northern Babylonia. According to this theory, the Chaldæan migration would have taken place between the Aramæan and the Arabian, and the Chaldæans would have their nearest kinsmen in these two groups of nations, or would be identified with one of them. If they were Semites, their rapid assimilation of the conditions existing in Babylonia is explained, for other stocks akin to them in language were already settled there, and Aramæan tribes had, as we shall see, already spread over Babylonia. The scanty facts that we can collect at present for a characterisation of the Chaldæans accord well with this view. The designation of Ur, the City of the Moon, as Kamarinē is traced to Berossus. That may be explained from Arabic, in which *qamar* signifies the moon. The chieftains of the Chaldæans are termed *ra'sani*: that is the Arabic pronunciation of the word for chieftain (Hebrew, *ro'sh*). The only god whose cult may perhaps be reckoned to have been introduced by the Chaldæans is the war god—designated as, or identified with, Girra, whom Nabopolassar, Nebuchadnezzar, and Neriglissar bring into prominence.



"Struggle of the Nations," S.P.C.K.

MARDUK-NADIN-AKHE
This successor of Nebuchadnezzar regained Mesopotamia from Assyria.

Who were the Chaldæans?

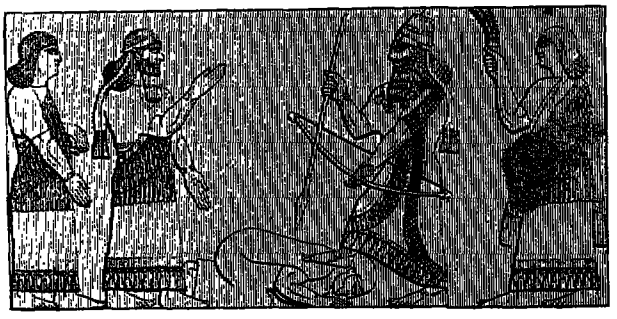
Thus we find henceforth by the side of a series of Aramæan tribes of Babylonia a number of Chaldæan principalities or stocks, which are designated by Babylonians and Assyrians as a "house," or tribe, of their princely family. For example, Bit-Iakin, a district in the "Country of the Sea," from which these rulers had shortly before this time occupied the throne of Babylon, Bit-Sa'alli, Bit-Shilani, Bit-Amukkani, Bit-Adini, Bit-Dakuri, in the immediate vicinity of Babylon and Borsippa, and others. The one aim of each of their princes naturally was to gain possession of the adjacent large towns, and, as a culminating triumph, to become king of Babylon. The Chaldæan was the third candidate for the royal throne of Babylon who appeared at this time by the side of Ashur and Elam, and the Babylonian population was less and less able to assert its independence. With such a state of affairs no continuity of development was possible. On the whole, the Chaldæans and Elamites joined cause, while the Assyrian kings endeavoured to appear as the protectors of the national independence, or what they chose to regard as such. The course of the struggle displays a continual fluctuation, until the Chaldæans attained their object with the fall of Assyria, and Babylon, under a Chaldæan dynasty, once more assumed a place among the great powers. The facts we can collect from the period when Assyria had not as yet regained the supremacy in Babylonia are very few, and hardly go beyond accounts

Chaldæans Rule in Babylon



WILD ANIMALS AS TRIBUTE FROM THE PRINCE OF SUKHI
Sukhi, one of the chief Aramæan Euphrates states, was under Babylonian influence, but was subjugated by Ashurnasirpal, king of Assyria.

of wars with Assyria. The first king of the dynasty, who was probably Nabu-mukin-apli, reigned for thirty-six years. It seems as if in a record dating from his time the dominion over Mesopotamia was still ascribed to him, about 960 B.C. He must have been the last Babylonian king who could pride himself on the possession of that district; for about this very time the Assyrian kings also bear, without further interruption, the title in question. The list of kings assigns to his successor, whose name is broken off, a reign of eight months; after that there is a great gap until Nabonassar, who came to the throne in 747 B.C.

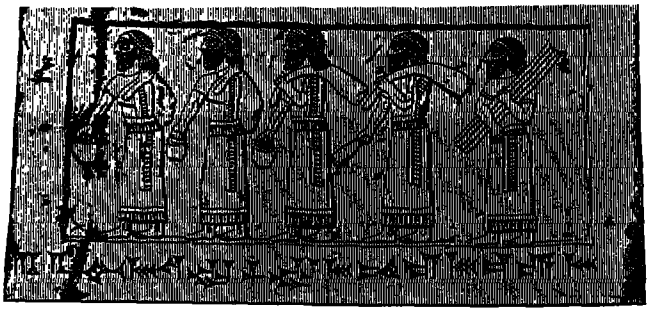


THE PROUD ASSYRIAN HUMILIATING HIS CAPTIVE
A bas-relief from Nineveh, showing an Assyrian king placing his foot on the neck of a captive king, and apparently about to strike him with his spear.

Some of the names of the kings in this period we cannot determine conclusively. We know Shamash-mudammiq from his war with Assyria under Adad-nirari III. He died during this war, and Nabu-shum-ishkun became king with Assyrian help. He was, therefore, certainly a Babylonian; his predecessor, a Chaldæan. This is in accordance with the fact that a successor, who showed hostility to Assyria, was apparently in turn a Chaldæan. Then follows, possibly, an unknown king. After this, Nabu-aplu-iddina reigned at least thirty-one years, and died in 854. He was an opponent of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser, and during the reign of the former tried to force his way along the Euphrates into Mesopotamia. In the year 879 B.C. he supported the prince of Sukhi on the Euphrates, who was under Babylonian influence, against Assyria; but Ashurnasirpal defeated the Babylonian forces. The manner in which he speaks of this victory suggests that Nabu-aplu-iddina was a Chaldæan; and this is borne out by the eagerness with which, in an inscription of his own, commemorating the restoration of the temple of Sippar, he represents himself as a good Babylonian.

Under his reign Assyria did not venture to encroach on Babylon itself; Ashurnasirpal contented himself with Mesopotamia, and seems later to have extended his power toward Northern Babylonia.

Nabu-aplu-iddina's death, in 854 B.C., was, as usually happens in the East, the signal for disputes about the succession between his two sons Marduk-shum-iddina and Marduk-bel-usati. In accordance with the directions of the deceased monarch, they had divided Babylonia



TRIBUTE OF IVORY AND WOOD FROM SUKHI TO ASSYRIA

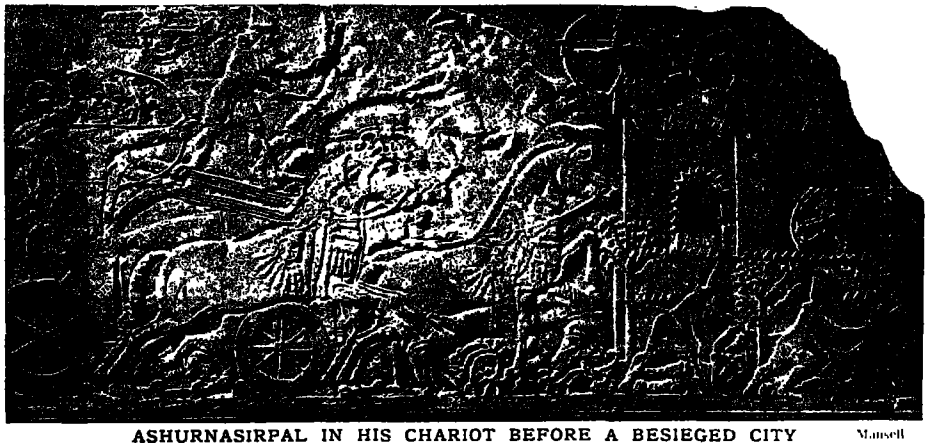


ASHURNASIRPAL ON ONE OF HIS CAMPAIGNS AGAINST BABYLONIA

During the days of Babylonia's weakness the Assyrians repeatedly invaded the country, besieging and sacking the cities. This bas-relief shows the king himself in the fight, and also illustrates the use of the battering-ram.

between them, so that the former received Northern Babylonia with Babylon, the latter Southern Babylonia, and with it the original home of the Chaldæans. The war between the Chaldæan prince and the Babylonian king naturally broke out at once, and the Chaldæan forces displayed their invariable superiority to the Babylonian. The Babylonian Marduk-shum-iddina summoned the Assyrian king, Shalmaneser II., to his aid, and in return he consented to hold his crown from him as a vassal; the Assyrian king did not neglect such a favourable opportunity of realising the object of Assyrian policy, the practical sovereignty of Babylonia. The "Chaldæan peasants" of Marduk-bel-usati fled before his veteran troops back into their swamps. Shalmaneser marched into the towns of Babylonia, offered the sacrifices as supreme lord of the country, and received the homage of the Chaldæan princes, while Marduk-shum-iddina reigned under Assyrian protection. Shalmaneser naturally possessed from the first the north of Babylonia, which, from the time of Ashurnasirpal was under the immediate government of Assyria. It seems, indeed, that at the close of his reign, when the revolt of his son Ashur-danin-apli drove him out of Assyria he relied on this part of his kingdom, and that his son Shamshi-Adad made it and Mesopotamia the base of his operations for the subjugation of Assyria.

The impossibility of interfering effectively in Babylonia at this time could not fail to present to the ever watchful Chaldæans another welcome opportunity of attack. So soon, therefore, as Shamshi-Adad was free from some of his most pressing enemies he turned his attention to Babylon, where, after the death—or the expulsion—of Marduk-shum-iddina, in



ASHURNASIRPAL IN HIS CHARIOT BEFORE A BESIEGED CITY Mansell

A spirited Assyrian bas-relief from Nineveh. Note the emblem of Ashur, the Assyrian god, in the top left-hand corner, assisting the besiegers by shooting an arrow. This bas-relief is now in the British Museum.



A BAS-RELIEF ILLUSTRATING HOW THE ASSYRIANS CONQUERED THE CHALDÆANS IN THE SWAMPS OF SOUTHERN BABYLONIA

823 B.C., we now find Marduk-balatsu-iqbi as king, a Chaldæan prince, who was supported by the Kaldi, Babylonian-Aramæan tribes, and Elam. He was thus another of the Chaldæan chiefs who by Elamite aid—standing thus in the same relation to Elam as Marduk-shum-iddina to Assyria—mounted the throne of Babylon. We see, therefore, for the first time, a condition of things which we shall find repeatedly—Ashur or Elam as the suzerain of the reigning king in Babylon.

No early success of Shamshi-Adad against the Babylonians is mentioned in his inscription; on the other hand, campaigns against Chaldæa and Babylon in 813 and 812 are recorded. The first presupposes a defeat of the Chaldæan king by Assyria, and with it the establishment of the Assyrian supremacy. The second coincides with the year of the accession of Adad-nirari IV. Perhaps the Chaldæans, who were not thoroughly subdued, on the accession of the new king, returned to the attack. Ba'u-akhi-iddina seems at this time to have been king of Babylon. He was conquered and captured by the Assyrians; and Adad-nirari, just as Shalmaneser previously, now sacrificed in the towns as supreme sovereign. It is not certain whether all this happened in 812, or only on the expeditions of 796 and 795 against Northern Babylonia, and of 791 against Chaldæa, about which we know nothing. This much is certain in any case, that this age is marked by attempts of the Chaldæan princes to gain the Babylonian throne under Elamite protection and supremacy, varied by periods during which Assyria asserted her supremacy, as long as other claims were not made on her. On every change of monarch, or when Assyria is otherwise engaged, fresh attempts are made to shake off her yoke. The same spectacle we find elsewhere, and to it the prophets testify most clearly in the case of Judah and Israel—namely, two great parties in the country, who rely on two different great powers, with a continual shifting and changing from one to the other.

We are not told whom Adad-nirari set up as king in Babylon, and we possess little information about the ensuing period, since after Adad-nirari the Assyrian power once more diminished and its influence over Babylonia waned. But Assyria did not abandon her supremacy without a

struggle, for many expeditions against Chaldæa are recorded. Thus, there was one immediately on the new monarch's accession in 783 and 782 under Shalmaneser III., and under the same king in 777; also, under his successor, Ashur-dan III., immediately on his accession in 771, there was an expedition to Northern Babylonia, and in 769 one to Chaldæa. The explanation is afforded by the former condition of things, and we can imagine the course of events from the expeditions of Shalmaneser and Adad-nirari. Since we possess no inscriptions of the Assyrian kings recording these events, and have only the brief notices in the chronicles concerning them, we do not know the names of the Babylonian kings against whom the expeditions were directed.

Assyrian influence must have been completely destroyed in the succeeding revolts between 763 and 746, and Babylonia was thus left at the mercy of the Chaldæans. The first fact we learn is the name—from the Babylonian list of kings—of King Nabu-shum-ishkun II., who reigned until 748. We possess a record concerning him, from which we may picture the condition of Babylonia at this time. Nabu-shum-imbi, the governor of Borsippa, the sister town of Babylon, makes a report concerning certain building operations in the temple of Nebo, and says: "Then in Borsippa, the town of law and order, there arose sedition, havoc, uproar, and revolution; under the rule of the king Nabu-shum-ishkun, of Bit-Dakuri, the Babylonians, men of Borsippa and Dushulti from the bank of the Euphrates, all Chaldæans, Aramæans, Dilbateans, turned for a long season their arms against each other, and defeated each other, and waged war with the men of Borsippa about their boundary. And Nabu-shum-iddina (a high official of the temple of Nebo), instigated on his own responsibility a revolt against Nabu-shum-imbi, the governor of Borsippa. In the night, like a thief, he collected foes and bandits, and led them into the temple of Nebo. . . . . They raised an uproar. But the men of Borsippa and others, who came to the rescue, surrounded the house of the governor and protected it with bows and with arrows." Thus we find what we should expect: the king of Babylon is a Chaldæan of the stock of Dakuri, and the Chaldæans and Aramæans take possession of the territory of the towns which are divided by internal feuds. It is not surprising that under such conditions the wealthy classes hailed the appearance of an Assyrian king as their salvation, and the same phenomenon will meet us again in the subsequent history. The Chaldæan dominion signified anarchy for Babylonia; for a strong Chaldæan prince and a stable government were hardly compatible with the want of cohesion among the Chaldæans themselves, and with the natural opposition between the greedy invaders and the wealthy, timid population of the towns.

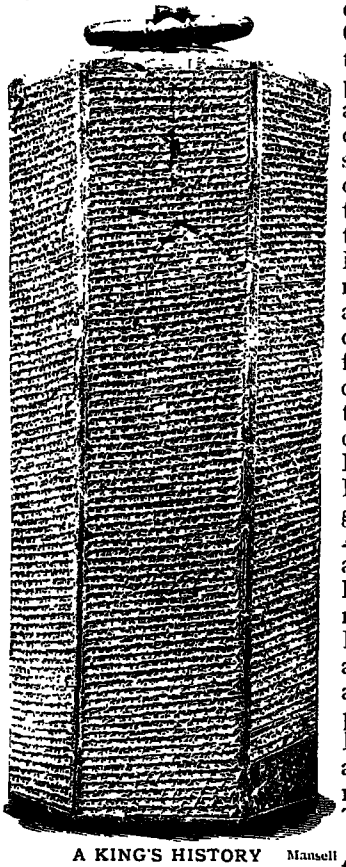


THE GOD NEBO Marsh II
In whose temple at Borsippa there arose revolt against the Chaldæans

The next king is Nabu-nasir, or, in the form under which the Ptolemaic canon has preserved the name, Nabonassar; he reigned from 747 to 734 B.C. The circumstances just mentioned continued under his rule, and disturbances in Borsippa such as those described by Nabu-shum-imbi led to an attempt on the part of that city to shake off his yoke, which the king took strong measures to suppress. There are scarcely any actions of Nabonassar himself to relate. Berossus, the historian of Babylon under the Seleucids, states that he issued some enactments—it is not yet certain what their nature was—relative to establishing an era. As a matter of fact, the Ptolemaic canon, which has brought Nabonassar's name into prominence, as well as a Babylonian chronicle, which was written under Darius, begin with reference to his reign in the year 747. In the third year of Nabonassar, 745 B.C.,

was inaugurated a new era for Assyria with the accession of Tiglath-pileser IV.; and Babylonia was immediately aware of the changed order of things. The object of the first expedition of the new king was Babylonia, where he chastised the Aramæans and the most northerly Chaldæan tribes, and placed Nabonassar under his protection. We may conclude from this that he was not a Chaldæan, but a Babylonian. Tiglath-pileser, who henceforth styled himself king of Sumer and Akkad and king of the four quarters of the world, came on his expedition as far as Nippur. Presumably the Chaldæans submitted, and he could not pursue his object further, owing to disturbances threatening from Armenia and Syria. Nabonassar, therefore, reigned under Assyrian protection. If a revolt at Borsippa shows that his power did not extend beyond the city boundaries of Babylon, it was not, on the one hand, to the interest of Assyria to spare Nabonassar his little difficulties; on the other hand, Tiglath-pileser was really for the moment too much occupied to trouble himself more about Babylon than was urgently necessary. It says, however, much for Nabonassar's reputation that for fourteen years no Chaldæan made an effort to make himself master of Babylon.

Nabonassar died in the year 734 B.C., and was succeeded by his son Nabu-nadin-zer, abbreviated to Nadinu, so that the name appears as Nadios in the Ptolemaic canon. He reigned two years, 734 and 733, when one of the rebellions, which might be expected, broke out. The king was deposed by a governor of a province, Nabu-shum-ukin, a Babylonian therefore, and consequently a leader of the anti-Assyrian party. The latter enjoyed less than two months of royal sovereignty, when he had to give way to the Chaldæan Ukin-zir, or Chinzer in the Ptolemaic canon, the prince of Bit-Amukani from 732 to 730. Assyria was thus forced again to interfere; for a Chaldæan on the throne of Babylon could have no other object than to win for himself the whole of Babylonia, which Tiglath-pileser had until then possessed. So soon, therefore, as the latter had arranged affairs in Syria, and had captured Damascus, where the siege alone had secured three years of uninterrupted rule to Ukin-zir, he turned against Babylonia, occupied Bit-Amukani, the home of Ukin-zir, as well as other Chaldæan provinces, and took Ukin-zir himself prisoner. In order to put an end to the endless disorders, he resolved, in spite of the troublesome character of the obligation, to be present annually at the New Year's festival in Babylon, to reside there as much as possible, and to assume in person the crown of the kingdom of Bel; and for the remaining two years of his life he commanded that he should be proclaimed as king of Babylon. Further, the rights of the Babylonians were to be guaranteed. He, like other Assyrian kings who adopted a similar policy, bore as king of Babylon another name: thus Shalmaneser IV. was known in Babylon as Ululai, and Ashurbanipal as Kandalanu. Tiglath-pileser is entered in the Babylonian lists as Pulu, a name by which he is mentioned in the Old Testament.



A KING'S HISTORY Mansell
This clay prism is inscribed with accounts of eight campaigns of Sennacherib.

Tranquillity prevailed then during these two years, 729 and 728, and during the reign of his successor, Shalmaneser, who from 727 to 722 also had himself crowned king of Babylon. So soon, however, as the great revolution in Assyria began, which, on his death, brought Sargon to the throne, a Chaldæan prince, Marduk-aplu-iddina II., or, as we usually call him with the pronunciation given in the text of the Old Testament, Merodach-baladan, king of the "Country of the Sea," used the opportunity to wrest to

himself the Babylonian crown, having come to an agreement with Khumbanigash of Elam. Sargon, it is true, quickly tried to expel him, but his Elamite protector was also on the spot. A battle was fought near Dur-ilu, in which Sargon claimed the victory for himself, and the Babylonians for Khumbanigash. In any case, Sargon was compelled to relinquish the attempt to expel Merodach-baladan from Babylon. He had, however, retained a portion of Northern Babylonia, and with it Dur-ilu. Merodach-baladan calls himself king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad. He reigned as Merodach-baladan II. under Elamite protection from 721 to 710, so long as Sargon, precisely like Tiglath-pileser IV., was distracted by the affairs of Syria, Palestine and Armenia.

Sargon, after ending his wars in these countries, turned his attention to Babylon, and drove out Merodach-baladan, who, after the loss of his capital in the sea country, Dur-Iakin, sought refuge in the court of Susa. Sargon was received in Babylon by his own party, and, above all, by the priests, as the saviour of the city and the restorer of order. He assumed the title of "Governor of Babylon" —that is, he represented a king, though no one reigned as such by name. From 709 to 705 he held Babylon and the whole of Babylonia on these peculiar terms until his death.



MERODACH-BALADAN OF BABYLON
A Chaldæan king who was twice driven from his throne, by Sargon and Sennacherib of Assyria. The sculptor, following the custom, makes the king appear taller than the vassal whom he is investing with a fief.

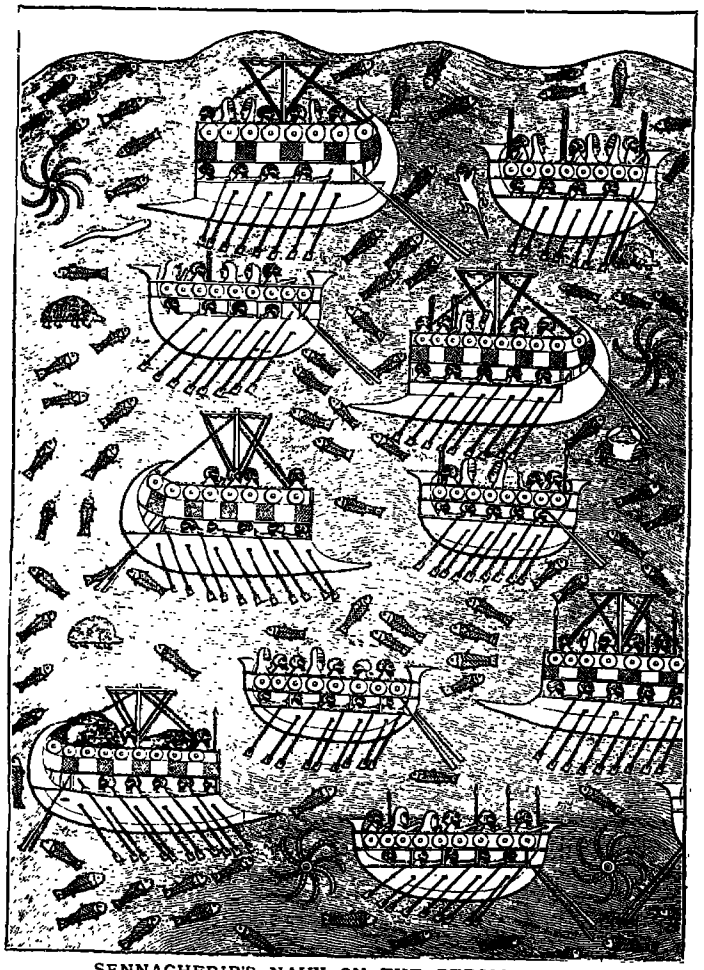


CONQUESTS OF TIGLATH-PILESER IN BABYLONIA
Tiglath-pileser IV., an Assyrian king, ruled in Babylon as Pulu after besieging and taking the principal Chaldæan cities. From a bas-relief.

Under the rule of Sennacherib, Babylon enjoyed tranquillity for two years more; then a revolt broke out, which brought a Babylonian, Marduk-zakir-shum, to the throne for a month. Merodach-baladan then seized the opportunity to occupy Babylon once more, with the help of Elam. His sovereignty did not, however, last long this time, for Sennacherib was not so taken up by other wars as Sargon had been during his previous occupation of the throne, and he appeared before Babylon nine months after Merodach-baladan's return. The latter was defeated at Kish, together with his Elamite auxiliaries, and fled, to Elam probably, where he awaited a fresh opportunity to make a descent upon Babylon. Sennacherib treated Babylon merci-

fully, for it was not the Babylonians who had revolted, and only the property of Merodach-baladan and his followers was confiscated. The Chaldæans were again driven back to their country, and the districts occupied by them were restored to the towns. Even the Aramæan tribes were again kept within their own borders.

Sennacherib installed as king in Babylon Bel-ibni, probably a Babylonian prince, who had been brought up at the court of Nineveh (702 to 700). In the following year, 702, two other provinces were secured on the frontier toward Elam. Bel-ibni may have had the best intentions of remaining loyal to Assyria, but circumstances were too strong for him. Perhaps Sennacherib's ambition to make Nineveh the first city of the East was already recognised. In any case, Bel-ibni was forced, while Sennacherib was occupied with Palestine, to break off with him, and—he can hardly have acted voluntarily—to enter into an alliance with Merodach-baladan, that is to say, with his own rival, with another prince of the Chaldæans, Mushezib-Marduk, and with Elam. In Sennacherib's absence he submitted. But just as the people of Palestine had taken up arms too late, so a miscalculation was made in Babylonia and Elam on the present occasion. Sennacherib raised the siege of Jerusalem, after he had already occupied the whole country, and, turning against his more formidable opponents, quickly broke up the alliance. Merodach-baladan fled from the sea-country to Elam, taking his gods with him; the Chaldæan Mushezib-Marduk withdrew into his swamps; and Bel-ibni was forced to return with his followers to the place whence he had come—namely, to the court of Nineveh. We see from this treatment of him that he had joined Elam and the Chaldæans only under compulsion, otherwise assuredly a severer penalty would have been meted out to him. At Babylon, Assur-nadin-shum, a son of Sennacherib, was installed as king, and reigned from 699 to 694 B.C.



SENNACHERIB'S NAVY ON THE PERSIAN GULF
An expedition sent by Sennacherib to disperse the Chaldæans, who constituted a danger which continually menaced Babylonia. From an Assyrian bas-relief.

Merodach-baladan must have died soon afterwards, for he is never mentioned again. Disturbances occurred in Elam, and thus Babylonia enjoyed quiet for five years. In the year 694 Sennacherib made an expedition in order to drive out that part of the population of the sea-country which had

fled at one time with Merodach-baladan to Elam, and had settled in some towns on the coast, and thus to do away with a danger which continually menaced Babylonia. He describes in detail how he built ships for the purpose, which were brought on the Tigris up to Opis, thence to the Euphrates, and so down to the Persian Gulf. He himself cautiously kept far away from the dangerous element, but ordered his army to be transported by sea to Elam. His forces marched some way up the Karun, devastated the provinces on the coast of Elam, and dispersed or captured the Chaldæans who were settled there.

While the Assyrian army was stationed in Elam, Khalludush, king of Elam, did not remain idle. He entered Babylonia near Dur-ilu on the ordinary military road, captured Sippar, took Assur-nadin-shum prisoner, and carried him back with him to Elam. He appointed Nergal-ushezib, a Babylonian, king in Babylon. Sennacherib tells us only of the heroic courage with which he had faced the raging sea and of his success in Elam. We hear of the Elamite counter-move from the Babylonian chronicles alone. Nothing more transpires as to Assur-nadin-shum, the deposed son of Sennacherib.



FIGHTING IN THE CHALDÆAN MARSHES

An Assyrian representation of a skirmish in Sennacherib's campaign against Merodach-baladan and his Elamite auxiliaries.

An Elamite King in Babylon

The new king possessed at first only the north of Babylonia; he tried now to drive the Assyrians out of the south also, and captured Nippur. But Uruk, which seems to have joined his side, was recaptured by the Assyrians, and soon afterwards the latter appeared in front of Nippur. Nergal-ushezib met them in the open field, but was defeated and taken prisoner. He had reigned only a year and a half—694 to 693 B.C. While Sennacherib in this same year undertook a punitive expedition against Elam, the above-mentioned Chaldæan, Mushezib-Marduk, seized the opportunity to establish himself firmly in Babylon, and reigned from 692 to 698. He allied himself closely with Elam, and actually sacrificed the temple treasures of Marduk in order to pay to the Elamite, Umman-menanu, his "presents," or what was, in reality, his tribute. This shows that once more the sacerdotal party supported Assyria. It was not so easy a task this time for Sennacherib to drive out Elam—for that was the real issue at stake. In the year 691 a battle was fought at Khalule, in Northern Babylonia, with Umman-menanu, his vassal, Mushezib-Marduk, the son of Merodach-baladan, and the other Chaldæans. Sennacherib gives a very magnificent account of the battle, in which he naturally claims the victory. The Babylonian chronicle makes Umman-menanu the victor, and is correct in so far as Sennacherib gained no success, for Babylon remained under Elamite protection. In the year 689 Umman-menanu was struck down by apoplexy.

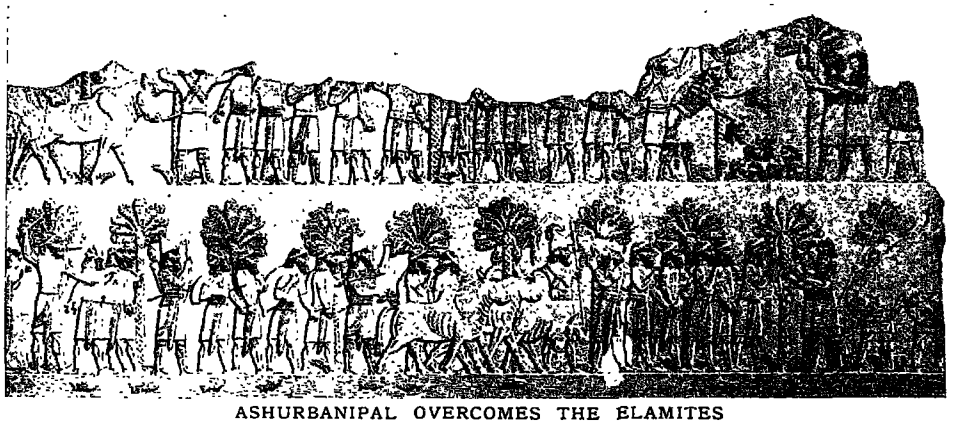
Babylon Destroyed by Sennacherib

In the same year Babylon fell into Sennacherib's hands, and Mushezib-Marduk was carried prisoner to Assyria. We must assume that in this revolt there was no strong pro-Assyrian party in Babylon, for it is clear that Sennacherib's policy aimed at the ruin of Babylon. The alliance with the Chaldæans had been, therefore, a struggle of desperation, and Sennacherib now lost no time in reaching his goal by the shortest road. Babylon was completely destroyed and its

gods taken to Assyria. It has hitherto been supposed that during the years which followed its destruction by Sennacherib the city of Babylon ceased to exist as a centre of political activity. The Babylonian chronicle states that an interregnum of eight years now took place, while the list of kings assigns these eight years to Sennacherib. But a chronicle that has recently been discovered allows us to form a picture of what took place during a portion of this troubled period. It has hitherto been conjectured that no attempt was made to rebuild the capital until the reversal of Sennacherib's policy by his son Esarhaddon, upon the latter's accession to the throne. But we now know that the Babylonians themselves did not remain inactive, and that at least

The City Laid Waste

learn from the new chronicle that they were not left for long in undisturbed possession, for a certain man named Erba-Marduk, the son of Marduk-shakin-shum, "smote them with the sword and defeated them, and he took the fields and the gardens from them and gave them unto the men of Babylon and Borsippa." It is also recorded that in the same year Erba-Marduk set up the throne of Marduk in Esagila, and the chronicle implies that he rebuilt that temple, and also the temple of Ezida in Borsippa. It is therefore certain that Erba-Marduk made good to some extent the damage done to the city of Sennacherib, though the resources at his disposal did not enable him to attempt the rebuilding of Babylon on the lavish scale inaugurated a few years later by Esarhaddon. Moreover,



ASHURBANIPAL OVERCOMES THE ELAMITES

Ashurbanipal's successes against Elam deprived that country of power of making encroachments on Babylonia. This bas-relief shows his soldiers carrying off Elamite spoil and captives, and scribes taking count of the heads of the slain.

one native king occupied the Babylonian throne during this period. It is probable that during the year following the withdrawal of the Assyrian army, and the deportation of Mushezib-Marduk, Babylon did lie desolate and in part deserted by its inhabitants.

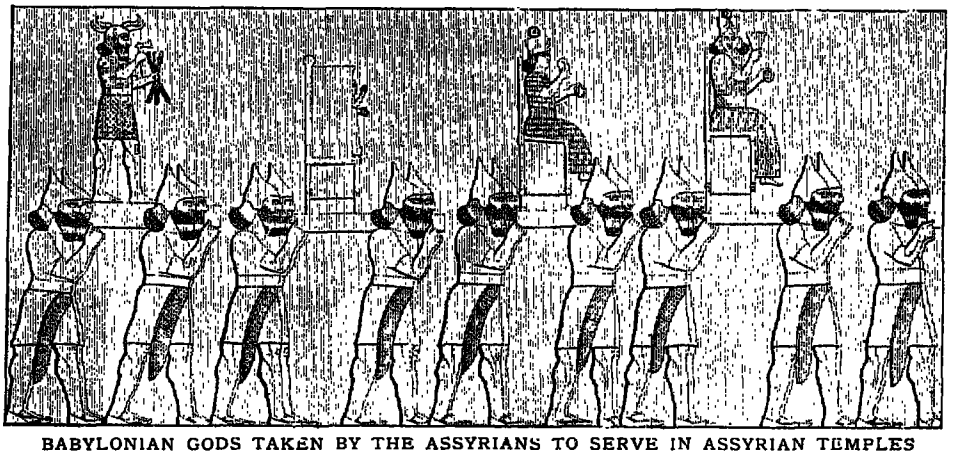
It needed the appearance of another foe to call forth a leader, who should rally the citizens and attempt to restore order and organised government. The necessary impetus was soon given by the descent of Aramæans, who saw in the destruction of the defences of Babylon a favourable opportunity for seizing the fertile plain in the neighbourhood of the capital. Their raid was at first successful, for they seized and occupied the cultivated lands and gardens in the neighbourhood of Babylon and of Borsippa. But we may see evidence of a shrewd policy on his part in the rebuilding of the temples, for by re-establishing the worship of Marduk and Nabu, he strengthened his own claims to the throne. He had already secured the gratitude of the Babylonians by the recovery and restoration of their lands; his subsequent revival of the national religion, and his performance of the coronation ceremony, which consisted of grasping the hands of the national god, raised him from the position of a popular leader, and set him upon the Babylonian throne. It is thus clear that he was recognised as king by the official priesthood, but how long he succeeded in retaining his position it is not possible at present to determine. That other external foes beside the Aramæans hoped

Babylon Rebuilt by Assyria

to profit by the comparatively defenceless state of Babylon is clear from the fact that Esarhaddon, before rebuilding the city, had first to expel Chaldæan settlers who had succeeded in gaining a foothold in the district.

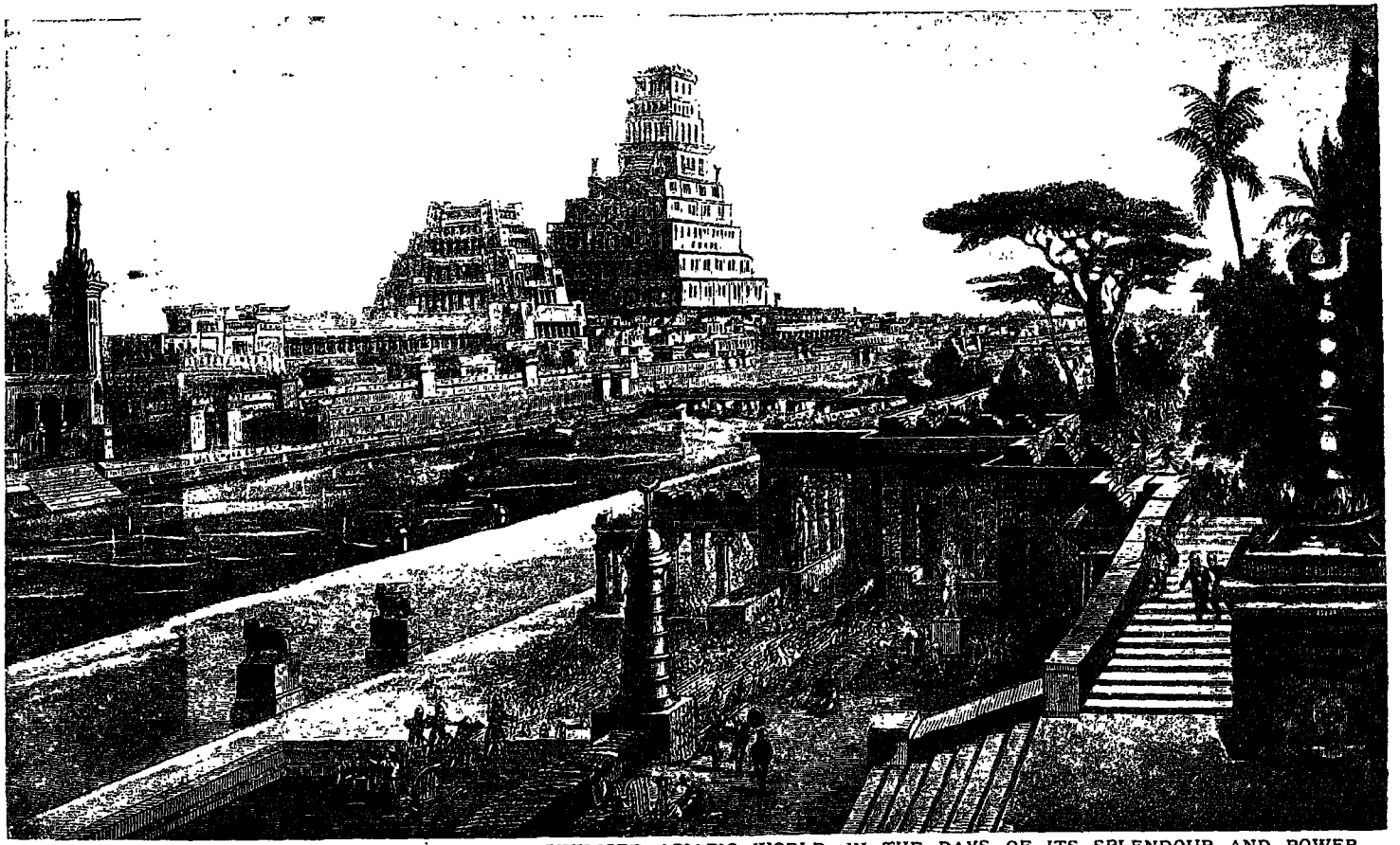
After the murder of Sennacherib, the first act of his son Esarhaddon after his accession was to give commands for the complete rebuilding of the town and the temple of Marduk. While Sennacherib had been the representative of a purely Assyrian, and therefore strongly military policy, Esarhaddon, like Sargon, had to rely upon the priests. The rebuilding of Babylon thus entirely came within the scope of their efforts. The other party, however, was not dissolved upon the death of Sennacherib; it was indeed deeply rooted in Assyrian polity. The two parties seem to have found leaders in the two princes, Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin. We shall see in treating of Assyrian history how, just when Babylon was ready, and the question at issue was a reoccupation of the throne of Babylon, the military party forced Esarhaddon to allow its head, Ashurbanipal, to be crowned king of Assyria, and thereby to ensure its power. His father could only secure Babylon for Shamash-shum-ukin, and perhaps Southern Babylonia. In the year 668 the statue of Marduk was brought back to Babylon, and the two princes were proclaimed kings of their respective realms during their father's lifetime. The existing condition was, however, the same as the old: Babylon was the protectorate of Assyria, and the new king of Assyria sacrificed in Babylon, Sippar, and Kutha to the Babylonian gods as their protector.

The old feud was thus revived, and an outbreak of hostilities was only a matter of time. After a series of years full of prosperity and brotherly love had been recorded in the inscriptions of both kings, the struggle began anew. Shamash-shum-ukin sought alliances in whatever countries he could find enemies of Assyria, and that was practically wherever the Assyrian power was felt or feared. Elam, the Arabs, the western countries, Palestine and Gutium (the northern countries), armed against Assyria. In the war which now broke out the question was once more to be decided whether Assyria or Babylon was to rule the East. The war really began toward the "fifties" of the seventh century B.C. by the refusal of Shamash-shum-ukin to allow his brother Ashurbanipal to offer the sacrifices, to which he was entitled as protector, in the Babylonian towns. It ended with terrible sieges of Sippar, Kutha, and Babylon, and the death of Shamash-shum-ukin in the flames into which, according to Ashurbanipal's account, his despairing subjects cast him. The war ended in 648; and Babylonia had suffered so much during its progress that it remained quiet for some time. The Assyrian king Ashurbanipal wore the royal crown of Babylon from 647 to 626 B.C. under the name of Kandalanu. His successes against Elam deprived that country of the power of making further encroachments on Babylonia. The land thus enjoyed rest until his death.

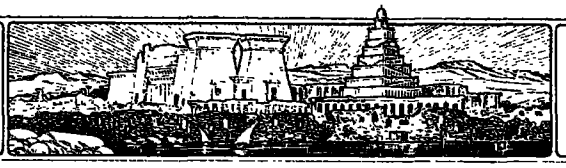


BABYLONIAN GODS TAKEN BY THE ASSYRIANS TO SERVE IN ASSYRIAN TEMPLES

In the year 689 B.C., after the expulsion of the Elamites, Babylon fell into the hands of Sennacherib. He completely destroyed the city and carried off its gods, as represented above, to serve Assyrian gods in Assyrian temples



BABYLON, THE METROPOLIS OF THE ANCIENT CIVILISED ASIATIC WORLD, IN THE DAYS OF ITS SPLENDOUR AND POWER



THE NEW BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

ITS LAST BRIEF ERA OF SPLENDOUR

AT the death of Ashurbanipal we find on the throne of Babylon a Chaldæan, Nabopolassar. We do not know which of the petty Chaldæan principalities was his native country. It is very probable that at first he wore the crown of Bel, with the approbation, or at least with the consent, of Assyria. During the first period he avoided any open rupture with Ashur-etil-ilani—that is to say, he recognised his protectorate. At first he possessed only Babylon; the rest of Babylonia remained Assyrian. We have no information as to the separate stages in his advancement to power. All that is certain is that Babylon did not venture on any action against Assyria on her own resources, but concealed her plans until the alliance with Media was formed. As the royal house of Assyria was related by marriage with that of the Ashkuza, Nabopolassar's son was obliged to marry a Median princess. We have seen that Nabopolassar after 609 B.C. was in possession of Mesopotamia, and that the downfall of Assyria was chiefly the work of the Medes. When matters had come to this pitch, he was already old or sick; his son Nebuchadnezzar II. was already holding the reins of government. He was assigned, therefore, the duty of subjugating the western provinces, a task which in itself would have presented little difficulty, since the Assyrian governors, after the fall of Nineveh, failed to hold their own in the provinces where the Assyrian rule was universally detested. It was therefore to be expected of these that they would submit to their new ruler, and any attempts by isolated states to assert their independence were from the first hopeless.

Alliance with the Medes

In the meanwhile, however, it had become necessary to recover these provinces from another power than Assyria. Necho II. of Egypt rightly judged that the opportune moment was come to win back the provinces which had been lost since the days of Thothmes and Amenophis. While the Medes were encamped before Nineveh and Nabopolassar occupied Mesopotamia, he advanced into Palestine, where he met with only isolated cases of resistance—for example, that of Josiah at Migdol, 609 or 608 B.C.—and gradually, without great difficulty, he occupied all Palestine and Syria. He had his chief camp for some time at Ribla, in the north of Bekaa, and from that position directed affairs in Jerusalem. In the year 605 he advanced as far as Carchemish, and was on the point of crossing the Euphrates, the boundary of the district, which, since the fall of Nineveh in the interval, was already occupied by Babylonia. Here Nebuchadnezzar, as leader of the Babylonian army, met him and defeated him, so that Necho was forced to relinquish any attempt to establish himself in Syria or Palestine, and retired before the advancing Babylonian army into Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar met with little opposition, and, receiving the homage of governors and princes, occupied the territory as far as the Egyptian frontier. Thus this king, the last among the Babylonian monarchs who met with success in his military operations, accomplished on his first appearance what had been vainly attempted for so many centuries. The West was once more subject to Babylon, as in the palmy days of Babylonian power and civilisation.

Nebuchadnezzar Gains the West

This result had not been obtained by any new awakening of the national strength of Babylonia. Babylon, even now, as for centuries past, was in the hands of conquerors who availed themselves of the old fame of the metropolis of culture in order to adorn their power with its historical title. After centuries of struggle between Assyrians and Chaldæans for the crown of Bel, the advantage had in the end rested with the often repulsed, but still indefatigable, intruders. Nebuchadnezzar, before

Chaldæan Rules in Babylon



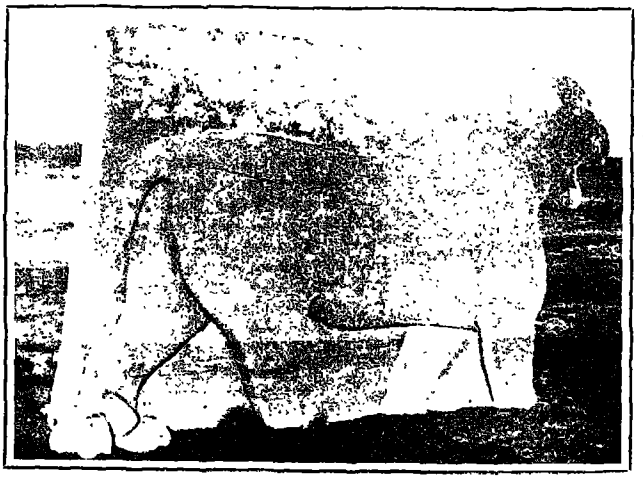
A MEMORIAL OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR
This vast marble slab, found among the ruins of Babylon, is believed to represent Nebuchadnezzar giving instructions to his generals. He was the last successful Babylonian king.

whom even Palestine now trembled, was a Chaldæan. For this reason the representatives of the last Babylonian dynasty are called in the contemporary accounts of the Bible by the name of Chaldæans.

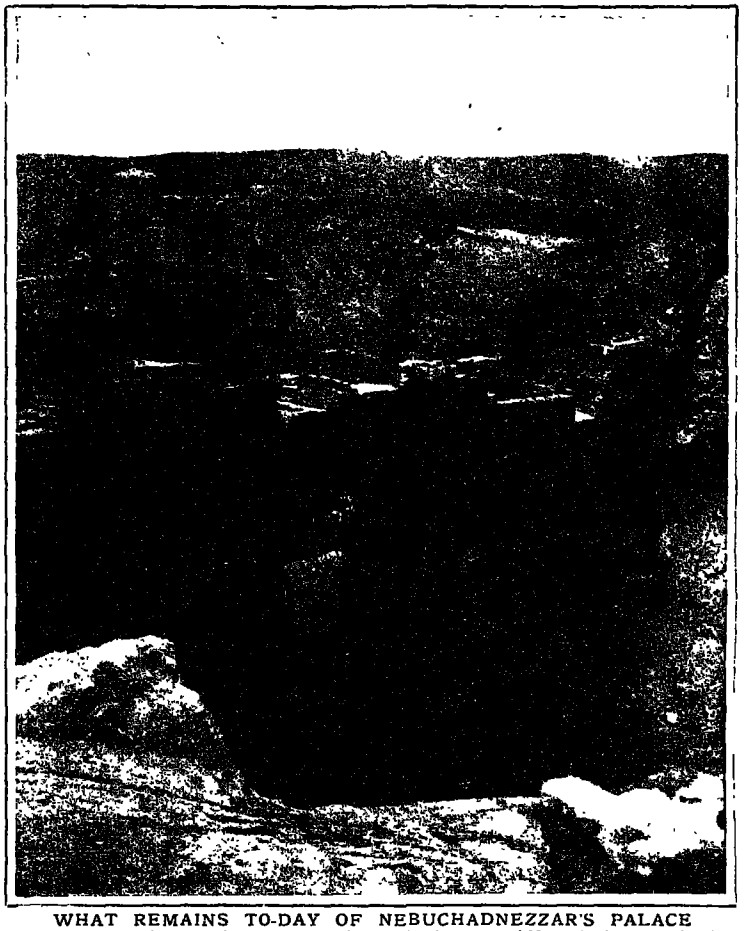
Towards the end of 605, when Nebuchadnezzar was still occupied in Palestine, he received the news of Nabopolassar's death and of the outbreak of riots which were intended to bring a Babylonian to the throne. With rapid decision he made forced marches by the shortest road through the desert to Babylon, and entered it at the right moment to conduct the procession of Bel on the New Year's festival in the method prescribed by immemorial custom, and thus to proclaim himself king of Babylon. He held the power from 604 to 562 B.C. His name has become famous from the mere fact that he put an end to the independence of Judah, but his long reign really signified a last spell of prosperity and power for Babylonia.

An outward proof of this may be seen in the immense building operations, about which his numerous inscriptions tell us. The whole of Babylon was rebuilt by him, partly in continuation of works begun by his father, Nabopolassar, and fortified on a scale which excited the wonder of his age. He it was who erected the "Median wall," a line of defence which ran from the Euphrates near Sippar to the Tigris, somewhere by Opis, near the site of the later city of Seleucia; this was intended to dam up the water, in order, should need occur, to transform the country higher up into a swamp, and thus to render it impossible for an army to advance in the district between the two rivers. A similar construction, starting from the Euphrates in the neighbourhood of Babylon and reaching the Tigris at a point not far from the eastern end of the other dam, completed the work of defence. Nebuchadnezzar was also the constructor of the celebrated terraces, the "hanging gardens of Semiramis" (see page 226 of this History), and he rebuilt the famous temples in all the larger towns.

Contrary to the custom of the Assyrian kings, who relate at length their own campaigns as a preface to any report of



THE LION GOD, SYMBOL OF BABYLONIAN POWER
Before going to war, the army of Nebuchadnezzar defiled before this massive monument, and each soldier bowed low to the symbol of his monarch's power.



WHAT REMAINS TO-DAY OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S PALACE
This remarkable photograph shows part of the ruined palace of Nebuchadnezzar, the door being bricked up to within a quarter of the top. Many treasures of the great king were found inside. It also illustrates how completely the sands of centuries have embedded the palace, and the manner in which they have had to be dug away to disclose the building.

their building operations, the Chaldæan kings of Babylon, and notably Nebuchadnezzar, omit from their building inscriptions any record of their achievements in war. It follows, therefore, that we have practically no accounts by Nebuchadnezzar of his campaigns. Besides the expeditions in Palestine, we know only of his thirteen years' ineffectual siege of Tyre, and one or two wars with Egypt. A small fragment of a chronicle refers to one such war in 568 B.C., but too little of the text is preserved to enable us to recover any details of the campaign. We do not yet know whether Nebuchadnezzar ever really invaded Egypt, as Ezekiel prophesied. He did not, in any case, permanently subdue the country, and it is unlikely that he achieved victories like those of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal.

The west was the only field for expansion which Babylonia could still command. The east and north, where of old the kings of Assyria fought, are out of the question: Elam and Urartu do not exist. There the one great Median empire rules from Elam to the Halys, the boundary of Lydia. The existence of Babylonia depends on its relations with this barbarian empire, which now really sways the destinies of Nearer Asia. Babylon stands in the same relation to it as Italy did to the German Empire of the Middle Ages. So long as Nebuchadnezzar lived the relations between the powers appear to have been friendly. The Medes had in reality by the overthrow of Assyria brought the dynasty of Nabopolassar for the first time into power in its own country. It was due in a large degree to the good will of Cyaxares that they handed over these districts to it; and it would almost seem as if the marriage alliance with this barbarian royal house had been of greater importance to Nebuchadnezzar than such marriages usually are when diplomacy is more highly developed. Herodotus tells us of Nebuchadnezzar's intervention in Median affairs on an occasion when there was war between Media and Lydia, the third great power of this period; and it may be noted that in the course of this war the eclipse of the sun occurred which Thales predicted. Nebuchadnezzar is said to have acted as mediator between the powers, together

with a certain Syennesis of Cilicia, by whom he was probably advised.

But the young dynasty, which had won its fame in the person of Nebuchadnezzar, practically disappeared with him. After his death his son, Amel-Marduk—the Evil-Merodach of the Bible—became king; he reigned only two years—561 and 560 B.C.—when he was deposed because "he was unjust and ruled tyrannically." Since this verdict is given by the historian Berossus, a priest of Bel, writing in the Seleucid era, and in almost identical words by Nabonidus, we must see in it a verdict of the priestly class, whose claims Nebuchadnezzar, with all his temple building, had never quite satisfied. We know nothing else of Amel-Marduk, except that he treated with kindness Jehoiachin of Judah, who had been brought to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar. He was murdered, and his brother-in-law, Nergal-shar-usur, or Neriglissar, was raised to the throne, which he held from 559 to 554 B.C. No attempt was yet made to go outside the Chaldæan royal family. It is not clear whether Neriglissar himself was a Chaldæan. Of him, too, we know very little; but good service in the defence of the country is ascribed to him by Nabonidus. Did the Medes now interfere in favour of the dethroned royal house? His successor was his son Labashi-Marduk, a minor; he was deposed after a reign of but nine months, because, as the above-mentioned sources both agree in reporting, "he displayed evil tendencies." The real cause is apparent in the choice of the successor, a Babylonian, who approved himself a man after the priests' hearts, for he was indefatigable in building temples and endowing them.

The Last Kings of Babylon



CYRUS, KING OF PERSIA
Who subjugated all Mesopotamia and Lydia, and put an end for all time to native Babylonian development.

Nabonidus, this last king of Babylon, who ruled from 555 to 538 B.C., is a strange figure. He looked on unperturbed while the land was occupied first by the Medes, and then by the Persians, being fully engrossed in the excavation of old sites of temples and in the arrangement of the chronology of their founders. Reports as to his discovery of old inscriptions are very valuable for us, but neither they nor his eagerly prosecuted restorations of the temples were of any use to his tottering throne. The Medes do not seem to have looked on passively at the overthrow of the dynasty, which was allied to them by marriage and friendship. Perhaps Neriglissar had already been obliged to act on the defensive; but now, when the rupture with Babylon was complete, they invaded Mesopotamia. Even then, at the outset of his reign, Nabonidus showed himself in his true colours. While Harran, the old city of Sin, in the heart of Mesopotamia, was being invested by the Medes, he did nothing but dream that the gods would set Harran free. And indeed, they granted him his wish, for Astyages was overthrown by Cyrus, and Mesopotamia had peace for some years. But the conqueror of the Medes soon proved to be a far more formidable opponent. Meantime, however, Nabonidus hastened to rebuild the temple of Sin at Harran with grateful heart; for this end he tithed and taxed his subjects "from Gaza, the border of Egypt, the Mediterranean, and Syria, up to the Persian Sea."

Meanwhile the Persian Cyrus secured the foundations of his power. He subjugated the Lydian empire, in addition to the countries already possessed by the Medes, so that the only great nation which could have lent any support to Babylonia was now powerless to do so. Then Cyrus proceeded against Babylonia, which was hemmed in on all sides. Nabonidus himself did not move, but lived in retirement, or was kept prisoner by a hostile party in his palace. His son, Bel-shar-usur, or Belshazzar, was regent and commander-in-chief; the Bible makes him the last king of Babylon.

Cyrus the Persian in Babylonia

Cyrus first occupied Mesopotamia, having crossed the Tigris from Arbela, south of the ruins of Calah. In the next year, 546, he advanced from Elam into

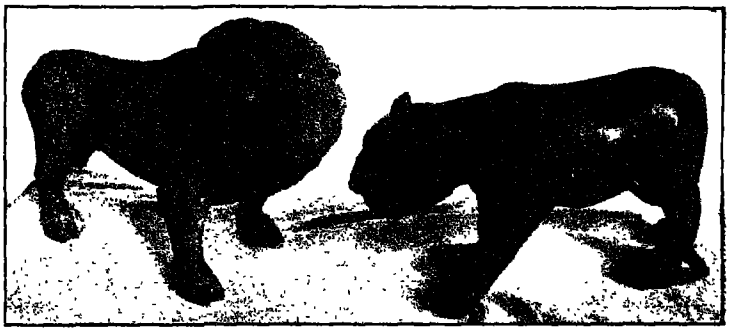
South Babylonia. Nabonidus ordered the gods of the great towns Ur, Erech, etc., to be brought into Babylon, and felt himself secure under their protection. We have no accounts of the next five years, but in the year 539 B.C. we find Babylonia surrounded on every side. The respite may perhaps be explained by the effectiveness of the defence by inundation, for which purpose the Median wall of Nebuchadnezzar and the supplementary works, starting from the neighbourhood of Babylon, were constructed. All this time Cyrus was unable to advance into the region of Babylon either from Mesopotamia or from Southern Babylonia. The surrounding country, therefore, like Holland under similar circumstances in later times, had been changed into a swamp, within which the "kingdom of Babylon" lay, large enough to maintain itself so long as an army did not invade it.

A reminiscence of this is preserved in Herodotus' account that Cyrus was occupied for two years in diverting the course of the Diyala, in order to make his army familiar with the process of draining canals, a knowledge which was of good service to him at the siege of Babylon, when he changed the channel of the Euphrates. The real object was probably not that suggested by Herodotus, but the construction of a passage for crossing into the district protected by the inundations; for the mouth of the Diyala is near Opis, where the Median wall ends. This theory is confirmed by the fact that the Babylonian army under Belshazzar met him there, between Opis and Sippar, after the passage had been effected; it was defeated in 539, and no more opposition was offered. Babylon surrendered to the vanguard of an army under Ugbaru, or Gobryas, the governor of Gutium; the great fortifications of Nebuchadnezzar were not defended; the Persians were received as preservers. Cyrus was proclaimed king when he entered four months later; and one of the first acts of his reign was to conciliate the priesthoods of Babylonia by sending back the gods from Babylon to their own towns.

Five-years Siege of Babylonia

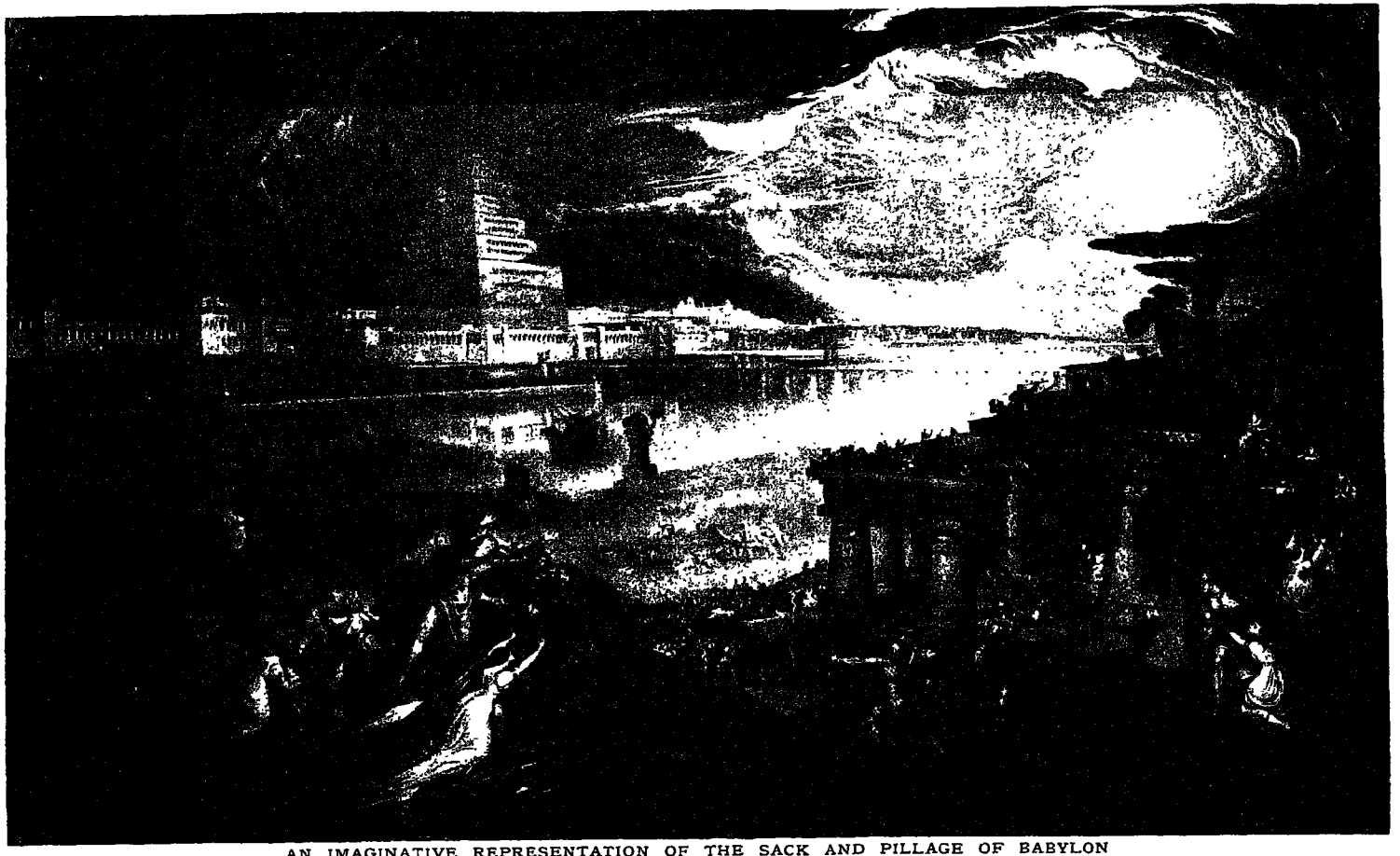
This concludes Babylonian history. Babylon had become a Persian province. The ancient glory, indeed, which so shortly before its setting had shone forth unexpectedly, was not yet entirely forgotten. Several attempts were made to recover her independence, but these revolts were always quickly put down. Nabonidus was merely supplanted by Cyrus, and in Southern Babylonia, which had been abandoned by Nabonidus, and from which he had actually taken away the gods, the people certainly looked upon Cyrus as a sort of saviour. The latter was also shrewd enough to hold the reins of government more loosely in the provinces. He not only restored to the Babylonian towns their gods, but showed the same favour to many provinces which had long been confiscated, at the same time giving them self-government; for example, Judah, and possibly Sidon also. Those provinces, therefore, could not fail to see in Cyrus a liberator from the yoke of Babylon.

Babylonian History Ends

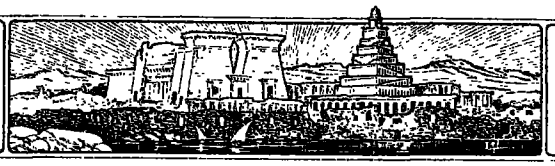


BRONZES FOUND IN NEBUCHADNEZZAR'S PALACE
Figures of a lion and lioness dating from 1800 B.C.—that is, from the first Babylonian empire.

A new era in the history of Eastern civilisation now opens. Persia, before the capture of Babylon, had already occupied Asia Minor, and had thus come into touch with Greek civilisation. The Persian empire, it is true, as heir of Babylon, still possesses to a certain degree a comparatively high state of culture. But this civilisation is tottering with age, because it is no longer supported by fresh national life. It is easily outstripped by the vigorous vitality of the Greek spirit, which is soon destined to extend its sway over and beyond the regions where Babylonian culture has for so long predominated.



AN IMAGINATIVE REPRESENTATION OF THE SACK AND PILLAGE OF BABYLON
From the painting by John Martin



THE MESOPOTAMIAN CIVILISATION

ITS LONG VITALITY AND FINAL DECAY

OUR knowledge of the Ancient East is still very young. All that has been learnt of it from the exploration of the ancient monuments dates from the middle of the last century; and much of this knowledge must be discounted, so long as science has to work with insufficient means. We are still very far from being in a condition to speak of any systematic examination of the soil of these old homes of civilisation; all that we possess in monuments and antiquities, and therefore all sources for the history of these countries, form only an infinitely small fraction of that which a more fortunate age may expect to recover. Every attempt to present a connected picture of the course of the development of the ancient nations of the East must therefore prove inadequate. We can at most learn something of those periods, for which chance has placed ampler sources of information in our hands, and we can seek to trace the forces which have determined the course of events. Of other periods we know little as yet, and all that we can do for them is to supply the names of a few kings or rulers of whom little else has been recorded.

How Little we Know

An essential feature of the sources hitherto accessible is that they furnish us with more information about political occurrences than about the nature and extent of the forces at work in the inner life of the people. The inscriptions of the Assyrian kings were the first to become known, and a considerable number of them have been recovered; thus the section of history based on them is that which is known in greatest detail up to the present time. But these inscriptions record almost exclusively wars, sieges, victories, and lists of spoil. What we would gladly know of the social and political life of the people can be gathered only from scattered allusions throughout the texts.

Our survey of the history of civilisation in the Ancient East must, therefore, to some extent prove defective and unsatisfactory, owing to the want of materials for study. Our sources of information are more detailed for isolated periods, such as the era of the first dynasty of Babylon, for Assyrian history from Tiglath-pileser onwards, and again for that part of Babylon from Nebuchadnezzar down to the Persian era. For thousands of records of these periods are in our possession which belong to the business life of the people—namely, contracts, legal decisions, receipts, commercial transactions of every sort, and private letters. These indeed supply a motley of isolated facts as to the private life of the times in question, but in the bewildering crowd of details we can scarcely recognise with certainty the broad principles, the typical cases which have to be considered in the development of national history. Before these great materials can be thoroughly worked, before the numerous records of different periods are thoroughly assimilated, much work and study are required. And it will probably be long before those periods, which are separated from each other by hundreds of years, can be connected together by filling up the gaps through the discovery of new records.

Material Largely Unworked

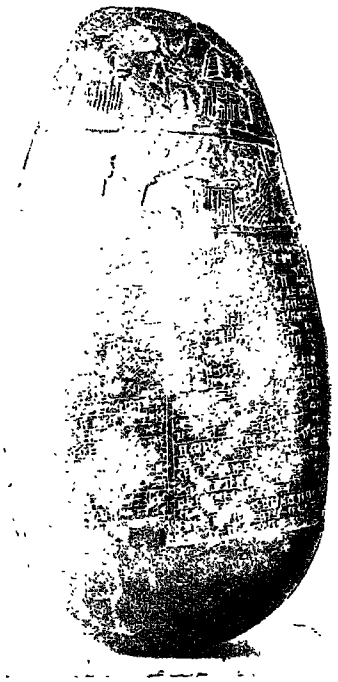
But, even if science had already succeeded in making full use of these countless records, yet they would reveal only one aspect of the popular life in Babylonia and Assyria—namely, the commercial life, and that, indeed, principally from the private side. So far as they concern the life and the development of the entire people and the state—that is, in their bearing on political economy—very little light is thrown upon the subject for considerable periods; and about much else which we in modern times recognise to be

Economic Life Unknown

important in the life of a nation we must be content for the present to know little or nothing. Trading relations and commercial life in all its aspects, the conditions of the tenure of real property in its bearing on the welfare of the state, the rules of administration, etc.—these are matters of which royal inscriptions can tell us hardly anything, and which naturally do not find expression in a commercial or legal contract. To our general want of information on these subjects during long periods of Babylonian history, two periods, however, now present striking exceptions. The famous code of laws drawn up by Hammurabi has furnished material for sketching a picture of the social life of the Babylonians during the period of the West Semitic kings of the first dynasty. The other period is the succeeding one of the Kassite kings, whose numerous deeds and charters illustrate the system of land tenure during the period at which they were drawn up.

The Lateness of our Knowledge

But we know little as yet about the beginnings of civilisation in Babylonia. The long periods when men were settled in the valley of the Euphrates before the time when our present knowledge begins are still hidden in the mists of antiquity. We may be compelled for a long time yet to forego any attempt to determine from contemporary sources, or even merely from the products of civilisation, how the first settlers in the valley of the Euphrates, adapting themselves to the needs of the soil, raised themselves gradually from a state of savagery to a higher stage of civilisation. How and under what conditions men arrived at that intellectual result so important for the historian—the development of writing—is a question for which as yet no sources of information are forthcoming. It is clear that the most remote antiquity to which we can go back was already acquainted with a perfected system of writing.



A BABYLONIAN LAND-CHARTER
There exist deeds of the Kassite kings which explain the Babylonian land tenure system. The essential clauses of these were often inscribed on sculptured boundary stones like the "Michaux" stone here illustrated, which is now in the Louvre.

The valley of the Euphrates, now to a large extent desolate and marshy, was one of the most fruitful tracts in the world. The fertility of the soil is described as marvellous at all periods, of which we have some, though unfortunately very scanty, accounts. The Euphrates and the Nile are two rivers the deposits of which give the tiller of the soil the richest reward for small exertions. In the almost rainless climate of Egypt and Southern Babylonia these river-valleys were the only places which enabled an agriculture still in its infancy to work the soil profitably. On the other hand, the distress in times of drought compelled the Bedouins from the scantily watered steppes to seek pasture there for their numerous herds, and, by growing crops for fodder, to supplement the voluntary gifts of Nature in preparation for the dry season of the year. The complete transition from nomadic to settled life in these plains can thus be explained by the nature of the land.

The step from an agricultural life in the open country to the building of fortified towns is not so great, and must have been taken very early in a land which was exposed on all sides to the inroads of the nomads. But even the gradual stages leading to such conditions are, in point of time, far anterior to the date when our knowledge of the Euphrates district begins. The old seats of civilisation, such as Kish, Agade, Nippur, Lagash, Ur, Erech, Larsa, and Eridu, were towns with a most ancient past at the time when they, for the first time, appear in the light of history. They had already been long developed into that which they continued to be for 3,000 years of the most varying political phases, seats of ancient sanctuaries, sacred since immemorial ages, and towns with a purely urban population engaged in trade and industries.

Oldest Cities of the World

We may assume that even then the conditions of the tenure of real property and professional activity existed in much the same form as that in which they were maintained throughout the later periods of Babylonian civilisation. In distinction to the Western forms of culture, the growth of which we can follow from their beginnings, we here meet with an already systematised form of national life, such as corresponds to the stage of development of European civilisation which was concluded in the Middle Ages: this form endured for 3,000 years, though exposed to the most varied upheavals. Each new migration which spread over the country quickly adopted the existing civilisation, and was subjected to its influence. It is certain that even the less successful among the conquerors must have had their share in the booty: but no fresh distribution of the land among a peasant class ever resulted on a considerable scale, so that we can never follow the course of the national life from the beginning. The leaders of the different conquests always took the place of the old kings. If they did not wish to destroy the whole civilisation, they were obliged to adopt it with its temples and towns, its settled ownership of the soil, and its social classes. This is the principal reason why the individual nationalities so soon die out: they do not start their development from the very beginning, but mount with a sudden leap to a higher stage, beyond which they cannot go. Another reason which no doubt hastened the absorption of the conquering races was intermarriage with the inhabitants whom they found settled in the country. We find, therefore, from the time when our knowledge begins, that the constitution of the land was one of feudal tenure under the domination of the priesthood. The lord of the country is the divinity. He entrusts it to the priesthood and the king: there is therefore temple property and State property. The king has the disposal, above all, of the open country, which he grants to his vassals in fee. His authority does not extend to the territory which falls under the dominion of the god; this belongs to the town in which the god dwells, and, naturally, together with that reserved for the temple, to the patricians in the town. The ground is cultivated by small farmers, who have to pay as rent their share of the profits to the owner—temple, king, noble, or citizen. This system has never been favourable to the prosperity of the peasant class. Even if, after a conquest, confiscated land were divided among the masses of the immigrating people, these could not long maintain their position by the side of the great proprietors, but would be forced to sell the land and become tenants. The small farmer is, usually, personally free—as free as a man can be who retains from the proceeds of what has been wrung from the soil in the sweat of his brow as much as suffices for a thrifty Oriental livelihood. War, indeed, supplied with its prisoners the necessary demand for non-free labourers, the use of whom we have to imagine to ourselves as more common in the industrial operations of the town than in the cultivation of the soil. Out of these is formed the numerous class of freedmen who meet us often in business life.

Babylonia Absorbed all Invaders

Land Tenure System



Mansell

A BABYLONIAN BOUNDARY STONE

This fine boundary stone, like the one on the opposite page, has sculptured upon it representations of Babylonian deities, whose curses were called down upon the person who should remove the stone or alter the boundary which it marked.

We must, on the whole, picture to ourselves the land as parcelled out into small farms which are cultivated by the tenant for the owner. With the simple means and implements required for farming on a small scale, but with all the grim industry applied to every patch of earth which this system enforces, it was horticulture rather



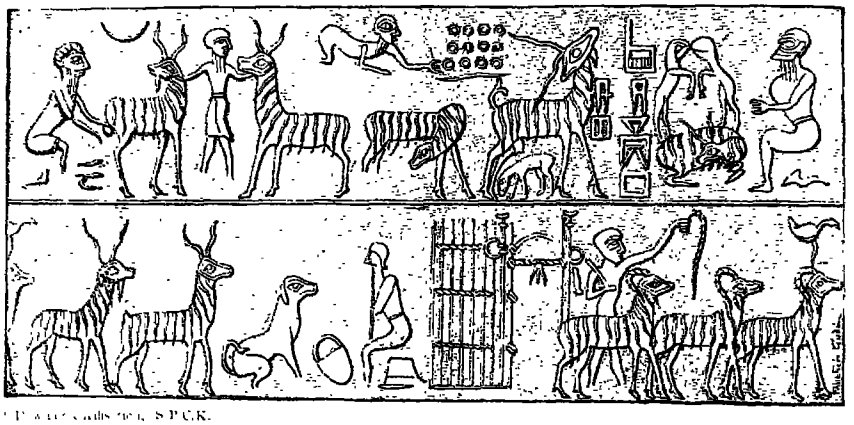
"Dawn of Civilisation," S.P.C.K.

CHALDÆAN FARM OXEN

The Chaldæans kept considerable flocks of domestic animals, including oxen, asses, sheep, and goats, which were pastured on waste land, where they were liable to the ravages of lions and other wild beasts.

than agriculture. The most important condition for a productive cultivation of the soil in the climate of the East, with its rainless summer, is a regular supply of water, and it is the task of the agriculturist to irrigate as large an area as possible. On the other hand, the immense streams of the Euphrates and Tigris, when the mountain snows melt, bring down with them such a volume of water that they flood the most fertile parts of the country, block up the watercourses with their mud, and turn the fields into swamps, as is now the case with great tracts which were once thriving. Thus want of rain, on the one side, and floods on the other compel the dweller in the Euphrates valley to modify these conditions. He is forced to keep the surplus against the times of drought, and he is naturally driven to control the conditions of the water supply.

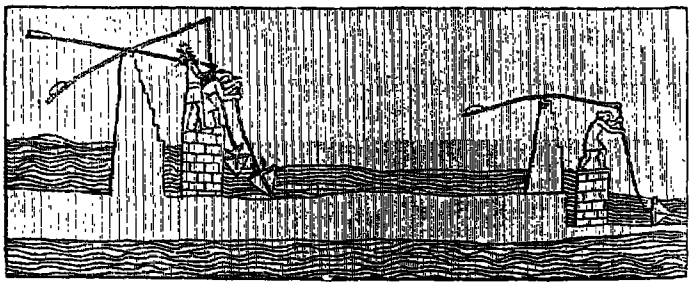
The country then, from the beginning of our knowledge of it, and as a preliminary condition of cultivation on an extended scale, was intersected by a network of canals, intended to receive the flood-water and to convey it from the districts threatened with inundation to the arid parts where it irrigates the soil in the dry season. These canals in some places lie higher than the surrounding country, so that the required water can be let in through sluices. In other places they are lower: then the water, precisely as in the valley of the Nile, is raised to the land by well-wheels, or, if less is required, by buckets which a single man sets into movement. Moreover, the lands lying in the immediate neighbourhood of the Euphrates and the Tigris were irrigated



"Dawn of Civilisation," S.P.C.K.

AGRICULTURAL LIFE IN CHALDÆA, ILLUSTRATED BY ARTISTS OF THE TIME

A seal-cylinder picturing the pastoral life of early Babylonia. On the right is the goatherd driving forth his flock from the goat-house with the crack of his whip. The rest of the lower part of the tablet shows the flock scattered to pasture.



A MESOPOTAMIAN METHOD OF IRRIGATION

A bas-relief representation of the shadduf, by means of which water was raised through successive levels, from the rivers to the fields. They are still in use on the Nile.



SWAMPS ON THE TIGRIS WHERE ONCE WERE THRIVING FIELDS

Want of rain at one time, and disastrous floods, caused by the overflowing of the Euphrates and Tigris with the melting of the mountain snows, at another period of the year, compelled the Mesopotamians to control the water supply.

by contrivances similar to those employed by the peasants at the present day. Since the banks of the Euphrates are lower than those of the Tigris, a primitive form of water-wheel is employed for raising the water from the level of the stream to that of the surrounding country. The wheel is formed of rough boughs and branches nailed together with spokes joining the outer rims to a roughly-shaped axle. Around the rim are tied a number of clay bottles or cups for picking up the water, and the wheel is kept in motion by the current, which hits a few rough paddles fixed to the wheel in such a way that they project beyond the rim. The wheel is set up at a spot where there is a drop in the river-bed, and the water runs swiftly over the shallows. Its axle is supported on pillars of rough masonry, and as it is turned by the current, the cups or bottles empty themselves into a trough made from half the trunk of a date-palm, hollowed out; and the water flows thence through a small aqueduct to the irrigation channel on the bank. This is the most advantageous method of raising the water, for, so long as the wheel is in order and the stream is high enough to turn it, a constant supply of water is assured without the labour of man or beast: and the water can be cut off at any moment by the simple expedient of blocking the wheel or tying it up.



A CHALDÆAN KITCHEN

From a terra-cotta tablet showing Chaldæan farm hands preparing a meal. One makes dough into round cakes, and another tends a pot boiling on the hearth, while two others indulge in a quarrel.

The higher banks of the Tigris render the use of water-wheels impracticable, and here the water has to be raised by other means than that of the current of the stream. The method employed at the present day is to raise it in skins, which are drawn up to the level of the bank by cattle, horses, or donkeys. A well-like recess is cut into the banks, and over its mouth a wooden spindle is supported upon struts. The skin is raised or lowered in the recess by means of a rope, which passes over the spindle, while the funnel end of the skin is held up by a second rope running over a lower spindle, until its mouth is raised to a level with the trough into which the water is poured. The skin, when full of water, is raised by the beasts fastened to the rope, and they obtain a good purchase for hauling up the heavy

weight by being driven down an inclined plane dug out at the top of the bank. Two separate skins and sets of beasts are often employed, and as one is let down the other is pulled up, so that a constant flow of water is kept up in the irrigation channel. There is little doubt that the ancient Babylonians employed both these primitive methods of raising the water from the rivers and canals to the higher level of the fields, while representations have been found upon Assyrian bas-reliefs of the "shadduf" in operation, which is more commonly seen in Egypt at the present day than in Mesopotamia. This contrivance consists of a beam, supported in the centre, while at one end is a bucket for receiving the water, and at the other end a stone is fixed as a counter-weight. By using two or more shadufs, one above the other, water can be raised, through successive levels, to a considerable height.

Babylonian Irrigators Now in Use

While the adoption of these smaller contrivances was within the means of the individual owner of the land, the construction of large canals was the work of the State. We find, indeed, among the scanty information which we possess as to the kings' activity at home, records of the cutting of canals, thus showing that the importance of this duty was fully realised. In the older times, when dates were not yet fixed by the reigns of the kings but by the important events of the respective years, we find under the descriptions of the years by the side of "In the year when this or that war was waged," also, "When the king dug this or that canal." After the conquest of South Babylonia Hammurabi says, for example: "When Anu and Enlil had granted me the land of Sumer and Akkad to rule, and entrusted their sceptre to my hands, then I dug out the canal, named 'Hammurabi is the blessing of the people,' which bringeth abundance of water into the land of Sumer and Akkad. Both the banks thereof I changed to fields for cultivation, and I garnered piles of grain, and I procured unfailing water for the land of Sumer and Akkad for ever." Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar make similar reports of irrigation works. These constructions were sometimes used, as in Holland, for the protection of the country, as we find shown in the later days of Babylonia, when Nebuchadnezzar built the "Median wall," and Nabonidus with its help changed his whole "kingdom of Babylon" into an island. Famous canals, which ran through Babylonia, are the Palakuttu and Nahr-sharri, the "canal of the king," and we meet their names even in the Hellenistic era. The former mainly follows the course of the Euphrates on the south side; the latter effects a connection between the Euphrates and Tigris in an oblique line.

Babylon's Canal System

We must thus imagine the whole country between the rivers intersected by a network of canals of every size down to simple irrigation ditches. It was only through the efficiency of this system that the whole low-lying district was habitable.

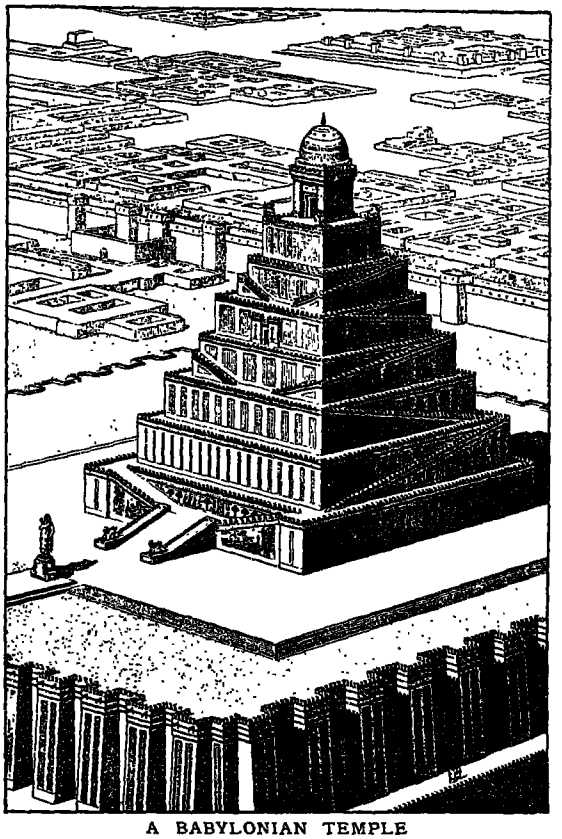


A BABYLONIAN TYPE OF WATER-WHEEL IN USE TO-DAY Frith

For irrigation the Babylonians used a water-wheel made of rough boughs nailed together, with clay bottles on the rim for picking up the water. The wheel was turned by the current, or by animals, and the bottles emptied themselves into a trough on the bank of the river. The photograph shows a modern Persian wheel of similar construction.

Accordingly, until the ruin of those countries by the Mongols, the superintendence of the irrigation works formed one of the first duties of the government. The destruction of the canals changed a great part of the land into marshes; and the first task, on an attempt to make this most fruitful of all districts once more valuable to mankind, would be to restore the old watercourses, the beds of which are still visible in many places.

These works, which are restricted in size and extent by the nature of the Babylonian lowlands, are neither possible nor necessary in the higher districts, especially in Assyria, with its hills and neighbouring mountains, and a climate closely resembling that of Central Europe. On the other hand, we find instances of water being brought from a long distance for the supply of the towns. As instances, we may cite the aqueduct of Bavian, by means of which Sennacherib brought the water from the mountain streams to Nineveh, or the tunnel of Negub, through which Esarhaddon conveyed the water of the Zab to Calah in place of earlier works of Ashurnasirpal.



A BABYLONIAN TEMPLE

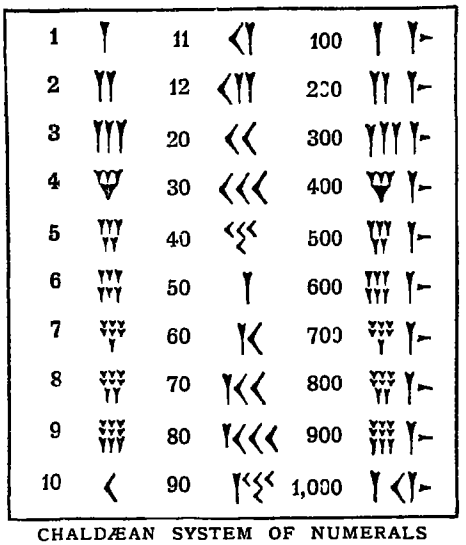
This reconstruction by Chipiez exhibits the characteristic of Babylonian brick architecture, the terraced tower called a zikkurat. Their summits were thought to be the dwelling places of the god. Hence, probably, the story of the Tower of Babel.

In architecture the inventive faculties of man are greatly dependent on the material at his disposal. Babylonia possesses neither stone nor suitable building timber. While the Egyptians found in the upper valley of the Nile the stone necessary for their great buildings, and the river brought it down to the plains, the Babylonians had to fetch even the stone for their statues from a distance, and usually by land; Gudea, for instance, obtained the material for his statues from Magan on the Sinaitic peninsula. We do not therefore find in Babylonia colossal statues like those of the Egyptians, and their buildings were constructed from clay, the material which the land supplied them in abundance. Babylonia is the land of brick buildings, and the influence of its civilisation on the East is most strikingly illustrated by the fact that the art of building in brick was imitated in places where stone was available, such as Elam, Assyria, and even Syria. The want of timber and stone columns led to the invention of a pillar made of bricks. But, so far as we can see, this was seldom employed. The kings preferred to obtain cedar trunks from Amanus, and, when those forests failed, from Lebanon, for the necessary wooden columns and supports, but at no time were they extensively employed. In this respect Assyria followed in the steps of Babylon. The ordinary brick was dried in the sun. It was burnt when additional strength was required, and for the decoration of the walls it was enamelled with bright patterns and designs. The land supplied abundance of asphalt as cement for the burnt bricks, and these were employed in foundations, for pavements, and for strengthening the walls of unburnt brick.

Babylonia the Land of Brick

Importance of the Temples

A characteristic product of Babylonian brick architecture is their "terraced



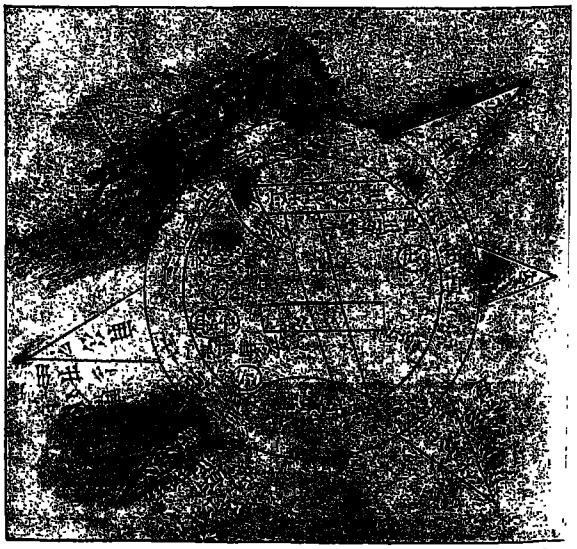
CHALDÆAN SYSTEM OF NUMERALS

The Babylonians were keen mathematicians and compiled numerous mathematical tables to assist them in the calculations which their astronomical investigations required. Their simple system of notation, adopted in the days of the first monarchy, is illustrated above.

towers" called by the Babylonians *zik-kurratu*. These were pyramidal erections built in several storeys; they formed an important feature of the great temples, and their summits were thought to be the dwelling-places of the god. The story of the Tower of Babel was probably connected with these buildings.

The temples are by far the most conspicuous works of Babylonian architecture. To a higher degree than even the churches and convents of the Middle Ages they united in themselves all the intellectual and material products of Babylonian civilisation. We have already noted that a great portion of the country belonged to them, and we may see in them the centre of the intellectual life of the people. The priesthood not only exercised an influence through religion, but was entrusted with the care of science and of the technical arts. Each great temple formed a town with a government of its own, and we have ample evidence as to how it managed its affairs. Countless clay tablets from Tello furnish information as to the administration of the temple lands in Southern Babylonia, and the documents of the Kassite period which have been found at Nippur throw a flood of light upon the organisation of this important religious centre.

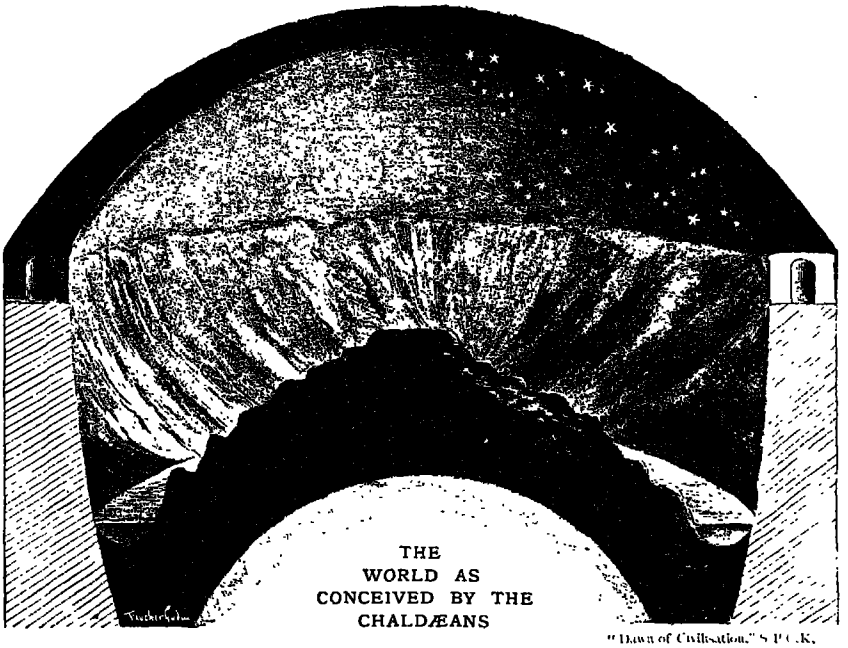
Any survey of the intellectual influence exerted by the temples is, from the nature of our sources of information, more difficult. It is obvious that the duty of giving instruction and fostering learning fell upon the priesthood. The art of writing could be thoroughly learned only from them; they were thus the guardians and patrons of all literature, whether religious or secular, and of the sciences, even those which entered closely into the sphere of practical life. Among the Babylonian priests there were keen mathematicians, and numerous tables have been recovered which were compiled to assist them in their calculations. These comprise multiplication tables, division tables, tables of squares, tables of square roots, geometrical progressions, and the like. Metrological texts have also come down to us, and recent research has shown that the Babylonians could not only ascertain the area of a square or a rectangle by calculation, but could also calculate the area of a right-angled triangle from the length of its two legs, of a rectangle from its base and altitude, and of a trapezoid from its two bases and altitude. From these facts it may be inferred that the Babylonian priests had acquired considerable proficiency in mathematical study, and their



"Dawn of Civilisation," S.P.C.K.

CHALDÆAN MAP OF THE WORLD

The early Babylonian idea of the earth was a disc surrounded by the sea, in the form of a stream. Chaldæa occupied the greater part of the map.



THE WORLD AS CONCEIVED BY THE CHALDÆANS

"Dawn of Civilisation." S.P.C.K.

Like the Egyptians, the Chaldæans took the world to be an enclosed chamber floating on the waters of the universe. The earth was the floor, rising at the centre to the mountain source of the Euphrates. The heavens were a dome resting on a wall surrounding the earth, with the oceans collected in the ditch between.

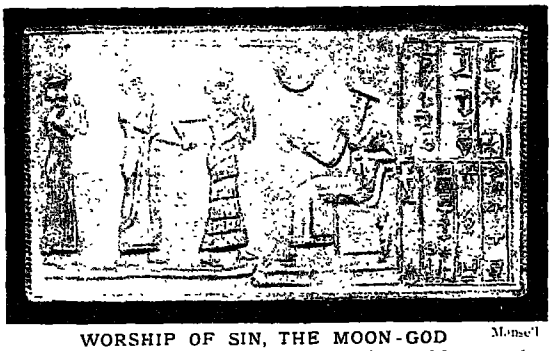
progress in this branch of knowledge was doubtless of considerable assistance to them in making astronomical calculations.

We have abundant proofs that the priests from the earliest periods occupied themselves with the study of the sidereal heavens. Babylonia is the home of astronomy and of astrology, which is inseparable from it in the Eastern mind, and the Chaldæans were reputed to be masters of these sciences even in Græco-Roman times. The movements of the stars were accurately observed and noted. Omens were derived from them, and every possible constellation was consulted. An eclipse is an event which is recorded in the Assyrian eponym canon in a similar way to a war. If the ability of a Thales to foretell an eclipse for the year 585 excited the astonishment of the Greek world, he had obtained his wisdom from the Babylonians, as, indeed, Pythagoras must also have borrowed the suggestions for his symbolism of numbers from the East, with which he is said to have become acquainted as an Assyrian mercenary. A large number of observations of the heavens and the stars are extant, and an even greater number of omens of the most ordinary augural type, which we would gladly exchange for other information.

Babylon the Home of Astronomy

Closely connected with the observation of the revolution of the stars is the settlement of the chronology. The Babylonians were the teachers of classical antiquity with regard to the system of the calendar. We still retain their divisions of years, months, and weeks. The designation of the seven days of the week after the gods, which correspond to the two great stars and the five planets known to them, has come down to our times, as well as the division of the day into twelve double-hours, which we still find upon the dial of our watch. The numerical system was closely connected with these divisions. It is a sexagesimal system with the divisional quantities five and twelve, apparently based on astronomical observations and calculations. By the side of it, and combined with it, the decimal notation was employed. Our sources of information do not yet enable us to trace the origin of either system to its source, or to determine which is the more ancient of the two. The system of weights and measures was based on the same method of computation.

Calendar System due to Babylon



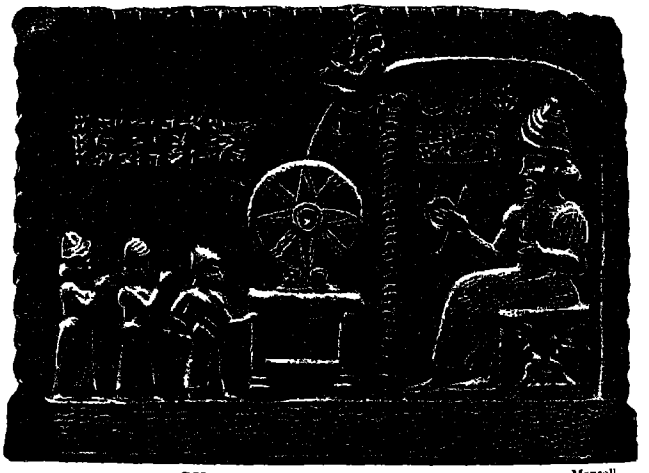
WORSHIP OF SIN, THE MOON-GOD Mansell

The Babylonian gods were personifications of natural forces, and at first each god was worshipped in his own city. Thus Ur was the seat of the moon-cult. This scene is taken from a Babylonian seal, B.C. 2500.

We are faced with a perplexing problem when we are called upon to give an account of the exact duties of the temples and the priesthood, and to explain in detail the observance of cults and the progress of religious development. The phases and forms of men's ideas on this subject during three thousand years furnish matter for a special and comprehensive inquiry, and yet our sources of information on this head are more defective than in the field of political history. Yet a study of the religious and historical inscriptions which have come down to us enables us to gain some insight into the characters of the gods themselves, as they were conceived to exist in the minds of their worshippers.

The gods of the Babylonians present as complex a character as the race by whom they were worshipped, and in giving a summary of the principal facts concerning them it is necessary to bear in mind that the religious system of the later Babylonians was the product of a long period of gradual development. Speaking generally of the pantheon as it existed during the later periods, we may explain the greater gods as personifications of natural forces. Babylonian religion may thus be regarded as a worship of Nature, and the gods themselves may be to a great extent classified as personifications of various natural powers. Thus at the head of the company of the gods, as they were conceived by the later Semitic Babylonians, stood the great triad of deities—Anu, Enlil, and Ea—whose general spheres of influence embraced the entire universe. Anu was regarded as the god of heaven; Enlil, the god of the earth and of mankind; and Ea, the god of the abyss of water beneath the earth. Under the Sumerians we even find these three deities mentioned in close connection with each other. Other gods who personified great natural forces were Sin, the Sumerian Enzu, the moon-god, and Shamash, the Sumerian Babbar, the sun-god. Other gods personified the storm and atmospheric conditions, pestilence, fire, vegetation, and the like; while others again were connected specially with battle and the underworld; and, as the result of a later development, the separate planets were associated with the greater gods in the same way as special deities had from the earliest times been associated with the sun and moon. The goddesses, with one exception, were not very sharply defined or differentiated from one another, being to a great extent the female counterparts of their respective husbands. Thus it is possible, with the help of the altar inscriptions, to recover the outlines of a very complete pantheon of Babylonian deities.

In tracing the growth of this elaborate system of Nature-worship we are met with a difficulty which has not yet been satisfactorily explained. We have already noted that during the earliest periods of



SHAMASH, THE SUN-GOD Mansell

A scene from a sculptured tablet showing the worship of the sun-god in his temple at Sippara. His emblem is shown on the altar in front of the god.



MARDUK, THE CHIEF OF THE GODS, DESTROYING TIAMAT, OR CHAOS

Marduk, or Bel-Merodach, the city-god of Babylon, was, after the rise of Babylon, made chief of the gods. His destruction of Tiamat, the representation of chaos, is the central episode of the great Babylonian epic of the Creation. After destroying the monster, Marduk created the universe in the form shown on page 1637, out of the two halves of her body.

history Babylonia was split up into a series of independent city-states, and it was only after many centuries of separate existence that a permanent fusion was effected between them. Yet we can trace the existence of many of the great Babylonian gods back into this remote past. At this time each is worshipped by the people of his own city, and the fortune of the god is bound up with that of his worshippers. Taken in the aggregate, the worship of all these city-gods under their later attributes presents a consistent picture of Nature-worship in its various departments; but it is not clear how the local distribution of the great natural gods among a number of cities, originally independent, is to be explained. In the present state of our knowledge it is scarcely possible to trace the process by which a local city-god became associated with one of the great powers of nature; and it is also in many cases difficult to decide whether the worship of any particular deity was of Sumerian or Semitic origin. What is certain, however, is that the great cities were from the earliest periods associated with the worship of special deities. Ur was connected with the moon-god; Larsa, with the worship of the sun; Uruk, with seat of Nana, or Ishtar, the female principle; Nippur, with the temple of Bel. But each of these, together with many other still unknown seats of civilisation, had developed in its temple a special mythology during the centuries and tens of centuries of its existence. Thus was produced a confused medley of different systems in the effort to bring a conception of the particular divinity, based on the nature of things, into harmony or rivalry with the doctrines of the other centres of culture.



RAMMAN, THE STORM-GOD

The worship of this god is an example of the adjustment of the Babylonian beliefs and those of their Western conquerors.

In addition to this the various foreign nations which in turn conquered and colonised Babylonia brought their own beliefs with them, and then an adjustment had to be made

between the newly introduced ideas and those which had been long established in the land. We may cite as an example the introduction of the cult of the storm-god Adad, or Ramman, by the Western Semites. Even when the religious texts recovered up to the present have been published and translated it will be a gigantic task to disentangle the threads that run through the different temple traditions, and to trace them back to their original sources. It may be noted, however, that the farther we go northward, the purer is the Semitic element which meets us in the earlier periods of history; and, further, the repetition of the cults proves that the country was distinct from Southern Babylonia. Just as there was a South Babylonian sun-god of Larsa, so there was a North Babylonian sun-god of Sippar: the Ishtar of Uruk was matched by Ishtar of Agade in the north. We know less of the north in the earlier times than of the south. In the later periods other towns became prominent, such as Kutha with the cult of Nergal, god of the lower world. The moon cult, which had its chief seat in Ur, was of inferior importance in Northern Babylonia: but we hear of its most famous shrine at Harran in Mesopotamia.

A Medley of Worships

We do not yet find any mention of Babylon in the inscriptions of the earliest period, and it owes its importance to political occurrences of a comparatively late period, though recently discovered evidence tends to prove that already under the first kings of Ur its rank as a religious centre was considerable. It appears to have become the chief city of Babylonia under the first Babylonian dynasty. Its elevation to the position of capital of the Babylonian empire and its consequent supremacy in the domain of politics were accompanied, in conformity with Eastern ideas, by the development of a justification of this pre-eminence in the religious beliefs of its inhabitants. Precisely as Athens, having attained the hegemony, tried to prove her antiquity in mythology and history, so the wise men of Babylon took pains to prove that Babylon was the seat of the most ancient civilisation and the centre of the world.

Comparative Lateness of Babylon

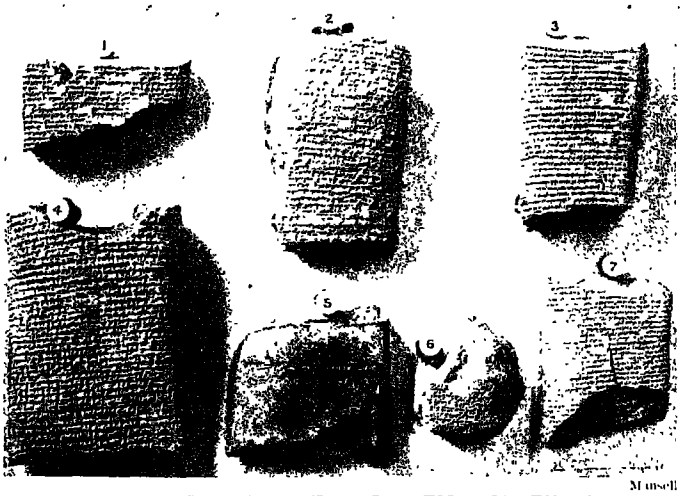
The former city-god, Marduk—in biblical pronunciation Merodach—becomes the god round whom the whole creation of the world turns. We have now recovered the greater part of the creation myth of Babylon, in which Marduk plays the chief rôle, and we may conjecture with some probability that similar works of more ancient origin, reproducing the events of the time when their cities flourished, were taught in the temples of Southern Babylonia. The epic of creation expresses the supremacy of Babylon, which was founded by the dynasty of Hammurabi. It is Marduk who fights the war of worlds for the sovereignty of the Dii Superi, who are threatened by Tiamat (Chaos), and it is he who, after cleaving the monster, imagined under the form of a snake or a dragon, creates the universe out of the two halves of her body.

Until recently only fragments of the great Babylonian epic of the Creation had been recovered, the portion of the text which was best preserved relating the battle waged by Marduk against Tiamat on behalf of the gods. But at the beginning of this century many additional tablets and fragments of the great poem were discovered, and these enable us to fill in completely the outlines of the story, and at the same time to separate the older elements which have been incorporated in the epic along with the later additions in honour of Marduk, the city-god of Babylon. We now know that in its later form the epic was divided into seven great sections, or Tablets, and that Marduk's fight with Tiamat was only the culminating episode in a longer story of antagonism between the forces of order and disorder in the universe. We gather that the Babylonian account of the creation of the gods was similar to that given in Damascius, and that it was Apsu, the male representative of primeval chaos, and not Tiamat, his consort, who began the revolt against the gods.

Babylonian Epic of the Creation

Moreover, the defeat of Apsu, which preceded that of Tiamat, was not the work of Marduk, but that of his father, Ea, and Ea continues to play an important part in the narrative. One of the newly discovered fragments of the poem is of peculiar interest, since it contains an account of the creation of man, with which the acts of creation culminated; and we gather that the Babylonian legend closely corresponds with that given by Berossus, Marduk getting another god, probably Ea, to cut off his—Marduk's—head, that

he might use his own blood for the creation of mankind. To summarise briefly the composite character of the Creation epic, it may be stated that the recently recovered texts enable us to separate the legend into five principal strands; these consist of the birth of the gods, the legend of Ea and Apsu, the Dragon-Myth, the actual account of Creation, and the Hymn to Marduk under his fifty titles of honour. Since the poem in its present form is a glorification of Marduk, and an explanation of how the god of Babylon secured the position of the greatest of the gods, it is but natural that prominence was given to those episodes in which Marduk is the hero, while those in which he plays



THE SEVEN TABLETS OF THE CREATION OF THE WORLD

The great Babylonian epic of the Creation was divided into seven great sections, or tablets, one fragment from each being illustrated here. It comprised (1) a description of a state of chaos; (2) the war of the gods; (3) defeat of Tiamat by Marduk; (4) Marduk as chief of the gods; (5) creation of heavenly bodies; (6) creation of animals and man; and (7) the hymn to Marduk under his fifty titles of honour.

no part are assigned a subsidiary and unimportant place in the narrative.

The central episode in the poem is thus the fight between Marduk and Tiamat, but we have evidence that this legend existed in other forms than that under which we find it here set out. For another legend which has been recovered ascribes the conquest of the dragon to some other god than Marduk, and the fight is recorded to have taken place, not before the Creation, but at a time when men already existed and cities had been built. Thus the Dragon-Myth existed in more than one form in Babylonian mythology, and it is not improbable that many of the great cities in Babylonia possessed local versions of the legend, in each of which the city-god figured as the hero who slew the monster. In accordance with this theory the priests of Babylon ascribed the conquest of the dragon to their own local god, and made the death of Tiamat a preliminary to his creation of the universe. Moreover, other Creation legends existed in which the creation of the world was not connected with the death of a dragon, and although in one of these Marduk figures as the creator, in others Anu, Enlil, and Ea are described as creating the sun and moon, or the gods generally are referred to as having created the heavens and the earth, the cattle and the beasts of the field. But there is no doubt that the version of the Creation story which originated in Babylon represents the belief most generally held in Babylonia and Assyria in the periods subsequent to the rise of Babylon to a position of pre-eminence under the West-Semitic kings of the first dynasty.

Varieties of the Creation Legend

The briefest comparison of the Biblical accounts of the Creation with that which was current at Babylon suffices to show the close connection existing between them. In each account the existence of a watery chaos preceded the creation of the universe, and the Hebrew word *tehom*, rendered as "the deep" in the Book of Genesis, is the equivalent of the Babylonian *Tiamat*, the name of the female monster of the deep personifying chaos and confusion. In the details of the Creation there is also a close resemblance between the two narratives; we may cite the creation, or existence, of light preceding that of the heavenly bodies, the creation of a firmament to divide the upper from the lower waters, and the separate acts of creation connected with the earth and vegetation, the heavenly bodies, animals, and, finally, man. It is even possible that the

Connection with Bible Accounts

connection of the Sabbath with the biblical story of the Creation was suggested by the mystical number of tablets upon which the Babylonian poem was inscribed. Such points of resemblance demonstrate a close connection between the Hebrew and the Babylonian narratives, and the local Babylonian colouring of the stories, and the great age to which they can be traced back, definitely prove that they originated in Babylonia, and were not inherited independently by the Babylonians and Hebrews from a common Semitic ancestor. We may therefore conclude that Babylonian tenets had become naturalised in Palestine even before the conquest of that country by the Israelites. Many such Palestinian versions of Babylonian beliefs the Israelites no doubt absorbed on their occupation of the country, and during the subsequent periods of their history they were subject to the direct influence of Assyria and Babylon. It is clear, therefore, that at the time of their exile the Jews did not come across Babylonian religious conceptions for the first time, but recognised in them many beliefs differing from their own in some essential respects, but presenting an equally striking resemblance on many points of detail. It was doubtless, however, in the period of the exile that the strongest influence was exerted by the religion of Babylon upon that of the Jews. The Babylonian myths of the Creation are thus recognised as the prototypes after which the biblical myths were formed. How, then, did Babylonia become the teacher of the spiritual life of Nearer Asia? We have at present hardly any other evidence of this beyond the remains of Assyro-Babylonian literature hitherto won from the soil, and the records of Jewish spiritual life preserved for us in the canonical books of the Bible. But so long as we have no more material for study, we must try to form our conception of the influence exerted by Babylonian religion from these remains.



THE BABYLONIAN HERCULES
Gilgamesh was the hero of the national epic of Babylonia, which exercised even greater influence on the Babylonians than the epic of the Creation of the World.

Babylonia a Spiritual Teacher

Religion has indisputably played a part in the civilised life of these nations which we moderns are prone to underrate. The priesthood is the nursery of knowledge; therefore all teaching, every attempt to investigate the nature of things, every proof and justification of the existing order, and every attempt to introduce change is referred back to the primitive doctrines of the beginning of things, and by this authority is either approved or discountenanced. To the direct intervention of the priesthood we may therefore trace many of the beliefs which were current both among the Babylonians and the Jews, and the close resemblance in their development of thought explains the ease with which the latter submitted to the influence of their more powerful neighbour. Even monotheism in its perfected form cannot be claimed as exclusively a product of the Jewish mind, though in certain respects it met with singular favour in Judæa. The polytheism of Babylonia finds its historical explanation in the circumstances of times long past in the march of civilisation. If the Babylonian or Assyrian prayed to his god, he did so with the same words as the Jew: his contrition, his submission to the divine will, his trust in his god, were precisely similar—

Parallels to Judaism

only that the former people had found an expression for such feelings and thoughts, while the Jew learnt much of it from them. Even if the Babylonian prayed to Marduk or the Assyrian to Ashur, there was little difference between his thought and that of the Jew of the eighth

century or so, who supplicated Jahve, or Jehovah. The Jew did not dispute the god of those who dwelt outside the dominion of his Jahve. If it was a false god, it was only so in the sense that every Babylonian saw the true lord of the world in the temple of his own city.

The mental activity of man is manifested in the development of mythology, which comes next to the doctrines of religion and is closely connected with them. So far as this is a doctrine of divinities and temples, we have already realised how limited the range of our knowledge is. We must raise the same lament over the remains of anthropomorphic mythology, the hero legends, which form the first theme of the non-religious poetry of a people. A quantity of fragments testify to the former existence of a whole series of epics; but of only a few of them have we sufficient remains to be able partially to restore or to guess their contents. The best known is the Epic of Gilgamesh. In it the deeds of the Babylonian Hercules are glorified, and it has given Hellenism the attributes with which to endow the legendary form of Alexander in the so-called Alexander romances. The work received the form in which it is preserved for us at Erech: it reflects the condition to which the old Ishtar-Nana town, considered to have been founded by Gilgamesh, had been reduced by the oppression of Elam.

Babylonian Hero Mythology

National Epic of Babylonia

This epic exercised an even greater influence on the Babylonians themselves than that of the Creation, for the hero Gilgamesh and his companion Ea-bani appear in countless representations in Babylonian art, and the legend was peculiarly the national epic of the Babylonians. In its latest form it was written upon twelve tablets of equal length, and all are concerned with the heroic deeds of Gilgamesh. They recount his early exploits, the creation of Ea-bani by the goddess Aruru; their expedition against Khumbaba of Elam; the passion exhibited for Gilgamesh by the goddess Ishtar; the fight of Gilgamesh with the bull from heaven; the grief of Gilgamesh at Ea-bani's death; and his journey to his ancestor Tsitnapishtim, who relates to him the story of the Flood. The Babylonian account of the Deluge, which is thus introduced into the national epic, with which it has no organic connection, presents the closest parallel to the Biblical narrative of the same event, and is, indeed, the basis of that account. In this case the parallelisms are so striking that we may set the date of borrowing at a comparatively late period. In addition to the Epic of Gilgamesh we have also recovered fragments of myths and stories connected with the heroes and mythological beings of antiquity. A large number of unpublished fragments, which are still unintelligible on account of their small size, is here, as in the case of all similar literary productions, only further evidence of the information which we may hope to gain some time in the future.



THE BABYLONIAN ACCOUNT OF THE DELUGE

This account of the Flood, which presents the closest parallel to the Biblical narrative, is a section in the great epic of Gilgamesh, who visits Tsitnapishtim, a god who dwelt in an ark, and has related to him the story of the Flood inscribed on these tablets.

It would be a most important task to describe the extent of the industries and trade in Babylonia. For this, however, almost all data are wanting, apart from the fact that in the course of 3,000 years there must have been as many vicissitudes in the industrial as in the political life of the people. We may safely assume that Babylonia, and—since it is the admitted capital in the period best known to us—above all, Babylon, owed their importance and power to their industries and their trade. During the entire period in which we can follow the power of Assyria, Babylon was impotent as a political community. It was compelled to buy its independence from the Assyrians, just as, on the other hand, it obtained by its gold assistance from the Elamites against Assyria. It probably had not men enough to wage war on its own resources; indeed, the conditions under which its land was held precluded any such idea. This fact alone is sufficient to give the country its predominantly industrial character.

What was Babylonia's Commerce?

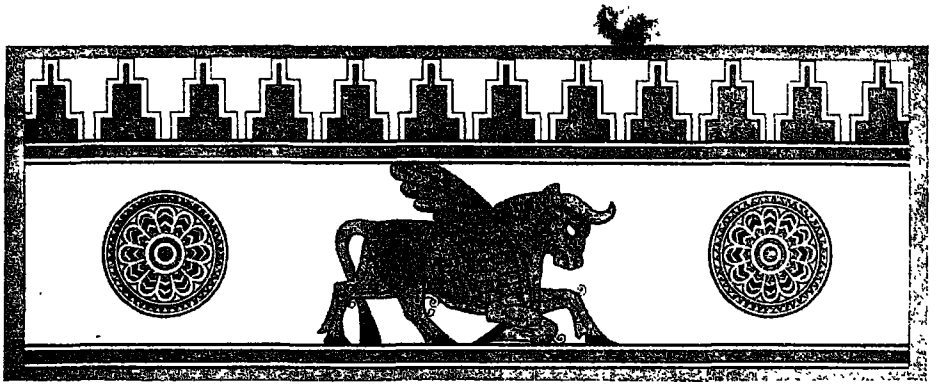
We can draw conclusions as to the extent of Babylonian commerce in the earlier periods from the inscriptions of Gudea: he obtained the blocks of stone and the timber for his buildings from Phœnicia, Syria, and Sinai. Some slight information about Babylonian industries is given us by the Tell el-Amarna letters. The Babylonian, like the Mitanian prince, required gold from the Egyptians: in return they supplied industrial products, especially lapis lazuli, or an imitation of it, which was highly valued by the Egyptians, and was a staple of Babylonian export. The Egyptians obtained weapons and war chariots from Mitani and even from Assyria. If, at the same time, the Babylonian ordered inlaid work of ebony and ivory, it was from a desire for fashionable objects in the Egyptian style, such as have been found in Nineveh: they have no more significance than Chinese porcelain or Japanese lacquer-work with us. The question of the navigation on the Persian Gulf is still shrouded in obscurity, as well as that of the early use of the trade route to India. It is extremely probable that the Sumerians engaged in navigation on the "Sea of the East." The most ancient inscriptions, from the nature of their contents, do not mention anything of such matters: and thus we must, probably for a long time yet, be content merely to speculate upon the subject. In the later period the road to the sea was barred by the Chaldæans. The centuries of prosperity of a state called "the Country of the Sea," and its obstinate resistance both to Babylon and to Assyria, are partly explained by the wealth won by trade relations with the East. Merodach-baladan possessed ships, in which he escaped to Elam over the "bitter water," the great bay at the embouchure of the two streams; there was then no fleet in Babylonia, so that Sennacherib was forced to have ships built by Phœnician workmen in Assyria and brought down stream to the coast. Any Babylonian trade with the East is thus inconceivable. Elam, too, must have had much to do with the traffic on the Persian Gulf, and we may expect to obtain much valuable information on this point as a result of the excavations which are being carried on at the present time at Susa.

Sumeria a Naval State

Hardly any products of Babylonian industries have as yet come down to us. Even the arts of architecture and sculpture, comparatively familiar to us in Assyria, are represented to us in the very home of such culture by few and comparatively insignificant monuments. All that is left to us on a large scale are the ruins of Tello, which have supplied us with a considerable number of statues and sculptures of the kings and patesis of Lagash. While the statues of the earliest kings were but rude attempts, rapid progress was made, and those of Gudea and his time [see pages 1587 and 1597] show the highest perfection of execution. The careful and delicate work on the monument of Merodach-baladan [see page 1617] is one of the few productions of a later period of art which are known to us.

Art of Babylon

In the same way we possess hardly any notices of the order and form of the constitution, of the internal administration, and the military system in Babylonia, though the letters of Hammurabi throw considerable light upon these problems during the period of the first dynasty of Babylon. Anything, therefore, that we can suggest on these points is more clearly explained by the better attested Assyrian institutions, which, since they grew out of similar conditions, exhibit in the main results which must have closely resembled those of Babylonia.



ASSYRIA IN THE MAKING

WE have already seen that the advance of Assyria falls within a period which lies in the full light of history, or can be illuminated without difficulty by the results of excavations. We have further observed that its first natural expansion took place towards Mesopotamia, and that this became its undisputed property, from the possession of which it grew to be a great power, as extensive and as important as Babylonia itself. The history of Assyria itself must therefore be preceded by an attempt to throw light on the conditions of Mesopotamia at this early period.

We have suggested as a probable hypothesis that the great Semitic immigrations reached Babylonia from the north. Mesopotamia would therefore have been first reached by them; the Semites, who meet us in Southern Babylonia, may thus have formed settlements there before they pressed southwards along the Euphrates and the Tigris. Any attempt to reconstitute the early history of this region must depend largely upon conjecture, since systematic excavation has not as yet been extended into that region of Western Asia.

Mesopotamia at the Rise of Assyria

Any early kingdom which may have been formed in Mesopotamia probably had its capital at Harran, one of the most ancient seats of the worship of Sin, the moon-god; and this conjecture appears to be supported by various indications in the subsequent period. However this may be, we can safely assume that Mesopotamia not only stood under the direct influence of Babylonian civilisation, but had a special share in shaping the development of the countries on the Euphrates—a fact that continually finds expression in the high reverence paid to the great sanctuary at Harran. The origin of the cult at Hebron, which the immigrating "Hebrew" tribes may have found there and adopted, is traced by the biblical legend, according to the older tradition, from the seat of the Sin cult in Mesopotamia, while only a later application of the myth claims for it Ur, the South Babylonian seat of the moon-god. The adoration of Ba'al Harran, the god of Harran, is found also in Sendjirli, in Northern Syria.

A Seat of the Worship of Ba'al

In the earliest accounts which we possess, Mesopotamia appears under a foreign dominion. Our sources of information are the Tell el-Amarna letters of King Tushratta of Mitani to Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV. The picture that they afford us of the intercourse between the two countries holds good for the predecessors of the two Pharaohs, so far as they advanced into Asia. They virtually designate Mesopotamia and Syria as Naharina. In this connection it is a matter of indifference to us how much gold Tushratta begged for himself from Egypt, and how many letters he wrote in order to fool his "brother" and son-in-law in Egypt. The point which concerns us is that in these kings of Mitani we may see representatives of a migration of barbarians who possessed themselves of Mesopotamia. We shall learn later that we may possibly assign them to the group of nations which we designate Hittite. As rulers of this country, they play the same rôle which the Kassites, coincidently with them, play in Babylonia.

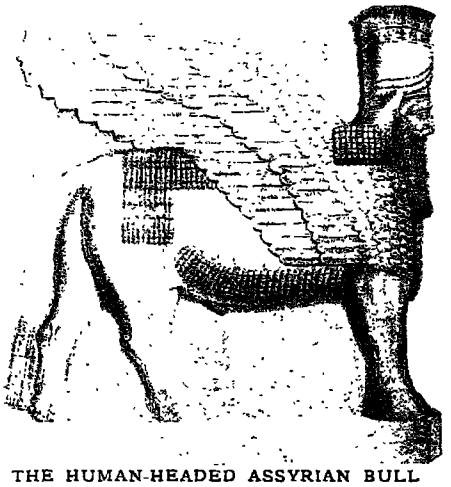
Hittite Rulers of Mesopotamia

It does not appear from their letters where the kings of Mitani resided; but we must look for the country, which is known as Mitani from the letters, somewhere in the region north of Harran, where we may set the centre of their

kingdom. We can define its extent, as given in the words "an heir to the old kingdom of Mesopotamia." In the direction of Babylonia it included Nineveh, which, at the time of Tushratta, about 1430 B.C., was in the power of the Mitani. Obviously, all Mesopotamia belonged to it, and on the right bank of the Euphrates, Melitene, or Khanigalbat, and the district called by the Assyrians Musri, and by the Egyptians Sangara—in a Tell el-Amarna letter from Alashia. Shankhar—a part of Cappadocia abutting on it as far as the Taurus, and possibly across it into Cilicia. Westward and northward of this part of the kingdom were settled the Kheta, or Khatti, the rivals and kinsmen of the Mitani, with whom they were at war, as we learn from a letter of Tushratta to Amenophis. The Kheta must either have forced their way in through the territory of the Mitani when we find them in Syria, or have skirted the real territory of the Mitani kings, by entering Cilicia through the Cilician Gates.



A ROYAL TYPE
From an Assyrian bas-relief.



THE HUMAN-HEADED ASSYRIAN BULL
One of the most characteristic features of Assyrian architecture, these statues were set to guard the gateways to palaces and temples, and were of gigantic size.

What was true of the friendship of the Babylonians with Egypt is true also of that of Mitani, so verbosely emphasised in the Tell el-Amarna letters. Even the kings of Mitani are referred to by Egyptian vassals in Phœnicia as natural enemies of a true servant of the Pharaoh.

This kingdom must have already existed for a considerable period, for Tushratta, the writer of the letters, mentions his father, Sutarna, who had sent his daughter, Gilukhipa, as attested by an Egyptian inscription, into the harem of Amenophis III., and his grandfather, Artatama, who had maintained relations with Thothmes IV., and had concluded a similar bargain—for the chief matter of discussion was the dowry. The writer himself had been at the court of Amenophis III.; he was perhaps educated there as a sort of hostage when his father died. In a letter to the Pharaoh he describes how an insurrection broke out, to which his brother Artashumara fell a victim, and how, on his return, he had suppressed the revolt. The same letter contains an account of the above-mentioned war with the Kheta, who had evidently seized this favourable opportunity for attempting an invasion of the country.

Among all the haggling for presents there is one letter which is of greater interest, as it contains more important news. Tushratta requests Amenophis III. to send back the statue of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh, which shortly before had been sent to Egypt, as it had already been sent in the lifetime of his father, and had on that occasion been honourably returned. The meaning of this journey of Ishtar is not quite evident. It may probably be explained by supposing that Tushratta, like his father, had conquered Nineveh, and did not take the captured divinity as a badge of victory back home with him, but had sent it to the Egyptian king, whose right of protector was thus acknowledged. The "tribute" of the Egyptian inscriptions would tally well with this theory. The question then

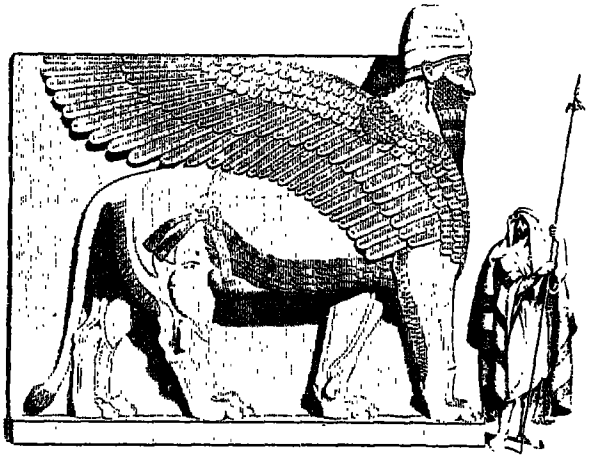


TYPE OF A EUNUCH
From an Assyrian bas-relief.



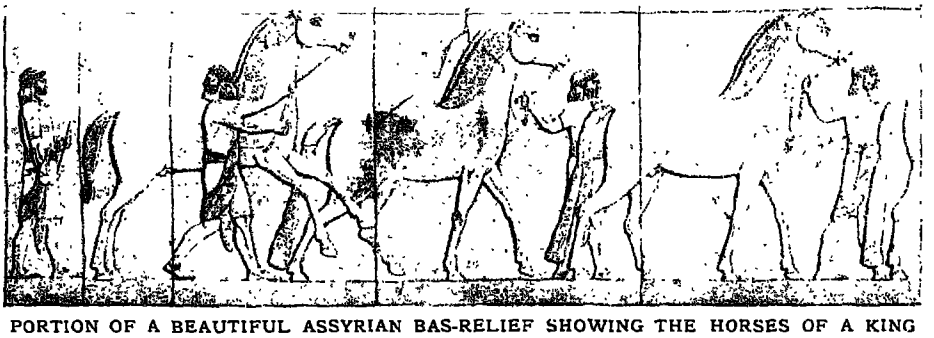
BAS-RELIEF SHOWING AN ASSYRIAN KING HUNTING THE KING OF BEASTS

remains, from whom did Tushratta take Nineveh? We may conjecture that it was from the Assyrians, who by this time must have thrown off their allegiance to Babylon. More important for us is the fact thus proved that Tushratta was master of Nineveh, for we are thus able to settle approximately the date of Assyria's advance. Tushratta's reign corresponds with the close of the glory of his people. Eighty or a hundred years later, Assyria is in occupation of Mesopotamia, and is defending its new possession against Babylon after the Mitani had been driven out. The rule of the kings of Mitani who are known to us is to be set at the end of the period which had seen this group of nations advance beyond the Euphrates. In its first vigour this advance perhaps extended as far as Babylonia, which we now know was invaded by the Hittites towards the close of the first dynasty of Babylon. The fact that in the Tell el-Amarna period the Kassites of Babylonia and the Mitani of Mesopotamia were enemies may be cited in support of this conjecture.



A WONDER OF ASSYRIAN SCULPTURE

This colossal stone sculpture of a man-headed lion from the Kuyunjik Palace, Nineveh, is seen in something like its huge proportions by contrast with the figure at its side. The bull opposite is of a similar size.



PORTION OF A BEAUTIFUL ASSYRIAN BAS-RELIEF SHOWING THE HORSES OF A KING



ASSYRIAN STONE-SLINGERS
From a Nineveh bas-relief.

We may picture the "land of Ashur" in its primitive form, just as was the case with the kingdom of Babylon, as being little more than the territory of the city of Ashur, the modern Kala Shergat. It lies, indeed, almost outside the district which later constitutes the true country of Assyria, the land, namely, which is bounded by a line drawn from Nineveh to the mountains, and by the lower Zab and the Tigris. It is possible that Ashur, from its position, which was too far south to form the centre of this district, and from its site on the right bank of the Tigris, may not have been from the first the capital of the subsequent country of Ashur; it clearly has more affinities with the south and Babylonia than with the north and west, in which direction the northern kingdom first expanded. If we also consider that Ashur was only a town, like many others in the Euphrates valley, we shall be inclined to suppose that its patesis, or priest-kings, were subject to the supremacy of Babylonia, and on occasion to that of Mesopotamia also.

It can be proved that in historical times it was not the capital of any considerable kingdom, and, in fact, was governed only by patesis, and the date of the rise of this new power can be fixed with tolerable accuracy. Tiglath-pileser announces, about 1100 B.C., that part of a temple restored by him in Ashur had been constructed 641 years before the time of his grandfather, who himself had added to it sixty years earlier, by Shamshi-Adad, patesi of Ashur, son of Ishme-Dagan, patesi of Ashur. We have, therefore, about 1800 B.C., patesis



ASSYRIAN ARCHERS WITH SHIELD-BEARER
From a bas-relief almost life-size found at Nineveh.

of Ashur who must have been subject to Babylonia or Mesopotamia. Such was the earliest point to which, until recently, we could trace back the history of Assyria. But the recent excavations at Shergat and the publication of a new chronicle in the British Museum now enable us to trace back the history of Assyria beyond the rise of the first dynasty of Babylon. With the exception of that of Ilu-shuma, who we know was the contemporary of the founder of the first dynasty, the periods of the earliest rulers of Assyria can be only approximately determined. The first king of Ashur, whose date we can fix more accurately, is Assur-bel-nishishu, the contemporary of Karaindash. Ashur,



SAPPERS OF THE ASSYRIAN ARMY
Portion of a sculpture illustrating the siege of a city.

therefore, permanently secured her independence between 1800 and 1500 B.C. Its patesis called themselves kings, and, possibly under the influence of a new immigration, began to expand their power.

The cause of this expansion, and the conditions under which it was possible, were similar to those which gave Babylonia to the Kassites and Mesopotamia to the Mitani. The disorders of the time offered to energetic rulers a favourable opportunity to found a kingdom of their own. On the other hand, the two spheres of civilisation, which hitherto had been connected, were parted by subjection to different foreign sovereignties, and so allowed the country that lay between to found a power of its own. Before, however, we come to the history of the new kingdom, it will be necessary to consider to what causes it was due that, while the Semitic world was now everywhere breaking up, the Semites of Ashur preserved that firm attitude and strength which thenceforth ensured victory for their arms; we will, in fact, ascertain the characteristics of these future lords of the East.



SPEARMEN OF THE ASSYRIAN ARMY

The Assyrian type is totally distinct from the Babylonian, which we have seen to be the result of a great mixture of races. The numerous Assyrian portraits show us clearly marked features, precisely those which we ordinarily regard as Semitic; in many details they are those which we call the "Jewish" type. Our conception is erroneous, in so far as this type is completely distinct from the Arabian, in which we should expect to find in greatest purity the Semitic type; on the other hand, in certain points a correspondence may be traced with that of the modern Armenians, who speak an Indo-European language. It is not our present task to explain this. We have to study the history of the nations, and in doing so have laid down the principle of linguistic classification as a suitable scheme of grouping. The physical characteristics of the nations constitute a principle of classification to be carefully distinguished from the former, for physical mixture of race and development of language follow quite different paths. It hardly comes within the province of history to consider how the Assyrians reached this type, and to which of the larger groups the race belongs. It is sufficient for our immediate purpose to point out the existence of this distinctive Assyrian type.



HUNTING IN THE MESOPOTAMIAN FORESTS

A fine bas-relief from Nineveh, showing huntsmen with a gazelle and a hare.

We are then met by the question, in what did the extraordinary superiority of this people over the other peoples of Nearer Asia consist? The inquiry will resolve itself into the consideration of two subjects in particular—the political organisation of the state, and the economic condition of the population. The "land of Ashur," down to the times when its superiority over Babylonia was undisputed—that is, down to Shalmaneser II.

and Adad-nirari IV.—must have possessed a free peasantry of its own; while the older and more highly-developed civilisation of Babylonia had only a system of feudal and "ecclesiastical" tenure, with a population completely dependent upon it. This was the source of the weakness of Babylonia, which had no large body of native troops at its disposal; while its defenders consisted of "allies" whose intentions were only too clear. Shalmaneser still called out the militia of "the land" when a bold enterprise was planned. Tiglath-pileser, as we shall see, tried to free this peasantry from the fetters of the feudal system of great estates which had meanwhile grown up in Assyria also, and a later reaction began under Sargon. The power of Assyria in the interval had reached its zenith—this prosperous period was inaugurated by Tiglath-pileser himself—but had not then shown real development. Its short-lived success without permanent results is due to the other side of its constitutional organisation, which is explained by the formation of the kingdom.

The expansion of the dominion of a patesi into a kingdom, such as the rise of Assyria shows, was possible only if at the time of expansion its princes had a body of efficient soldiers at their disposal. How far that was connected with the immigration of a new population into Ashur and Assyria is beyond our knowledge, though the possibility that such was the case must not be ignored. Just as David with a trustworthy band was able in the general disorder to seize the throne of a realm comprising various tribes, so the patesis of Ashur did the same on a larger scale.

The strength of Assyria in opposition to the countries of the Euphrates valley, with their high industrial development, was based on the possession of an army; through this alone could it rise into importance or assert its position. A country with a peasantry could supply the men. When this peasantry disappeared at a later period, and even Tiglath-pileser could not save it, recourse was had to armies of mercenaries, who were recruited in all countries, both subject and barbarian. It was with these that Sargon and his successors carried on their wars. With such troops, so long as pay and booty were abundant, it was possible to keep the East in subjection; but after a great defeat, and when money was exhausted, a new levy was impossible. The strength of Assyria therefore rested on its army and its population; and, as they changed, so there was a complete alteration in its fundamental constitution. While Assyria could always recover from earlier disasters, in its later condition, as a state completely under Babylonian influence, with a ruling military and sacerdotal caste relying upon a mercenary army, and without the support of a national population, it was destined to disappear and leave no trace.



BAS-RELIEF SHOWING ARCHERS, THE MAINSTAY OF ASSYRIA'S ARMY, ON THE MARCH

The first accounts of the "kingdom" of Assyria, which was founded on conquests, show us the new constitution. A king of Babylon, whose name is not preserved, calls down in an inscription the usual curses upon every successor who refuses him the credit due for a building erected by him. Then he adds, as a sign of the times: "The treasures of Babylon shall come to Suri and Assyria, the King of Babylon shall bring to the Prince of Ashur the treasures of his palace, his goods to the (town of Ashur ?)." The prince, not yet the king, of Ashur is the avenging enemy, and the curse was often enough fulfilled in later times.

At how early a period Assyria did come into conflict with Babylon we learn from the fact that Ilu-shuma, one of the earliest known patesis of Assyria, waged war with Su-abu, the founder of the first dynasty of Babylon. The result of the war is not known, but its cause we may probably trace to an early attempt on the part of Assyria to throw off her dependence The change of dynasty in Babylon, brought about by the incursion of the Western Semites, undoubtedly furnished her with a favourable opportunity to make the attempt. That it was not permanently successful we may infer from the fact that Ilu-shuma himself, and his successors upon the throne of Ashur, do not claim the title of king, but merely that of patesi. Moreover, Hammurabi included Assyria within his empire, and from one of his letters we may infer that he stationed regular garrisons in the country.



SECRETARIES OF ASSYRIAN KING

A bas-relief, now in the Louvre, showing the highly Semitised Assyrian type. The clean-shaven figure is a eunuch.



EUNUCH SERVANTS OF ASSYRIAN KING

Thus, for a long period after Ilu-shuma's attempt to cast off the yoke of Babylon, Assyria acknowledged her suzerainty, and her rulers termed themselves patesi. The earliest rulers of the country, such as Ushpia, to whom later tradition ascribed the foundation of the temple of the god Ashur, in the city of Ashur, bore the title "priest of Ashur," and this title was also retained by the later patesis. The exact period at which Assyria succeeded in freeing herself permanently from Babylonian tutelage is uncertain, but we may place it with considerable probability in the early Kassite period, when the powerful dynasty of Hammurabi had been brought to an end by the Hittite invasion, and the Kassites themselves were occupied with the conquest and settlement of Northern Babylonia.



1. The siege of a castle. 2. The king in his chariot besieging a city. 3. The king crossing a river. 4. Triumphal return from battle, with scribes counting up heads of the enemy.

ASSYRIAN WAR SCENES FROM THE MONUMENTS OF NINEVEH



THE OLD EMPIRE OF ASSYRIA

THE natural aim of Assyria at the period of her rise was freedom from the tutelage of Babylonia. We are fortunate enough to possess a record which enables us to follow the development of her relations with Babylon from an early period. When the mutual relations were arranged under Adad-nirari IV., all the former treaties and wars between Babylon and Assyria were enumerated. This record is what it is usually, though otherwise inappropriately, designated—a synchronistic history of the relations of the two states, The first lines of the tablet, belonging to the library of Ashurbanipal, on which the document is recorded, have been broken away; its text begins with the treaty between Karaindash and Ashur-bel-nishishu, in the fifteenth century B.C. The details of the treaty are not recounted: it is merely recorded that both states concluded treaties and mutually fixed the boundaries of their territory. We may conclude from this that the contents of the treaty were no longer ascertainable by the archivists of Adad-nirari; there was probably no information on the point beyond the notices upon the royal steles. The same is true of a treaty between Puzur-Ashur, the next king of Assyria referred to, and Burnaburiash I., by means of which we approach the years immediately preceding the Tell el-Amarna period.

Relations with Babylon

The Amarna period includes Ashur-uballit, from whom we possess a letter to Amenophis IV. We have also recovered other facts about him, and can by their help follow his line of action. He complains in his letter that preference was shown to the king of Mitani, whose territory, as we have already seen, was coveted by the Assyrians. He alludes also to letters which his father, Ashur-nadin-akhi, had already addressed to Amenophis III. A communication of Burnaburiash to Amenophis IV. demands at the same time that the Assyrian offers to enter into relations should be declined, since Assyria was his vassal. Adad-nirari I., the great-grandson of Ashur-uballit, is able to announce that the royal greeting of his grandfather had been recognised in distant countries; that is to say, his diplomatic attempts at forming alliances had met with success, notwithstanding letters of protest by the Babylonians, and he was recognised by Egypt as an independent king. He was also successful against the kings of Mitani. A victory over them by him is recorded, and Nineveh, which was in Tushratta's possession, must have been regained by Ashur-uballit. At Nineveh he added to the temple of Ishtar, the goddess who had formerly been sent to Egypt. As regards Babylonia, he followed, under Burnaburiash, or his successor, Karakhardash, the policy of extension of territory by marriage. Karakhardash married his daughter, and their son was Kadashman-kharbe, whose policy and relations to Assyria have been already referred to. We have also seen how the murder of Kadashman-kharbe gave a welcome opportunity to Ashur-uballit of interfering in the affairs of Babylonia. It may fairly be assumed that for the rest of his long life he really governed for his infant great-grandson, Kurigalzu.

Egypt Recognises Assyria

This Assyrian guardianship could not but lead to friction so soon as the young king of Babylon was grown up and could inaugurate a policy of his own. Ashur-uballit's successor, Bel-nirari is recorded to have waged a war with Kurigalzu, in which Babylonia was worsted. The arrangement of the frontier concerned the district "from the borders of Mitani (Shubari) as far as Babylonia." Arik-den-ilu, the next king of Assyria, fought only against northern nations, the Suti, the Bedouins of the plains, and kept in check the invading hordes of Aramæans. His son was Adad-nirari I., about 1300–

Assyrian Guardianship of Babylon

1270. Assyria under him reaped the fruits of the preceding wars. He overthrew the kingdom of Mitani and took possession of Mesopotamia. Babylonia could not quietly stand by and see this. The conflict with Mitani she had relinquished, it is true, to Assyria, but the possession of the country, on account of its importance for communications with the north and west she was compelled to try and win for herself. War was declared under Kurigalzu's son, Nazimaruttash, and Assyria was victorious. The frontier between the two countries was fixed by a line which ran roughly from the Sinjar Mountains over the Tigris eastward to the range of Lulumi; that is, Assyria was assigned the upper, Babylonia the lower, river territory.

Assyria again Victorious

Shalmaneser I., about 1270, completed his father's work. He conquered, in addition, the provinces of Mitani, Khanigalbat, and Musri, lying westward from the Euphrates, and secured Mesopotamia, since he subdued the Aramæans, who were continually expanding in this direction. He then advanced in the region between the two streams towards Armenia, and took measures to provide an advance guard in this district by founding Assyrian colonies. We may conclude that Assyria still had a vigorous surplus population, which sought some outlet: it was still a land with a peasantry. The settlements of Shalmaneser proved to be full of vitality. Although they received no subsequent support from the mother country, they continued to exist even after these districts had twice been lost by Assyria—in the periods after Tukulti-Ninib I. and after Tiglath-pileser I. When Ashurnasirpal again advanced in the direction of Armenia, about 860 B.C., he found these colonies still there, although the Assyrian settlers had suffered greatly. A further testimony to the strength of the Assyrian powers of expansion is furnished by the cuneiform texts from Cappadocia with the numerous Assyrian names, which, as we have already seen, are to be assigned to a still earlier period.

Assyrians as Colonists

Ashur, the old capital, was now no longer suited to be the seat of government of the newly expanded kingdom. Shalmaneser therefore removed his court farther up stream to a position on the left bank of the Tigris, which more adequately met the requirements of the new régime. Kalkhi, or Nimrud, in the angle of the Tigris and the Upper Zab, became the new capital. The importance of this place as the capital of Assyria while in possession of Mesopotamia is proved by the fact that on the decay of the Assyrian power Ashur became the capital once more, until, after the fresh rise of the kingdom under Ashurnasirpal, Kalkhi was again selected as the seat of government.

So soon as the Mitani difficulty was settled and the possession of Mesopotamia secured, it was merely a question of choice whether Assyria would wait to be attacked by Babylonia or would take the initiative herself. Assyria was always ready to play the part of the aggressor. Under Shalmaneser war had been already declared, and hostilities were continued under his successor, Tukulti-Ninib. In the reign of Bitiliash, Tukulti-Ninib conquered Babylon, and thus became ruler of the whole of Babylonia. From an inscription of his that has recently been discovered we learn that he carried Bitiliash, the Babylonian king, as a captive to Assyria, and then proceeded to appoint his own officers in Babylon, and establish there his own system of administration. He also despoiled Babylon of her treasures, and carried away to Assyria the statue of Marduk from Esagila. Among the booty which he acquired in Babylon was a seal of the earlier Kassite king, Shagarakti-Shuriash, and on this he added an inscription of his own. The seal was afterwards restored to Babylon, when it was recaptured by Sennacherib during one of his conquests of the city. Sennacherib in turn added an inscription of his own, and, though the seal has not come down to us, we possess a copy of the inscriptions upon it, from which we learn that 600 years separated Tukulti-Ninib's period from that of Sennacherib, a welcome help to us in determining the chronology. In his newly-discovered memorial tablet, Tukulti-Ninib bears, in addition to the title "King of Assyria," those of "King of Karduniash, King of Sumer and Akkad," proving that he actually ascended the Babylonian throne.

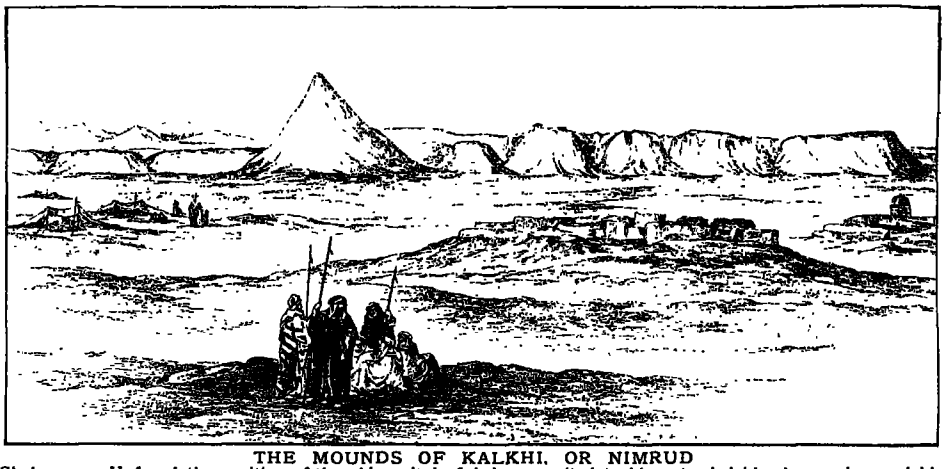
Babylon Once More Despoiled

This state of things lasted seven years. Then the nobles of Babylonia rose, drove out the Assyrians and placed Adad-shum-usur on the throne. If we compare the

similar position of affairs at Sennacherib's death and the rebellion at the end of Esarhaddon's time, we have the key to the meaning of what the chronicle, from which we derive these facts, tells us in this connection. "Ashurnasirpal, his son, and the lords of Assyria rebelled, and dethroned him. They besieged him in a house at Kar-Tukulti-Ninib, and slew him with the word." Accordingly we must assume that Tukulti-Ninib, like the later Assyrian kings in a similar position, had allowed his own policy to be affected by Babylonian influence. This must have caused dissatisfaction in Assyria, because there was the fear that the more cultured Babylonians would assert their superiority and acquire the chief administrative positions. It was therefore an Assyrian military rebellion against the threatening predominance of Babylonia. Probably the Assyrian revolutionary party had come to an understanding with the Babylonians themselves, and Tukulti-Ninib, when expelled from Babylon, found that everything in Assyria was already in the hands of his son. He threw himself, therefore, into his favourite city, built, as we learn from his memorial tablet, by himself after his capture of Babylon, and there he met his death.

If the object of the revolution was a severance from Babylonia, it was very thoroughly realised; for now the struggle could begin afresh, and Mesopotamia, in particular, would be protected against the once more powerful opponent. We know nothing further of this Ashurnasirpal. It appears, however, that he and his successors, Ashur-narara and Nabu-dan two brothers who reigned concurrently, had during the reign of the Babylonian king, Adad-shum-usur, reduced Assyria to the position it held before its expansion under Ashur-uballit. The tone of a letter from the Babylonian king to the former shows a great departure from the previous terms of courtesy. The pair are not addressed as the "brothers" of the writer, but are sharply reprimanded as subjects. In contrast to this, Adad-shum-usur is described as "king of hosts." Thus Assyria was once more restricted to the "land of Ashur."

There were several attempts of Assyria to recover Mesopotamia. Bel-kudur-usur, who probably succeeded a king named Tukulti-Ashur, fell in battle with Adad-nadin-akhi, king of Babylon. His son, Ninib-apil-Eshara, led the army back to Assyria. There he seems to have withstood a siege of the Babylonians, who afterwards returned to their own land.



THE MOUNDS OF KALKHI, OR NIMRUD

Shalmaneser II. found the position of the old capital of Ashur unsuited to his extended kingdom, and moved his court to Kalkhi, the remains of which are seen here. The pointed mound was the zikkurat of the temple.

Babylonia continued to maintain the supremacy under the son of Melishipak, Merodach-baladan I., for he boasts of a victory over Assyria, under Ninib-apil-Eshara or his son Ashur-dan. His successor, Zamana-shum-iddina, however, received a reverse at the hands of Ashur-dan on Babylonian soil, to the left of the Lower Zab, about 1200 B.C. But Assyria did not win back Mesopotamia by this victory, for, as we have already seen, the successors to the Kassites upon the throne of Babylon still held it. In particular, Nebuchadnezzar I. once again advanced into Palestine. Ashur-dan was

succeeded by Mutakkil-Nusku. His son was Ashur-resh-ishi I, the contemporary and rival of Nebuchadnezzar I. After repeated wars the Assyrian king, according to the "Synchronistic History," is said to have been the victor. He occupied Mesopotamia once more. One of his inscriptions records another check to the hordes of Aramæans in Mesopotamia as well as successes against the Lulumi, and against the Kuti, the peoples of the north.

Wars of Tiglath-pileser I.

If Ashur-resh-ishi's activity on this new rise of Assyria corresponds to that exhibited by Adad-nirari I. on an earlier occasion, the reign of his successor, Tiglath-pileser I., about 1100 B.C., presents a repetition of the successes and of the downfall of Assyria under Shalmaneser I. and Tukulti-Ninib. Once more the first object was to secure Mesopotamia by renewed expeditions northward, and by the reconquest of Khanigalbat and Musri westward of the Euphrates. We shall endeavour to throw light on the incursions of the tribes, which here come into prominence, when we treat of the Hittite movement.

We have an inscription of Tiglath-pileser which deals with his wars in these regions during the first five years of his reign. He first cleared the district north of Mesopotamia by driving back or subduing the encroaching tribes, and advanced toward Armenia, in the district between the two rivers. He thus endeavoured to secure the very territory which Shalmaneser had once occupied with Assyrian colonists. He further subjugated the "Nairi country," the district south of Lake Van—that is to say, the highlands between Armenia and Mesopotamia. On one of these campaigns, at the head of the Subnat, or Sebene-Su, one of the sources of the Tigris, he carved his image in the rock near the exit of a natural tunnel through which the stream flows. This image is still preserved, together with a short inscription mentioning three such expeditions into the Nairi country. He then, like Shalmaneser, checked the Aramæan hordes which had spread over the steppes of Mesopotamia, and drove a part of them over the Euphrates into the territory of Carchemish. He succeeded in crossing the river and took six castles occupied by them in "the territory of the Bishri mountains." This is the identical district which appears under Shalmaneser II. as the part of Bit-Adini lying to the right of the Euphrates, together with the town of Til-Basheri. It is interesting to note that at the time of the Crusades it was made the fief of Joscelin of Tell-Bashir, the feudal tenant of Edessa. In this district Tiglath-pileser also occupied Pitru, in the angle between the Euphrates and Sagur, the Pethor of the Bible, and occupied it with Assyrian colonists. Then, still following the example of Shalmaneser I., he subdued Melitene, or Khanigalbat and afterwards Musri, which was in the hands of the Kumani, and by these victories restored the old Mesopotamian kingdom in its former extent.

Campaigns in Armenia

An expedition thence brought him actually to Phœnicia. At Arvad he went out to sea in order, as a mighty hunter, to be present at the capture of monsters of the deep. He mentions on this occasion an exchange of presents with the king of Egypt, who sent among other things a crocodile. We do not yet know who this Pharaoh was. But we see that intercourse between the two countries was not yet broken off, and that the Egyptian kings still had their eyes on Palestine, where Saul and David were forming a kingdom, even if they did not actually interfere with its internal politics. The correspondence between the two kings is not extant. But if it is borne in mind that, only a few years before, these northern districts of Phœnicia had been held by Nebuchadnezzar, it may be imagined that besides the exchange of presents weightier issues were at stake, and that the question of fixing their sphere of interest in Palestine had been discussed by the two powers.

Ebb of the Assyrian Tide

Now that the west had been secured, it was naturally the turn of the east to be considered. We thus come to that period of the reign of Tiglath-pileser which recalls the part played by Tukulti-Ninib. The "Synchronistic History" tells us of two successful wars against Marduk-nadin-akhe, of Babylon, in which the North Babylonian towns, together with Babylon, had been captured; and a small fragment of Tiglath-pileser's annals relates his entry into Babylon itself. But the rapid rise was followed by an equally rapid fall. Sennacherib found on his capture of Babylon, in the year 689 B.C., statues of gods, which Marduk-nadin-akhe had carried

away from Assyria "four hundred and eighteen years before, in the time of Tiglath-pileser;" and this same Marduk-nadin-akhe bears in one of his inscriptions the title "king of Sumer and Akkad" and "king of hosts." He therefore possessed all Babylonia, and may not improbably have won back Mesopotamia as well. Tiglath-pileser accordingly must have lost everything which had been gained in the earlier years of his reign and in that of his father. The extent of Assyria is again what it was after the fall of Tukulti-Ninib I.

After Tiglath-pileser, his sons Ashur-bel-kala and Shamshi-Adad reigned. We must now consider Mesopotamia as under Babylonian supremacy, although this cannot have been very strictly asserted, as is clear from the successful invasion of the Sutu in the reign of Adad-aplu-iddina,



THE SOURCE OF THE RIVER TIGRIS

Assyrian kings on war expeditions seem to have made a practice of cutting inscriptions or representations of themselves at particular spots. Shalmaneser II. and others chose a rock at the source of the Tigris, one of the great rivers of Mesopotamia.

and the later encroachments of the Aramæans. Assyria once more possessed only the "land of Ashur," and was forced for the third time to begin the reconstruction of her empire. Babylonia itself was indeed no powerful rival at this period, and both countries for the time maintained peace. Ashur-bel-kala and Marduk-shapik-zer-mati concluded a treaty with one another, the Babylonian king going to Assyria for this purpose, as we learn from recently discovered chronicles. When the Babylonian king died, and Adad-aplu-iddina came to the throne, the Assyrian king married his daughter, and received, according to the "Synchronistic History," a rich dowry. Ashur-bel-kala was succeeded by his brother Shamshi-Adad.

From this period onwards there was until recently a gap in our knowledge of almost one hundred years, during which we had no trustworthy information as to Assyria or Babylon. From inscriptions recently recovered at Shergat it is, however, now possible to trace with some fulness the succession of Assyrian kings at this time, though the data are conflicting as to the exact order of the earlier rulers. But concerning the history of the period information is still lacking. We learn from later accounts of Shalmaneser II. that at this time Ashur-irbi must have been king of Assyria. He seems to have made an effort to regain what had been lost, for Shalmaneser mentions that he erected a statue on the shore of the sea. This can have been only Lake Van or the Mediterranean; from the context, probably the latter. According to this view, Ashur-irbi, like Tiglath-pileser I., must have reached Phœnicia on an expedition. It must remain undecided whether his statue was among those at Nahr-el-kelb, north of Beirut, or whether the place was still more to the north. Another account states that Pitru, which was occupied by Tiglath-pileser, was, during his reign, seized by the Aramæans. This brings us to the movement which has left its mark upon this period.

Assyria Without an Empire

In addition to the migrations of the Hittites from the north-west, and of the Kassites from the east, Mesopotamia and Babylonia were at this time the object of the third of the Semitic migrations which we have distinguished, namely, the Aramæan. We have already seen several times that Assyrian kings, when they occupied Mesopotamia—for example, Arik-den-ilu, Shalmaneser I., Ashur-resh-ishi and Tiglath-pileser I.—tried to keep in check the "Aramæan hordes" which held Mesopotamia, and to drive them back over the river. The country, therefore, as early as 1300 B.C., had been overrun by these Aramæans, who were still nomads, for

The Third Semitic Migration

Tiglath-pileser I. expressly describes them as such.

Mesopotamia with its great steppes was the first object of their invasion, and thence they encroached on Babylonia. They thus came from the north, like the "Canaanites" and "Babylonian Semites." We have already seen that they waged successful wars against the Babylonian king, Nabu-mukin-apli, at a period probably soon after their capture of Pitru from the Assyrians, and we have met references to them as "Aramæan tribes" at the time of the Assyrian supremacy in Babylon under Tiglath-pileser IV. and his successors. The advance of the Chaldæans from the south checked their further progress. Besides this, it can be clearly traced how the tribes which pushed on before them, and were certainly closely akin to them, hindered their expansion in these districts. These are the Sutu, whom we have found under Ashur-uballit and Kadashman-kharbe still in possession of the Syrian desert. They were forced by the Aramæans toward Babylonia, which we now know they overran and ravaged in the reign of Adad-aplu-iddina, the contemporary of Ashur-bel-kala. They were afterwards driven to the left bank of the Tigris, up to the mountains in the west of Elam, where they still remained at the time of Sargon. Still later, after the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib, in 689 B.C., we find them raiding Babylonia.

Thus even in the eighth and the early part of the seventh century the sequence of the Sutu and Aramæans in Babylonia is clearly recognisable. Just as these tribes first came into the country at the time when the Kassites were able to establish their power owing to the weakness of Babylonia, so, after 1100, when neither Assyria nor Babylonia could offer any vigorous resistance to them, their expansion was all the easier. This period covers the above-mentioned devastation of Babylonia by the Sutu; and we must also include the advance into Babylonia of the Aramæan tribes which afterward settled there.

At the same time they occupied Mesopotamia, which lay still more open to them. As soon as our sources of information upon the history of Assyria are again available, we find Aramæan settlements there and a predominantly Aramæan population. The language of the land of Suri then became Aramaic, and the terms "Syrians" and "Aramæans," originally completely distinct, became gradually synonymous. We must picture to ourselves that the century after Tiglath-pileser was filled by numerous settlements of this class in Mesopotamia. The Assyrian kings must have offered some opposition to the Aramæan occupation. On the whole, we may conclude that the fortunes of war fluctuated greatly in the struggle, and that its course may be compared to the typical case of the Chaldæans in Babylonia.



ON THE EUPHRATES, ONE OF THE TWO GREAT RIVERS OF MESOPOTAMIA



THE MIDDLE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

ALTHOUGH Babylon and Assyria were not in a position to protect Mesopotamia against the Aramæan migration, they could still dispute its possession. We have seen that Babylon, after the reign of Tiglath-pileser, was superior to Assyria; and this relation appears to have lasted up to the beginning of the "Chaldæan dynasty." So soon as we again have Assyrian records, this question has already been settled once for all; from this time onward every Assyrian king, to the end of the Assyrian empire, probably included Mesopotamia within the limits of his dominions.

The names of the next kings, whose succession is now unbroken, are: Tiglath-pileser III., about 950; Ashurdan II., about 930; and Adad-nirari III. With the reign of the last-named, the "Eponym Canon"—the *limmu* list—begins; this document gives a list of the Assyrian Eponyms, *limmu*, by which the separate years were dated. Henceforth, to nearly the end of the kingdom, each year of Assyrian history can be verified by its *limmu*.

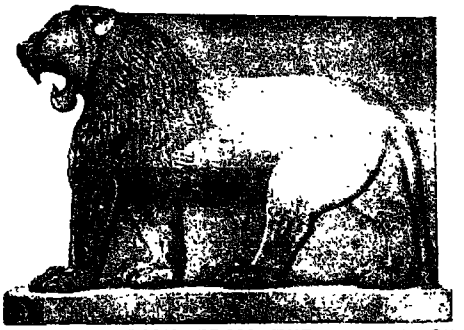
At this period, Mesopotamia has become an integral part of the Assyrian empire, and Harran and Ashur are the capitals of the two divisions of the country. The one division is completely occupied by an Aramæan population, which, even in the old towns, must have caused the same annoyance to the old population as the Chaldæans did to the Babylonians; it also included a number of Aramæan states, the princes of which used every opportunity to assert their independence or to win the sovereignty for themselves. Thus near Harran is an Aramæan state, Bit-Adini, a counterpart to the Edessa of the Crusaders; similarly, near Babylon is the Chaldæan Bit-Dakuri, and we shall learn of others in the time of Ashurnasirpal. The subjugation of these settlements and tribes formed, therefore, the immediate task of Assyria, which did not intend to be at the mercy of any ambitious prince.

Mesopotamia Becomes Assyrian

Adad-nirari III. was succeeded by his son Tukulti-Ninib II., who reigned from 890 to 885. The latter, on an expedition to the "Nairi country" had an inscription carved by the side of that of Tiglath-pileser I. at the natural tunnel on the Subnat. The same thing was also done by Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser II., his son and his grandson. Tukulti-Ninib was afterwards solicitous to secure the districts of Assyria which had been colonised by Shalmaneser and won back by Tiglath-pileser. Under Ashurnasirpal their possession was secured.

Campaigns of Ashur-nasirpal

With Ashurnasirpal, or Ashur-nasir-apli II., who ruled from 885 to 860, our sources of information once more become abundant. We possess several very long inscriptions, which describe his campaigns in detail. He it was who reduced Mesopotamia to order, and put an end to the independence of the Aramæan princes. He abolished the feudal system, and carried out the principle of provincial administration. His accounts of these achievements give us an insight into the conditions of the country.



COLOSSAL LION FROM THE PALACE OF ASHURNASIRPAL AT KALKHI

In 884 B.C., his first full year of sovereignty, an insurrection broke out in the Aramæan state Bit-Khadippi, or Bit-Khalupi, on the Lower Khabur. There the prince, who was an adherent of Assyria, and had therefore been conquered at some earlier period, had been killed, and a prince

had been summoned from the adjoining Bit-Adini, near Harran, who was a sworn enemy of Assyria. Ashurnasirpal was on the Euphrates in Kummukh, and he hastened to Bit-Khadippi. While he was on his way the Aramæan princes



A UNIQUE STATUE OF ASHURNASIRPAL

This fine statue of one of Assyria's most famous kings is of interest because it is the only statue carved in the round which has been found out of many hundred sculptures.

of Shadikanna, or Gardikanna, and Shuna hastened to show their submission by payment of tribute. On his arrival, Sura, the capital of Bit-Khadippi, submitted, and surrendered its prince, Akhiiababa, but did not escape severe punishment.

The course of this insurrection is typical of most of the struggles of Assyria with these Aramæans, as with other tribes in a similar position. If a favourable opportunity presented itself, they sought alliance with others, and suspended the payment of tribute, but they seldom offered resistance to an Assyrian army. On the right bank of the Euphrates, beginning with Syria, and extending as far as Babylonia, Ashurnasirpal was acquainted with three such semi-nomadic peoples as a result of the Aramæan immigration—namely, the peoples of Laki, Khindanu (around the lower reaches of the Khabur), and Sukhi. They were subjugated in various campaigns. We have already seen that Babylonia interfered in the war with Sukhi. Generally speaking, none of these insurrections were undertaken recklessly, but in reliance upon the powerful aid afforded by Babylonia. Babylon was trying thus to regain her influence over Mesopotamia, and abandoned the attempt only when the whole country was subject to Assyria.

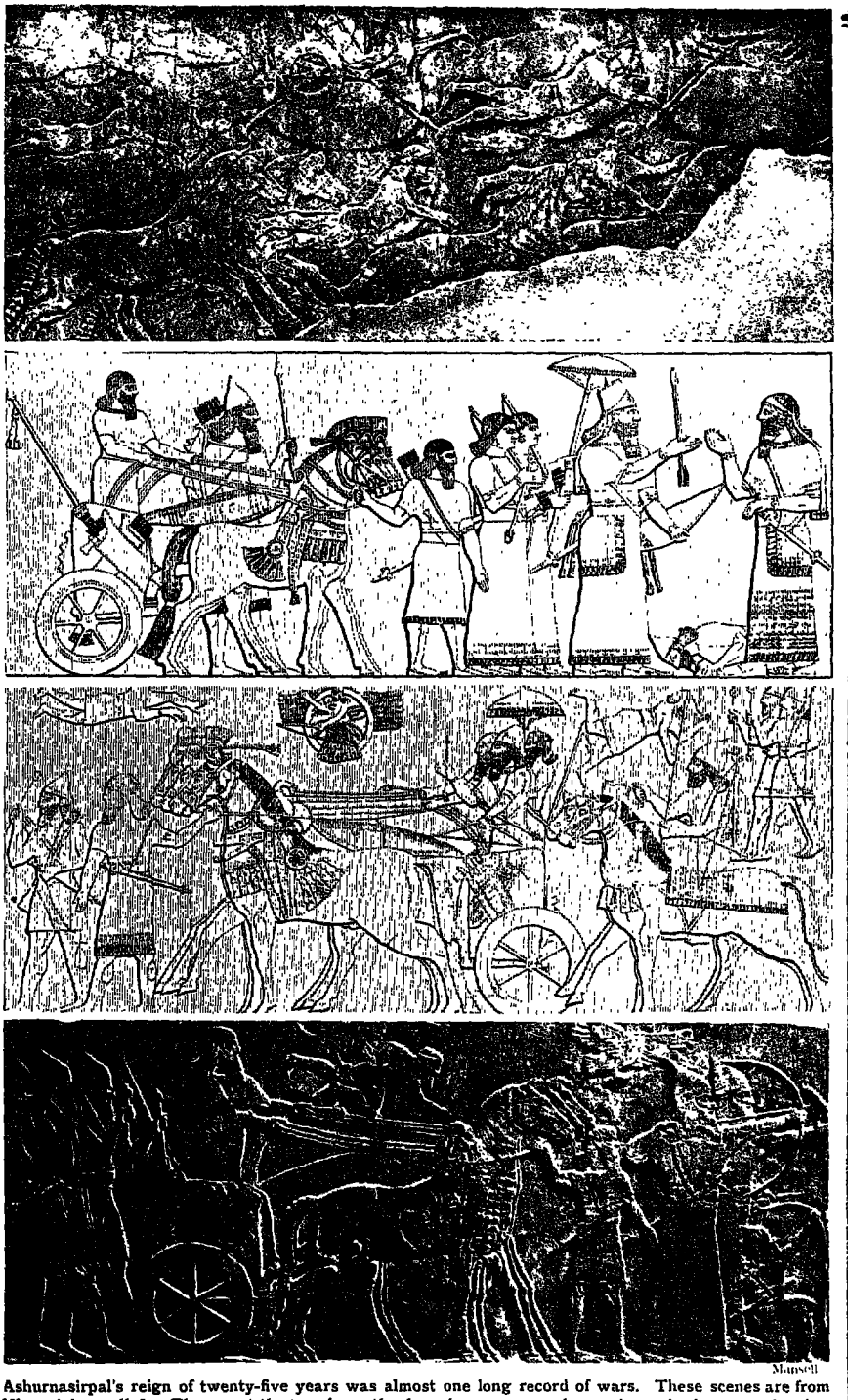
The most formidable opponent was the prince Akhuni of Bit-Adini, the Aramæan state which abutted on the territory of Harran and commanded Northern Mesopotamia. Most of the rebellions of the small states on the Khabur were the result of his instigation. Ashurnasirpal, as soon as he had restored tranquillity on the Khabur and on the Euphrates, turned his arms against him in 878 B.C. Akhuni submitted, as also his ally, Khabini of Til-abnaia. These districts were again traversed in the Syrian campaign of the following year, and tribute was enforced; Akhuni was compelled even to supply



ASHURNASIRPAL AND SERVITORS

From a beautiful painted tile from the king's palace at Kalkhi. It retains all its colours, even after 2,700 years.

troops. At that time Aramæan princes on the other side of the Euphrates, from the most northerly part of Syria, paid tribute. The Aramæan expeditions were not difficult or costly wars, for the restless Bedouins had already become pea-eable



Mansell

Ashurnasirpal's reign of twenty-five years was almost one long record of wars. These scenes are from Nineveh bas-reliefs. The one at the top shows the Assyrian army crossing a river, the horses swimming and men in boats or on inflated skins, which they blow out themselves. The next three show the king receiving prisoners, returning triumphant from battle, and directing the operations of a siege from his chariot.

THE CAMPAIGNS OF ASHURNASIRPAL FROM NINEVEH'S MONUMENTS

peasants and readily submitted to any large army sent against them.

Ashurnasirpal had conducted most of his campaigns in the north against the Nairi country, where his object was to recover and to secure the old possessions of Assyria. In the districts west and south of Mons Masius, the Assyrian colonists who had been ill-treated by the surrounding population, and had fled to the mountains, were brought back, and the province of Tushkha was once more secured. In the same part, Tela, which was inhabited by Assyrians and had revolted, was punished with barbarous severity; a like fate befell the disloyal governor Khulai, who had wished to occupy Damdamusa. Some other expeditions were led over the Tigris still farther into the Nairi country. He also advanced on the other side of Arbela toward Lake Urumiya, where the most important countries subdued were Khubushkia, Zamua, and Gilzan.

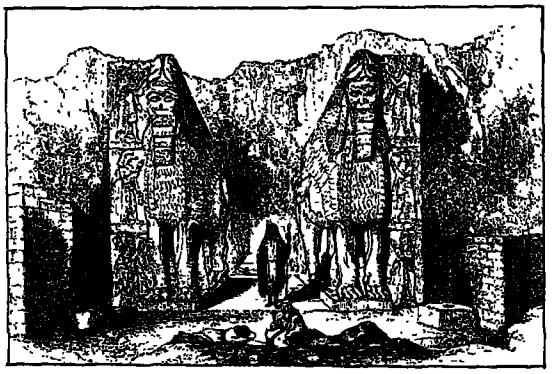
Expedition to Phœnicia

When, like Tiglath-pileser I., he had attained his immediate object, he undertook an expedition into Phœnicia in 877 B.C. Starting from Bit-Adini, which had been subdued, the king crossed the Euphrates on rafts of inflated sheepskins, a method still employed at the present day, and marched on the left bank down stream to Carchemish, "the capital of the Khatti country." Sangara, "king of the Khatti country," paid tribute and furnished his contingent for the army. The Syrian state of Patini, now occupied by Aramæans, which comprised the district north of the lake of Antioch, the so-called Amq, and stretched farther south to the Orontes, adjoined the district of Carchemish on the west. Khazazi was first conquered, and when the Assyrian army, after crossing the Afrin, advanced to Kunulua, the capital, the king, Lubarna, or Liburna, submitted, paid tribute, and furnished troops for the rest of the campaign. Gusi, prince of the Aramæan state Iakhani, near Arpad, did the same.

The march was continued from Kunulua over the western stream of the Amq, the Kara-su, and then southward, the Orontes being crossed below the lake. Here, in the most northerly hinterland of the Phœnician coast, which had belonged to Patini and was called "Lukhuti," Ashurnasirpal founded an Assyrian colony, following the example of Shalmaneser I. in Nairi. He then marched farther south along the sea, where a sacrifice was offered to the gods. The spot was probably near the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb, where one of the weather-worn Assyrian reliefs which may still be seen there may perhaps represent the monument erected by Ashurnasirpal to commemorate his victory. Arvad, Gebal, Sidon, Tyre, and the Amorites in the hinterland sent tribute.

Assyrian Triumphs in Phœnicia

Another division had been sent northward to the Amanus, in order to fell cedar-trees there for buildings in Nineveh. Tyre is the most southern state of which mention is made. The Omri dynasty was then reigning in Israel, and the movements of the Assyrian army must have been watched and carefully followed by it. Ashurnasirpal did not, however, venture to penetrate further, for the more southern districts either paid tribute to Damascus or were under its protectorate. Ashurnasirpal did not venture on a quarrel with this powerful state. Since he feared it, he makes no allusion to it in his inscriptions; and he demanded tribute only from such towns and cities as were not subject to the influence of its king. In other respects the expedition of Ashurnasirpal was nearly a repetition of that of Tiglath-pileser I., which he evidently took as his model.



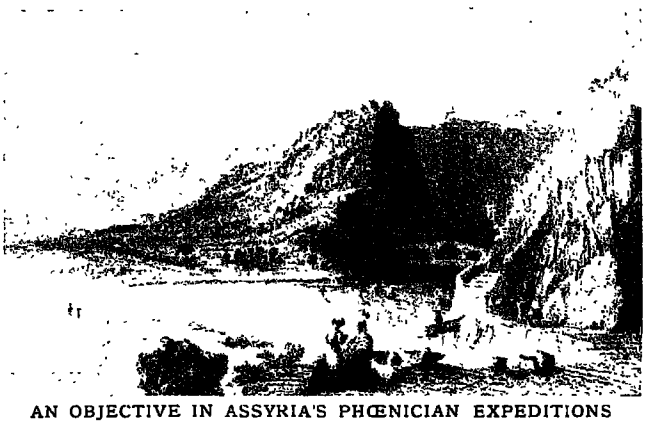
AN ENTRANCE TO ASHURNASIRPAL'S PALACE

Colossal human-headed winged lions or bulls were set at entrances to Assyrian palaces or temples to guard against evil-working deities.

We must regard the steps taken to secure Mesopotamia as the most valuable result of his reign. As Shalmaneser I. had done before

him, so he, in accordance with the altered conditions, removed his capital from Ashur once more to Kalkhi, where his palace, the "North-west palace," has been excavated by Layard; he also constructed an aqueduct from the Zab, which brought water to the city.

His successor, Shalmaneser II., who reigned from 860 to 825 B.C., continued the work of his father from the point where the latter left off. His success in Babylonia has been already described. In Mesopotamia he confiscated most of the fiefs of the conquered Aramæan princes and placed them under Assyrian administration; in the north he subjugated the same districts as his father, and made fresh conquests; finally, in Syria he ventured to attack Damascus, a step which his father had so carefully avoided.



AN OBJECTIVE IN ASSYRIA'S PHŒNICIAN EXPEDITIONS

Assyrian kings invading Phœnicia came to the mouth of this river, the Nahr-el-Kelb, and carved on the rocks here inscriptions or bas-reliefs of themselves.

The first years of the reign of Shalmaneser II. were devoted to the affairs of Mesopotamia. In three campaigns, between 859 and 857 B.C., Akhuni of Bit-Adini, who had again rebelled, was defeated, and his territory was forfeited and made a province, and partly colonised by Assyrians. A similar fate befell another Aramæan prince, Giammu, in the Belikh valley in 854 B.C. Thus, all independent government of the Aramæans in Mesopotamia ceased; they became Assyrian subjects.

Shalmaneser Invades Syria

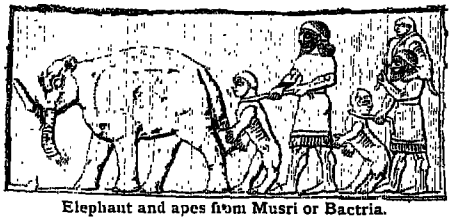
For Shalmaneser, as for Ashurnasirpal, the next step after the conquest of Mesopotamia was naturally the occupation of Syria, and, if possible, of Palestine. His father had subjugated the northern part, Patini; it now remained to conquer the state which the former had avoided, and which ruled all Cœle-Syria and Palestine. In 854 Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates near Til-Barsip, which had recently been Akhuni's capital, and was then the seat of an Assyrian governor, and marched in a southerly direction towards Pitru, which had also been retaken from the Aramæans and placed under Assyrian government. There he received the tribute of the Syrian princes, who had voluntarily submitted or had already been reduced to submission. They were Sangar of Carchemish, who in 877 had done homage to Ashurnasirpal: Kundaspi of Kummukh; Arame of Gusi: Lalli of Melitene—also already tributary to Ashurnasirpal; Khaiani of Gabar-Sam'al; and Kalparunda of Patini and Gurgum—the two latter, in the district of Senjirli, princes of parts of what was formerly Patini. Thence the expedition advanced to Aleppo, which offered no resistance, and Shalmaneser sacrificed to Hadad, the god of the city.

Thence marching in a southerly direction, he reached the sphere of influence of Damascus, the borders of Hamath, where Irkhulini, the prince, was allied with King Bir-idri of Damascus, or paid him tribute. Bir-idri with his army met him near Karkar in the vicinity of Hamath. Among the vassals who had to obey the call to arms are mentioned: Irkhulini of Hamath, Ahab of Israel, the princes of Kue or Cilicia, Musri, Irqana, Matin-baal of Arvad, the princes of Usana, Siana, the North Phœnicians, Gindibu of the Arabians, who are first mentioned here, and Ba'sa of Ammon. Shalmaneser, of course, claimed a splendid victory; but the result of the battle was his withdrawal to Assyria and a continuation of the power of Damascus in its full extent. Since in 852–1 Babylonian affairs prevented any immediate renewal of hostilities, no action was taken until the year 849 B.C., when the results were equally trifling. Shalmaneser fared no better in the succeeding year, 848, when he invaded Hamath from the Amanus—

Attack on Damascus

that is to say, from the tributary country of Patini—won a similar "victory," and was obliged to return to Assyria once more without having achieved any real results. Damascus had thus proved to be a well-matched rival; the Assyrian army had to fight against a thoroughly disciplined force, and not against the levies of an uncivilised tribe. Shalmaneser, however, was only incited to greater efforts to overthrow this rival, whose defeat would secure him all Syria and Palestine. Three years later he undertook another expedition, having this time raised levies "of the land"—that is to say, he recruited his force among the hardy peasant population of Assyria. But his rival placed an unusually strong force in the field; and the "victory" of Shalmaneser was of the same character as the earlier ones which his inscriptions record.

He first gained a definite success when there was a change of sovereigns at Damascus, and he was thus able to win the vassals partly over to his side. Biridri was dead, and Hazael had become king of Damascus; meanwhile in Israel a revolution had set Jehu on the throne, and he looked to Assyria for support. Damascus now stood entirely alone. We have frequently noticed how the death of a king is the signal for a universal defection of his vassals. Hazael was dependent, therefore, on his own resources. Shalmaneser advanced from the north along the coast, in order to attack Damascus from the side of Beirut, where he had an image of himself cut in the face of the rock near the mouth of the Nahr el-Kelb.



Elephant and apes from Musri or Bactria.



Shawls and vessels from Kalparunda of Patini.



Ambassadors of Jehu, king of Israel.

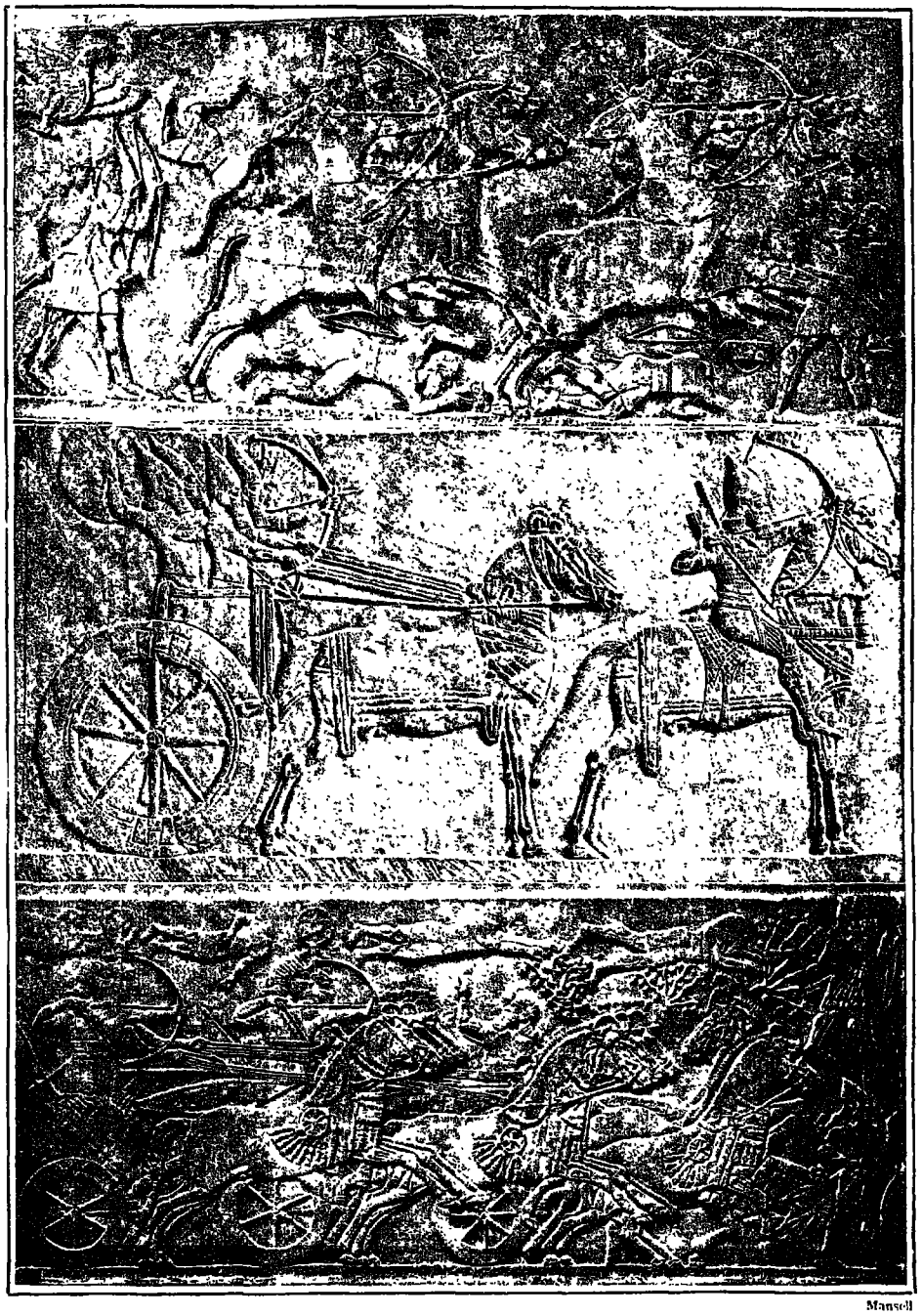


Shalmaneser and ambassadors from Gilzan.

TRIBUTE TO SHALMANESER IV.
Above are represented scenes from the famous Black Obelisk set up by Shalmaneser IV. at Kalkhi, or Nimrud

Hazael tried to bar his passage between Hermon and the Antilebanon, but failed to check him, and was forced to retire behind the walls of Damascus. Shalmaneser besieged the city for some time, but obtained no success. It was not the mud walls of an ordinary provincial town which resisted his battering-rams. He had to be content with laying waste the open country as far as the Hauran, and then to withdraw homeward with the indemnity which Tyre and Sidon always paid, and the homage of Jehu. Even a sixth attempt, in 839 B.C., met with no better results, and Damascus preserved her independence. The state thus continued to exist which blocked Assyria's road to Palestine. The whole course of Israelitish history was determined by this fact. For the next hundred years Israel and Judah remained under the influence of Damascus; and when finally Damascus fell, in 731 B.C., the fate of Israel also was sealed.

Shalmaneser made no further attack on Damascus after 839; Israel and the rest of Palestine were, therefore, left to themselves to deal with Damascus. Although Cœle-Syria and Palestine had temporarily escaped the Assyrian power, a further conquest of Northern Syria and a wider expansion towards Asia Minor remained to be effected. Melitene, Patini, and Amq had acknowledged the Assyrian supremacy; but now Shalmaneser advanced over the Amanus and into the district of the Taurus. Kue, or Cilicia, had been at first tributary to Damascus; it was now, in 840, 835, and 834, subjugated, and at Tarsus Kirri was made king in the



Mansell

USE OF THE HORSE IN ASSYRIAN WARFARE

Before the time of Ashurnasirpal the Assyrian army consisted only of the archers, slingers, spearmen, sappers, and charioteers, who have been illustrated in earlier pages. In his campaigns he introduced the horsed archers, shown in the bas-relief from which the top picture is reproduced. A very typical horsed chariot, with driver, archer, and shield-bearers is shown in the middle, while the third represents chariots and cavalry in action in one of Ashurnasirpal's many battles. The vigorous movement which the Assyrian sculptor has suggested in this sculpture is very striking.

room of his brother Kate. To the north of the Taurus tribute was demanded from the Tabul, who were governed by their own chiefs, and thus the circle of Assyrian vassal states from Cilicia over the Taurus as far as Melitene was completed.

Wars Against Urartu

The district of Malatia (Khanigalbat) formed part of the Armenian highlands, and was, therefore, the next object of attack by a power advancing in that direction. It had been secured for Assyria under Shalmaneser, Tiglath-pileser, and Ashurnasirpal, who had already conducted campaigns up to Lake Van. Since in the north of this country some approximation to a united state had been achieved in Urartu, with its capital on Lake Van, Shalmaneser made war upon its kings. By 857 he had once more marched through the districts south of the Upper Euphrates, namely, Alzi, Zamani, and Anzitene, and on the other side of the Arsanias Sukhme and Daiaeni, which had been subject to his predecessors, Shalmaneser I. and Tiglath-pileser. He invaded the territory of Urartu from this point, and King Arame withdrew into the interior. A statue of Shalmaneser was erected near Lake Van, and the march continued through the eastern passes past Gilzan and Khubushkia to Arbael. New expeditions were undertaken in 850 and 845 B.C.; and during these latter the inscriptions of Shalmaneser at the tunnel on the Subnat were probably carved.

Meanwhile, that change of monarchy in Armenia must have occurred which brought to the throne the powerful dynasty that had its seat at Turushpa on Lake Van—the modern Van—and from that centre founded the mighty kingdom of Urartu. This state caused much trouble to the kings of Assyria in the succeeding years, and contested with them the supremacy in Syria. The defection

Armenian Influence in Syria

of Lalla of Malatia in the year 837 is certainly to be traced to the efforts of these kings. Four years later an Assyrian army was sent to the Arsanias in order, it would seem, to reoccupy the districts of Sukhme and Daiaeni, which are situated on its right bank; Sarduri I., the new king of Urartu, was therefore clearly advancing. In 829 a new expedition, this time from the other side, was attempted through the passes of Gilzan and Khubushkia. Musasir, a state to the south-west of Lake Urumiya, was sacked, and a part of Urartu met the same fate. But the Assyrians did not obtain any decisive results here; on the contrary, the power of the new state grew continually during subsequent years, and from the time of Adad-nirari onward Assyria was ousted more and more from these regions. The kings of Urartu encroached on Mesopotamia and Syria, until they were driven back to their highlands under Tiglath-pileser IV.

While Ashurnasirpal's frontier on the east and south-east had been the Zab, Shalmaneser advanced against the districts between Lake Urumiya and the plain of the Tigris, which had often in earlier times been subject to the Assyrian supremacy, but were now more influenced by Babylon. In 860 B.C. an expedition was made into the passes of Holvan, and in 844 a similar one to Namri, the south-western districts of Media. An advance was made in 836 against the prince of Bit-Khamban, who had been installed there; then the march was continued farther northward to Parsua, on the east of Lake Urumiya. Here chiefs of the Medes, who are mentioned

Extending the Eastern Frontiers

for the first time in this connection, brought their tribute, when the advance was continued in a southerly direction to Karkar, east of Holvan. The districts of Kirkhi and Khubushkia, which lay to the south of Lakes Van and Urumiya, and had been already traversed by Ashurnasirpal, were also subjugated, and the Mannai, on the western shore, as well as Gilzan, to the north of Lake Urumiya, were punished.

Shalmaneser's successes in Babylonia have been spoken of in the section on Babylonian history. The close connection with Babylonia and the growth of its influence caused the great rebellion which broke out toward the end of his reign. The peasant class of Assyria must have suffered by the wars, while Babylonia, as the seat of the hierarchy, was able to exert a strong influence upon the priestly and religious classes. Almost the whole of Assyria and the Assyrian provinces, headed by the former capital, Ashur, which had naturally lost much by the change of royal residence, now revolted. Of the important towns, only the capital, Kalkhi, and Harran, the chief city of Mesopotamia, where Shalmaneser had built the temple of Sin, remained loyal;

and it would appear that Shalmaneser found a refuge in Northern Babylonia, which indeed belonged to him. The leader of the rebellion was Ashur-danin-apli, Shalmaneser's son, who maintained his position for at least six years (829–824), and at this time probably bore the title "King of Assyria," since he was in possession of the ancient capital.

Shalmaneser died in 825 B.C., and his son, Shamshi-Adad IV., who at first only possessed Mesopotamia, at length succeeded in subduing Assyria between 825 and 812. An inscription of his, which has been recovered, furnishes an account of his career to his fourth campaign, which was directed against Babylonia. The first expedition he records was to Nairi, and in connection with it he refers to the homage offered him by the entire Assyrian empire from its northern to its southern frontiers, and from the eastern frontier as far as the Euphrates. The second campaign was directed against the Nairi country, through the district between Lakes Van and Urumiya, in the course of which a part of Urartu was laid waste. The third expedition advanced in the same direction, and then was led further to the territory of the Mannai, and round Lake Urumiya up to Parsua; thence it went in a south-easterly direction through Media, probably to Holvan. A large number of Median districts are enumerated in the account of this campaign. The fourth campaign was that against Babylon; the narrative breaks off after recording Shamshi-Adad's victory over Marduk-balatsu-iqbi.

The Eponym Chronicle

From the reign of Shamshi-Adad onward, we possess a new source of information which serves as an invaluable guide for the following period: a fragment of it actually deals with the beginning and the end of the reign of Shalmaneser II. This is the Eponym Chronicle, a Limu list, to which short notes are added recording the most important event of each year, usually a campaign; it is especially valuable for the ensuing period down to Tiglath-pileser IV., from which we have few other inscriptions. We possess some short inscriptions by Adad-nirari IV., between 812 and 783 B.C., which give a general survey of his campaigns, and are supplemented by the accounts of the Eponym Chronicle. On the whole, they represent him as continuing the conquests of his predecessors, or of winning back territories which had become rebellious. He made hardly any important conquests. Among countries in the east which were subject to him he mentions Ellipi (bordering on Elam), also Karkar and Araziash up to Parsua, known from the time of Shalmaneser, and Andia, adjacent to Parsua, on the north-east. He also received tribute from Median chiefs. Three expeditions to Khubushkia and the Nairi country are enumerated, and two to the territory of the Mannai. He did not, however, venture on a further advance against Urartu, which continued to develop its power. He met with some successes in Syria. In 806 and 805 expeditions to Arpad and Azaz are mentioned, and in 797 another to a Syrian town, Mansuate. We may connect with these expeditions the notice that Mari, king of Damascus, paid tribute; perhaps the accession of a new king at Damascus was the cause. Adad-nirari also mentions among tributary states, Tyre and Sidon, Israel, which thus still held to Assyria, and Edom and Philistia, which last were recent additions to the empire. This list points to a preponderant Assyrian influence in Palestine, and thus to a decay of the power of Damascus. As long as Damascus remained independent, it was always a bulwark for all districts lying south of it. Adad-nirari's relations to Babylonia have been already described in an earlier section.

Tributes to Assyria's Power

For the following period we have no more royal inscriptions, and are, therefore, entirely dependent on the accounts of the Eponym Chronicle. The lack of inscriptions in itself points to a period of weakness, and this is confirmed by the facts which we are able to establish. On the whole, for the next forty years, the kings of Assyria were fully occupied with the task of retaining the territory that had been won. Indeed, in this they were not always successful, for we shall see that in the revival of prosperity under Tiglath-pileser much had first to be won back again. This is especially true of the territories which lay within the sphere of influence of the new kingdom of Urartu. Assyria, when once she ceased to attack, was herself attacked; hence the changed attitude of Armenia, where the kings, especially Menuas, extended their power toward the south, and deprived Assyria of the Nairi country as well as the districts

A Period of Weakness

of Northern Assyria. Shalmaneser III., who reigned between 783 and 773 B.C., was obliged to wage defensive wars, principally against Urartu; no fewer than six of his ten campaigns were directed against the incessant encroachments of this rival. There does not seem to have been so much lost toward the east, on the borders of Media, for there he had to deal mostly with barbarian states without a firm organisation. Expeditions are recorded to Namri in 749 and 748, and one in 766 against the Medes.

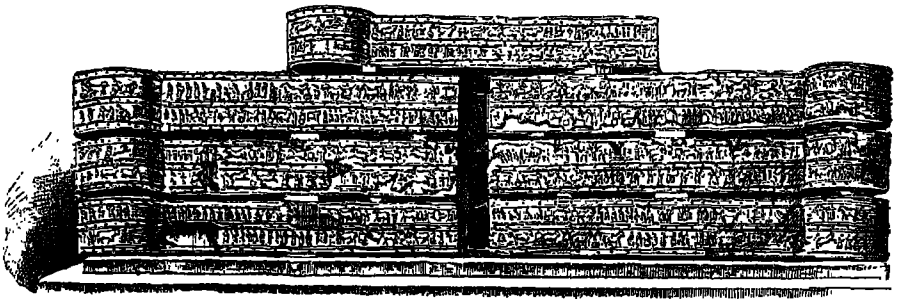
Aggression of Armenia

The next king was Ashur-dan III., from 773 to 755 B.C., who conducted several campaigns in Syria; the first in 773, against Damascus, the second against Khatarikka, to the north of it. He twice marched into Babylonia, in 771 and 767: and we may therefore conclude that he attempted to oppose the Chaldæans there. In the second half of his reign his kingdom was convulsed by a shock which was destined to destroy the fabric of tributary states so laboriously reared. A rebellion broke out in the year 763 B.C., which in succeeding years continued to spread from place to place, and must gradually have affected a large portion of the empire. The Eponym Chronicle puts before this year—the year when the chronicle records the solar eclipse, which forms a fixed point in ancient chronology—a mark of division, as at the beginning of a new reign; for, since the rebellion broke out in Ashur, a rival king was probably proclaimed there.

What the actual cause of the revolt may have been is not stated, but it is not difficult to conjecture, since the rebellion started in the ancient capital of the empire. If we reflect how Tiglath-pileser chose Kalkhi again as a residence, and Sargon, on the contrary, restored the privileges of Ashur, we may conclude that the movement originated with the priesthood, whose privileges were infringed by the removal of the royal residence. The rebellion was suppressed, it is true; but the next king, Ashur-nirari, from 754 to 746 B.C., seems to have been subject to the influence of its promoters, for the first act of his reign was the removal of the court back to Ashur in 754, if this change had not already taken place in the reign of Ashur-dan himself. The act signified a victory of the hierarchy over the source of Assyria's strength, the army. The monarchy, by ignoring the wishes of the latter, the only support of its power in Assyria, voluntarily weakened its position in 754 B.C.

Priesthood Destroys the Empire

Ashur-nirari reigned eight years, to each of which (with one exception) the note "in the land" is appended in the Eponym Chronicle—that is to say, the king remained in Assyria and no expedition was undertaken in that year. However, for the last year, 746 B.C., the chronicle records, "rebellion in Kalkhi"; and in the course of the following year Tiglath-pileser IV. mounted the throne. We possess inscriptions of his which show that he resided in Kalkhi, and was not of the royal stock. We may therefore conclude that he was placed upon the throne by a military rebellion in Kalkhi. Ashur-nirari, who resided at Ashur under the influence of the priesthood, was the last king of his house.



SCULPTURED HINGES OF THE GATES OF SHALMANESER'S PALACE

Two of the gates to the palace of Shalmaneser IV., at Balawat, had broad hinges of bronze, the bands of which ran across the gates. They were embossed and engraved with scenes from the many campaigns of the king.



THE NEW EMPIRE OF ASSYRIA

WITH Tiglath-pileser IV., who ruled from 745 to 728 B.C., a fresh epoch of Assyrian history opens, a new era of prosperity which raised Assyria to the supremacy in Nearer Asia. He really laid the foundations of the glory of Assyria. This is the age when Assyria subdued Damascus and Palestine, and thus interfered in the history of that small people whose sacred books preserved the name of Assyria for two thousand years, when other records of its history lay buried in the earth, and no one even knew what language had been spoken by these lords of Nearer Asia.

We must distinguish three theatres of war in the reign of Tiglath-pileser: Babylonia, where his successes have been already described; the North, where he had to fight with the now powerful Urartu; and Syria-Palestine, where Damascus, far from being crushed, had, on the contrary, been able in the interval of Assyria's weakness to regain its strength, and had since the last war in 773 discontinued the payment of tribute.

Beginnings of Assyria's Glory

After the Babylonian campaign in his first year, 745 B.C., and another in Western Media in the following year, war was begun in 742 against Sarduri II. of Armenia. The latter had, in the meantime, made continual advances, had subdued Melitene and Kummukh, or Commagene, and even Gurgumi, the northern part of the former Patini, and had compelled their kings to pay tribute to him and not to Assyria. He had then entered into friendly relations with Mati-il of Agusi, who had either already occupied Arpad—an expedition had been sent there in 754—or wished to do so, in order to found a kingdom there for himself. According to the Eponym Chronicle, Tiglath-pileser was actually near Arpad, and was therefore marching against Mati-il, when an Armenian army under Sarduri invaded Mesopotamia. It was defeated in the country of Kummukh. Sarduri was pursued to "the bridge of the Euphrates, the boundary of his land," and thus a check was put, for a time, on his advance towards Mesopotamia; further operations against him had to be deferred until a later occasion. The three following years were filled up by expeditions "to Arpad." Mati-il must, therefore, have shown a vigorous resistance. After his fall most of the Syrian princes paid tribute — namely, Kustaspi of Kummukh and Tarkhulara of Gurgumi, who thus seceded from Urartu, Rasunnu of Damascus, Hiram of Tyre, the prince of Kue, and Pisiris of Carchemish. Assyria's supremacy in Syria was therefore restored in these three years, while the influence of Urartu was destroyed. Only a part of Patini, Unqi—that is, Amq—together with the capital Kinalia, or Kunulua, offered resistance; its prince, Tutammu, lost his throne, and this part of the country became an Assyrian province.

Syria under Tribute

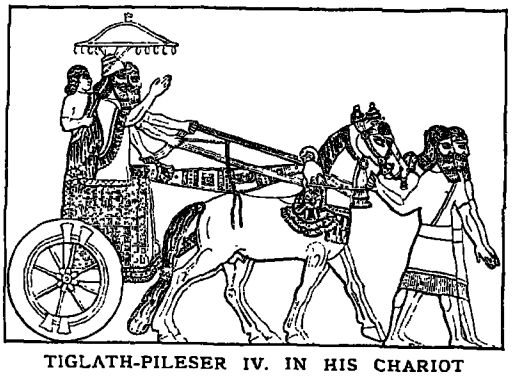
The next year saw an expedition to Ulluba, one of the Nairi countries; it also was placed under an Assyrian governor. The object of this movement was naturally to strike a blow at Armenia, from which this territory had been taken. On the side of Armenia the country was secured by fortresses against attack. In 738 B.C. another expedition was made to one of the districts of Patini. Azriau, prince of Iaudi, close by Senjirli, had revolted; his town, Kullani, was taken. This event threw its shadow as far as Israel and Judah, where Isaiah held up the conquest of "Kalno" as a warning to the Jews. A number of North Phœnician districts — the same region where once Ashurnasirpal had founded his Assyrian colony Aribua, and which now belonged to Hamath—had joined Azriau, and incurred the penalty of being annexed. The Assyrian province of Simarra was constituted out of them, and stretched from the Orontes to the district of Gebal, but did not include that city or Arvad, which remained independent. This new Phœnician province, which received fresh

Assyria in Phœnicia

additions in the year 733, was assigned to Shalmaneser, son of Tiglath-pileser. In this way part of the "foreland" of Damascus became Assyrian. Damascus itself, as well as the remaining Syrian and Phœnician states, Kummukh, Carchemish, Samal, Gurgumi in Amq, Hamath, Kue, Gebal, Tyre, and Menahem of Israel, paid tribute; the last, as may be assumed from the biblical narrative, did so only when a part of his dominions had been taken away from him. The wider circle of the tributary states which had once been bound to Shalmaneser—namely, Melitene, Kasku, Tabal, and the principalities of Cappadocia and Cilicia—paid tribute once more. The Assyrian king, as the feudal lord of Damascus, received presents from Zabibi, queen of the Arabians.

Tribute from Arabia

In the years 737 and 736 B.C. expeditions were led to Media and Nairi, with the object of completely crushing the influence of Urartu; and in the ensuing year this great rival was finally attacked in his own country. Urartu was traversed. Tiglath-pileser besieged the citadel of Turushpa, or Van, but without success, and had to be contented with erecting a royal statue there in view of the besieged. He annexed the southern part of Urartu, and united it to the province of Nairi. He thus struck an undeniably heavy blow at Urartu, and placed a strong obstacle in the way of any renewed advance by fortifying the frontier provinces. Urartu's dominion over Syria and Nairi was thus ended. But the country did not entirely relinquish its schemes of conquest until its power was broken up by Sargon, and at the same time a dangerous antagonist appeared on the other side in the Cimmerians.

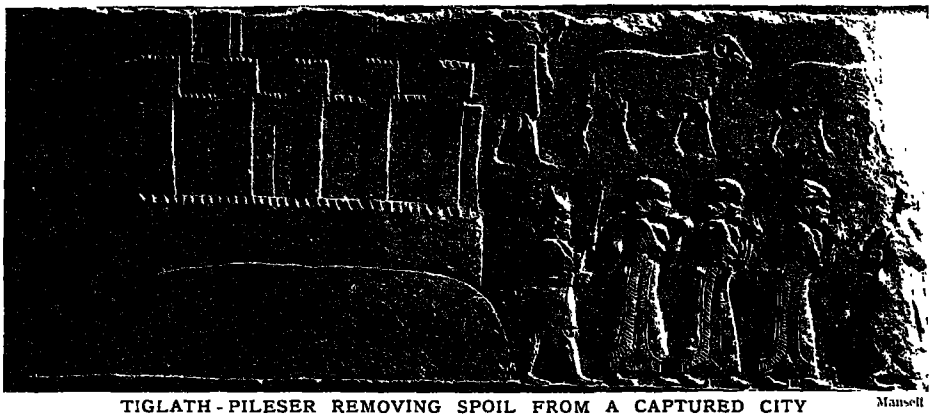


TIGLATH-PILESER IV. IN HIS CHARIOT

His reign opened a new era of prosperity, which raised Assyria to the supremacy in Western Asia and laid the foundations of its glory.

Damascus had continued to pay tribute. But it is always noticeable that the position of tributary to Assyria was never permanent. On the one hand, the sums exacted were so large that only force could wring them from the feudal princes; on the other hand, the conditions formed a constant incentive to revolt as soon as there appeared to be any prospect of success. Very often also there may have been an intention on the part of Assyria to force tributary states into revolt, in order to have a pretext to annex them as provinces; we may compare the policy of the Romans toward their *socii*. The year 734 saw an expedition to Philistia, where Ascalon was brought under Assyrian rule. We have already noted that all Palestine was obliged to follow the destinies of Damascus. Soon afterwards, however, Damascus seems to have shaken off the yoke. The pretext for interference was given by the appeal for help of Ahaz of Judah, whom Rassunu, or Resin, and his vassal Pekah were besieging in Jerusalem, in order to force him to join an alliance aimed against Assyria. Tyre was also privy to it, and there seem to have been hopes of help from Egypt. In the year 733 B.C. Tiglath-pileser arrived before Damascus. In Israel, Pekah, on the approach of the Assyrians, fell a victim to a revolt of the Assyrian party, and in his place Hoshea, the leader of this party, was appointed king. This opportune outbreak deprived Tiglath-pileser of an excuse for annexing the country, and thus a respite of ten or twelve years was purchased, after which this destiny was to be fulfilled. Damascus, as on previous occasions, offered a stout resistance; but it fell at last, and became an Assyrian province in 732 B.C. Israel, whose territory even before this had been much curtailed, was now directly bounded by an Assyrian province: the state which had hitherto dominated it in the sphere of politics, and had been its leader in the development of culture, was administered by an Assyrian governor. Tyre also, which had joined in the cause, made peace on the approach of an Assyrian army; a rich trading town, it was well able to pay tribute.

Israel Bounded by Assyria



TIGLATH-PILESER REMOVING SPOIL FROM A CAPTURED CITY Mansell

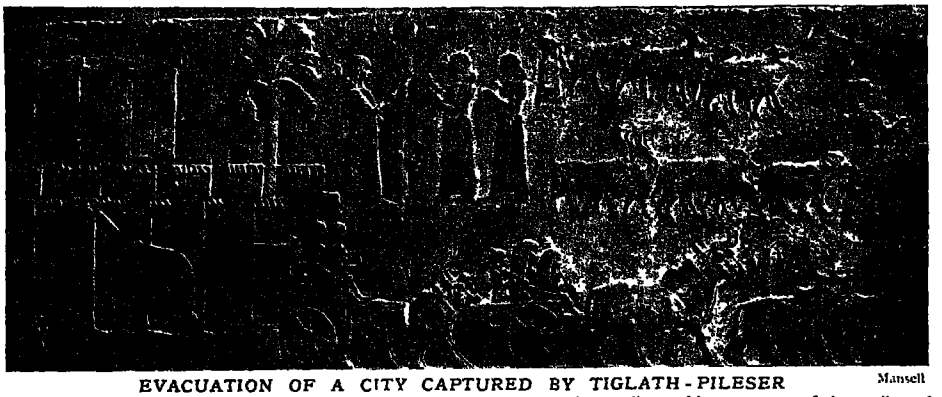
The seventeen years' reign of Tiglath-pileser IV. was almost entirely taken up with his three series of campaigns in Babylonia, Armenia, and in Syria and Palestine, in all of which he was successful. Bas-relief in British Museum.

The next years were devoted to the conquest of Babylonia and Babylon, which has already been described. Tiglath-pileser reigned for two years as king of Babylon; in the year 728 he died, and was succeeded by his son Shalmaneser IV., who reigned from 727 to 722 B.C. His reign is merely a continuation of that of Tiglath-pileser, whose policy he seems to have followed consistently. We do not possess any detailed inscriptions of his time. Samaria, in his reign, found itself compelled once more to suspend payment of tribute; but the expected help from Egypt was not forthcoming, and after a three years' siege the town was captured and made the seat of an Assyrian governor. The Assyrian frontier now ran a little north of Jerusalem.

Shalmaneser died before the fall of Samaria, so that its capture was effected by his successor, Sargon. Sargon, like Tiglath-pileser IV., was the founder of a new dynasty; he had been made king by a reaction against that movement which had brought the former to the throne. His account of the measures of his predecessors, which he superseded, throws light upon the nature of this movement, of which we have already found traces in the revolutions of Ashur-danin-apli and of the year 763 B.C.

Source of Assyria's Weakness

Tiglath-pileser had, according to this account, endeavoured to restrict the excessive influence of the priesthood and the favoured position of the great cities. These had possessed the most extensive privileges and had enjoyed immunity from almost every burden. If we consider the fact that the greater part of the land belonged to them, we shall realise that the national revenue must have diminished more and more; and we shall understand why the Assyrian kingdom, in the end, became so impotent. Even the attitude



EVACUATION OF A CITY CAPTURED BY TIGLATH-PILESER Mansell

An interesting bas-relief, now in the British Museum, showing Assyrian scribes taking account of the spoil, and women and children being removed in bullock-carts. Note the disused battering-ram against the wall at the left.

of the Assyrian kings towards Babylonia was regulated by their views upon this subject. Tiglath-pileser, Shalmaneser, Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal acted energetically; Sargon and Esarhaddon favoured Babylon, where the system of privileged priests and towns flourished, to which this weakness was due. Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser tried to put an end to it, and in so doing they must have relied to some extent upon the peasant class, or what was left of it. Obviously we need not for that reason regard them as benefactors of the "small man;" they were concerned only in having subjects that could pay their taxes and perform their duties. They understood, however, that a monarchy which was propped upon the towns and the priesthood could maintain its existence only so long as it had advantages to offer them.

Town versus Country

Henceforward we can trace how the two parties in Assyria worked against each other. Evidence of the struggle may be seen in the series of forcible depositions of the reigning king. It is obvious that a *rapprochement* of the privileged towns and temples was in reality no benefit to the country population. The real point at issue was indeed the contrast between country and town; but the country was mainly represented by the nobility, who to some extent had the army at their disposal. Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser were thus under their influence. Sargon, elevated to the throne by a reaction, favoured the towns and temples, to which he restored their privileges. Sennacherib, again, represented the interests of the nobility and army, as is shown by his attitude towards Babylon. He was murdered, and the Babylonian hierarchical party won the day with Esarhaddon. A revolution broke out when Esarhaddon wished to secure the power to his son Shamash-shum-ukin, who held the same views as himself; and with Ashur-banipal the Assyrian nobility were again victorious. These were the two currents which henceforth determined the course of Assyrian history; on Tiglath-pileser's accession they had produced a sharply defined and conscious opposition.

Nobility and the Hierarchy

Thus, in the year 722 B.C., when Shalmaneser died, we suddenly find Sargon on the throne. He was unable to point to any royal ancestors; but he became the progenitor of the royal house under which Assyria reached the zenith of her power, and then rapidly sank. In domestic affairs his reign was the counterpart to that of Tiglath-pileser, while his foreign policy was dictated by the desire to continue the operations of the latter and to execute the schemes which he had been compelled to leave unfinished. We have already seen that his instrument for carrying out these operations differed from that of his predecessors; henceforth the Assyrian army consists of mercenaries collected from every country and province—completely at the disposal of the king so long as he can provide them with pay and booty, but immediately refusing to fight if these are not forthcoming. From Sargon's time onward the "royal" army is the instrument by which Assyria keeps the East in subjection. The sovereign power in Assyria has therefore devolved on the administration—which, according to Oriental custom, is equivalent to the extortion—of the nobility and priesthood; an Assyrian people, to whom Shalmaneser I. and Ashurnasirpal had assigned land in the conquered provinces, no longer exist. If the king now wishes to occupy a conquered province with new settlers, he must meet the difficulty by exchanging the populations of two provinces situated at different ends of the empire. The peasant class in Assyria was extinct; there were only the great landed estates of the nobility or of the temples, cultivated by slaves or paupers.

Peasant Class Extinct

The military operations of Sargon, since they were in continuation of his predecessor's plans, were carried out in the same regions; we have once more to do with wars in Babylonia against Chaldæa and Elam, or in Urartu for the possession of the northern districts, or in Palestine, where he sought to extend his dominion.

We have already described Sargon's successes in Babylonia. In Palestine, as we have just noted, the annexation of Samaria and the "carrying away of the Ten Tribes," which make the name of Sargon of interest to readers of the Bible, were merely results of the siege under Shalmaneser. Hamath, north of Damascus, in Syria, had hitherto avoided this fate by the regular payment of its tribute. But it became acquainted with the "good will" of Assyria in 738, when the revolted

towns of Hamath were not given back, but were added to the province of Simirra. Great hopes had been centred on the change of the king in Assyria; thus we now find, in 720, in place of the pliant king Eni-il, a "peasant," Iaubidi, on the throne and in open hostility to Assyria. He was allied with Hanno of Gaza, who must have submitted to Tiglath-pileser. Both clearly rested their hopes on Egypt. The newly constructed provinces of Arpad, Simirra, Damascus, and Samaria joined the cause. The greater part, therefore, of Syria and Palestine tried to free themselves from the burden of tribute or of service under the Assyrian yoke. But the allies could not decide on combined action, a usual defect in such confederations of petty states. Hamath was conquered and constituted a province. Hanno, who sought to capture Gaza, was defeated near Raphia, on the southern frontier of the territory of Gaza. The revolted provinces were reduced without difficulty, and tranquillity was again restored in Syria and Palestine.



SARGON WITH HIS VIZIER AND ATTENDANT

Sargon was a king of Assyria, of non-royal descent, who reached the throne as the result of a revolt of the priestly reactionaries.

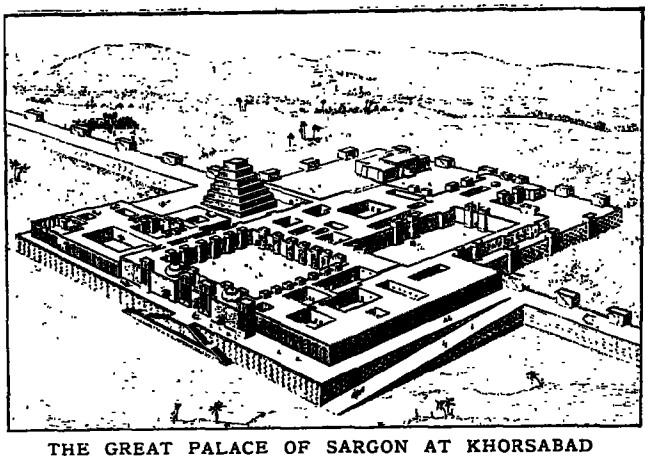
Sargon could now turn his attention to his third remaining opponent, Urartu. Rusas I. was again active, and attempted to extend his influence to Northern Syria, and in the east to the Median frontier states, and he apparently found ready listeners. Thus Sargon's next task, like that of Tiglath-pileser in his day, was the subjugation of these disloyal vassals.

In 719 B.C. two towns of the Mannai, on the western shore of Lake Urumiya, whose king supported Assyria against Urartu, were punished because they had gone over to the tribe of the Zigirtu, which was friendly to Urartu; the same lot befell other towns which had seceded to Urartu. In 718 B.C. one of the princes of Tabal, Kiakki of Shinukhtu, was carried prisoner to Cappadocia, and his dominions given to a loyal neighbour, Matti of Atun.

In 717 B.C. Carchemish fell, which had regularly paid its tribute since the days of Ashurnasirpal. The annoyances of Assyria must have exhausted the patience of this wealthy town and driven it to a war of desperation. It had vainly looked for help to the ruler of the former territory of the Khatti in Asia Minor—Mita of Muski, as Sargon calls him—that is to say, Midas of Phrygia. Pisiris was the last king of Carchemish, and the last relic of the Khatti rule in Syria became thenceforth an Assyrian province.

The years 716 B.C. and 715 brought wars in the east of Urartu, where Rusas meanwhile had made especial efforts to gain Mannai for himself by force; he had thus abandoned Syria and had turned more to the east. There he succeeded, by stirring up disputes about the throne, in obtaining the sceptre for Ullusunu, a prince favourable to him. But before the party of Urartu had won a firm footing, Sargon appeared and forced the king to do homage, and his example was followed by the Prince of Nairi and other chiefs of those regions. In 714 war was made against Urartu itself. Sargon advanced from Mannai past Musasir, the conquest of which he has represented in his palace, towards Lake Van, while he devastated the country along his line of march. According to Sargon's account, Rusas committed suicide, but, in an inscription of Rusas himself at Topsana, in the district of Rowanduz in Kurdistan, it is recorded that he restored the deposed king of Musasir, and afterwards led his armies as far as the mountains of Assyria.

It would thus seem that Sargon's conquest of Urartu was not so complete as he would make it appear. However, from this time onward the power of Urartu was broken, for it had now to fight for its existence with a new enemy on its northern frontier, whom we have already mentioned—the Cimmerians.



THE GREAT PALACE OF SARGON AT KHORSABAD

A reconstruction of the great palace erected by Sargon at Khorsabad, north of Nineveh. It was built on an artificial eminence of brick and overlooked the city.

Assyria had, it is true, got rid of a rival, but by so doing she had weakened the bulwark which formed her natural protection against the danger now threatening from the migration of Aryan peoples. Henceforth the Assyrian generals in the northern frontier provinces carefully watched the struggles of Urartu with the Cimmerians and other allied tribes, and under Esarhaddon these already began to menace Assyrian territory.

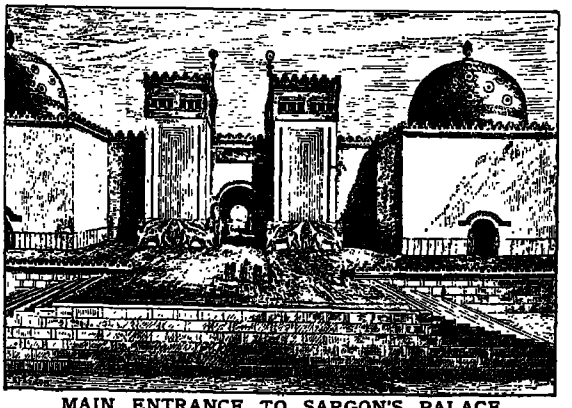
Many districts of the former Patini in Syria had already been annexed; and, under Sargon, Gurgumi with its capital Marqasi, or Marash, shared the same fate. Even Kue and some Cappadocian districts, among them Kammanu, corresponding to the ormer Musri, as well as Mel tene and Kummukh, became Assyrian provinces after unsuccessful attempts at rebellion by their princes. This marked the greatest extension of Assyria in the north-west. Toward the end of Sargon's reign the Governor of Kue actually undertook an expedition over the Taurus in order to check Mita of Muski, or Midas of Phrygia, who was at empting to advance against Assyria in hat region and on the Halys.

When Sargon had seized Babylon, he received the presents of seven Greek "kings" of Cyprian towns. This is the first ascertainable contact with "Ionians." Those who paid homage on this occasion were the princes of the western part of Cyprus, who sought assistance from Assyria in their efforts to expel the Phœnicians of Tyre from the eastern part of the island.

In Southern Palestine an isolated case of refusal to pay tribute was that of Ashdod. This incident is noteworthy from the allusion to it in Isaiah, chapter xx. We can imagine with what hopes and fears men in Judah had followed this rebellion in their immediate vicinity. Indeed, Judah, according to Sargon's account, took part in it with Moab and Edom, without letting matters go so far as open resistance, when an Assyrian army conquered Ashdod and founded an Assyrian colony there.

In the east, Elam, after the expulsion of Merodach-baladan, had not been able to assert her influence in Babylonia. The quarrel between the two rival states showed itself in a dispute as to the throne, which occurred in the borderland of Ellipi, where two hostile brothers sought support, the one from Elam, the other from Sargon. After the former, Nibi, had driven out his brother Ispabara with Elamite assistance, Sargon was obliged to restore the latter to the throne.

Toward the end of Sargon's reign his great palace, which he had caused to be built to the north of Nineveh at the foot of the mountains, was finished and solemnly taken possession of. The royal residence was thus removed from Kalkhi.



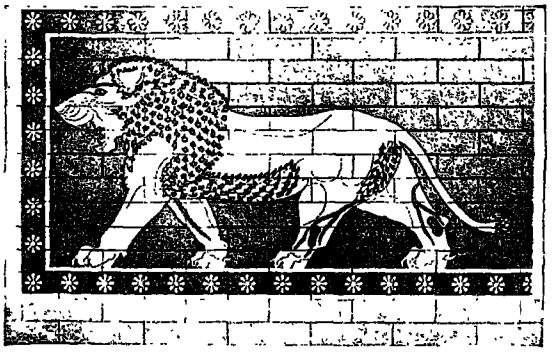
MAIN ENTRANCE TO SARGON'S PALACE

This fine gate, which can be seen in the bird's eye view of the whole palace given above, suggests the magnificence of an Assyrian palace.

But Sargon had been raised to the throne by the party which formerly had their headquarters in Ashur. Since, however, Ashur itself was not adapted from its position to be the seat of government, Sargon founded a new capital of his own, Dur-Sharrukin. the "castle of Sargon," or Khorsabad, on the model of his legendary prototype, Sargon of Agade, whose name he, indeed, adopted on his accession: "Sargon the second" he was called by his loyal scribes. The inscriptions and sculptures from the palace of Dur-Sharrukin — excavated by Botta in the years 1842–1845 —are the chief authorities for the history of his reign. Sargon's death took place in the year 705. We have no particulars concerning it, though it appears from a reference to it by Sennacherib that he met with a violent end and "was not buried in his house," that is to say, no proper burial was accorded to him. This can only mean that he fell fighting with barbarians, as Cyrus did. Such barbarians were almost exclusively to be found on the northern frontier of his empire, among the Indo-Germanic tribes, the Cimmerians and "Scythians." It may, therefore, have been in a war with one of these peoples that Sargon met his death. The song in Isaiah, chapter xiv, 4–21, referred in later times to the death of a king of Babylon, may have been originally composed on Sargon's unexpected death. The hopes therein expressed were, to some extent, realised, for Palestine and Phœnicia attempted a great rebellion.



Bricks from the gate of the palace enamelled with coloured representations of winged Assyrian deities.



DECORATIONS OF SARGON'S PALACE

A favourite decoration with the Assyrians, and practically the only decoration used by the Babylonians, were bricks enamelled with bright colours, so lasting that they are now still vivid and clear.

Sanherib, or Sennacherib, who reigned from 704 to 681 B.C., was first occupied in Babylonia and with an expedition to the Zagros in 702; there he chastised the Kashshu, a remnant of the old Kassites which had preserved their independence and the Iasubigalla. Then, in 701, he turned to Palestine.

Two princes in particular were the soul of the revolt there—Luli of Tyre and Hezekiah of Judah. The former was "king of the Sidonians." He possessed Tyre and Sidon, with a territory which began south of Beirut and extended to Philistia; in addition, the east of Cyprus belonged to him, with the most important town, Kition. We have already seen that the west of the island was in the possession of "Ionians," and joined Assyria through enmity to the Phœnicians. Hopes had also been entertained of Merodach-baladan, but he had been quickly driven out; and promises of support had also been received from Egypt. Hezekiah was leader of the revolt here owing to the fact that the anti-Assyrian party in Ekron, a town of Philistia, deposed King Padi, who favoured Assyria, and gave him up to Hezekiah. Such was the state of affairs which had arisen between 705 and 702.

When Sennacherib set out in the year 701 and marched along the coast of Phœnicia it again appeared that each of the confederated states had counted on an annihilation of the dreaded tyrant by the others: there was no combined resistance. The Phœnician states, Arvad and Gebal, paid tribute; the same thing was done by the southern states of Philistia, as well as by the neighbours of Judah—Ammon, Moab, and Edom. Luli surrendered Sidon and fled to Cyprus, where he died soon afterwards. The only

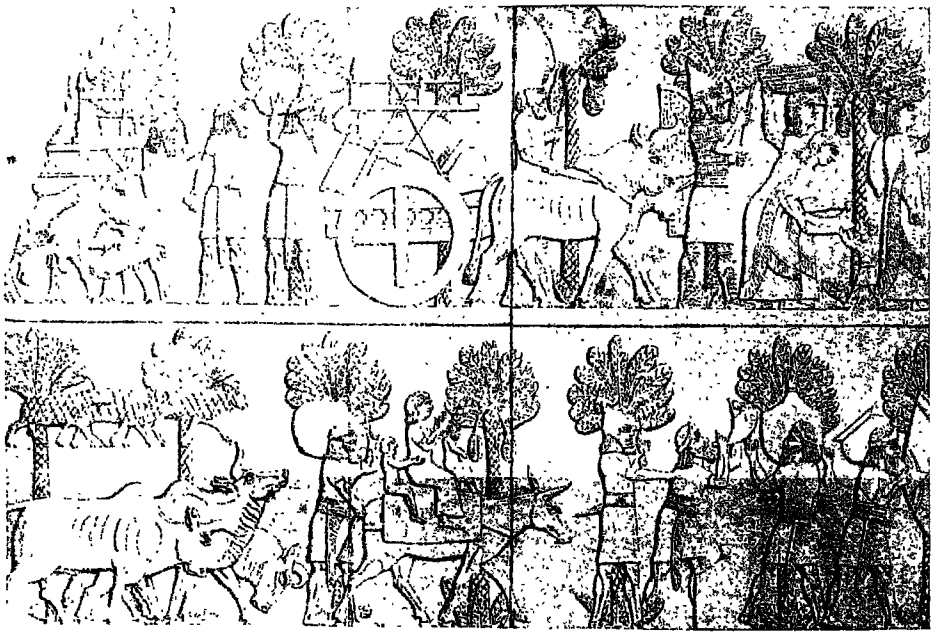
resistance was offered by Tyre, which Sennacherib besieged in vain, and by Hezekiah. Sennacherib installed a new king, Ithobal, at Sidon, so that the "Sidonian" kingdom was again broken up into its two component parts. Then he marched southward to Judah, where Hezekiah, trusting to the approaching Egyptian help, was persevering in his resistance. He conquered Ekron, defeated the relieving army, which consisted of troops of the "princes of Musri, or Egypt, and the king of Melukha," and gradually took forty-six fortified places in Judah. He then appeared before the capital and closely invested it. But the besieged held out, trusting to the disorders which were expected to break out in Babylonia; in the end, Sennacherib had to withdraw without capturing Jerusalem itself. The independence of Judah was saved for the time being. Hezekiah, however, forfeited the greater part of his territory, for the conquered towns were divided among his neighbours, and he himself lost no time in again offering his submission.

Siege of Jerusalem

After the destruction of Babylon in 689, Sennacherib was able to turn once more to the west. Some petty wars had meanwhile occurred in Cappadocia, or Khilakku, and the province of Kammanu, constituted by Sargon. Some attempts of "Ionians" to land in Cilicia are also said to have been repulsed. No further conquests of importance were made there, and there was no expansion of territory by the formation of new provinces. Tyre had successfully stood a siege in 701 and maintained its independence. The reinforcements from Egypt who marched to Hezekiah's aid had been repulsed, it is true, but Sennacherib had not ventured to chastise them. He now undertook an expedition against Egypt. Jerusalem, too, feared his chastisement, but once more fortune was favourable. The Assyrian army did not enter the country; on the march thither it was destroyed, probably by a pestilence. Certainly the expedition was disastrous. Sennacherib had to return to Nineveh with the loss of his army. There he was carried off by the fate of so many Oriental kings: he was murdered during a rebellion headed by his sons.

Assyrian Army Destroyed

The reign of Sennacherib had been nowhere successful. He had attempted to solve the Babylonian problem by force, and apparently had accomplished his purpose; but even in Babylonia he



ASSYRIANS CARRYING A CONQUERED PEOPLE AWAY INTO CAPTIVITY

The Jewish people were taken into Assyrian captivity at least three times. Sargon and Sennacherib both deported the population of Samaria—the "Ten Tribes"—and Nebuchadnezzar took away the remnant of Judah to Babylon.



CAPTIVES OF THE ASSYRIAN HOSTS ON THE MARCH TO THE CAPITAL

This is a continuation of the Assyrian bas-relief of which part is produced on the opposite page, showing a people carried away into captivity with their household goods and cattle. Probably it is a representation of the Jewish captivity

received from Elam at least as many defeats as he inflicted. Thus, in the year 694 B.C., while his army was plundering in Elam, the Elamites laid waste Northern Babylonia, and took his son Ashur-nadin-shum prisoner. In the west, if we compare him with Tiglath-pileser and Sargon, he distinctly failed, since he was unable to take either Tyre or Jerusalem. He did not win any provinces of importance either in the east toward Media, or in the west in Asia Minor, where his predecessors had made their most valuable conquests. We notice especially the absence of any attempt to face the menacing danger in the north; the Aryan tribes were spreading more and more widely in the regions of Urartu and the Mannai.

Sennacherib's Reign a Failure

Sennacherib's failures explain his end. He had come to the throne as the candidate of the "Assyrian" military party, and when he lost his army he fell a victim to the opposition, the "Babylonian" party. There must, however, have been separate sections within the latter. Its real and natural leader was obviously Esarhaddon, who administered Babylon. But one of his brothers must have attempted to forestall him in Assyria; and he was probably the leader of the rebellion in which Sennacherib was murdered "as he was worshipping in the temple of his god," according to the Biblical account. Esarhaddon turned against him and defeated the army of the insurgents in Melitene, to which country it had retreated, relying on the help of Armenia, the deadly enemy of Assyria. Esarhaddon thus became king of Assyria and Babylonia.

Esarhaddon a Civilised King

We know that he pursued a home policy quite opposed to that of his father; the most lasting work of his reign was the rebuilding of Babylon. The effects of this policy were such as they could not fail to be: the civilisation of Babylonia and Mesopotamia once more flourished, and the supremacy over Nearer Asia was secured. It proved to be a momentous change for Assyria, which was the ruling power of the period. In other respects Esarhaddon is one of the figures in Assyrian history which harmonise most with modern conceptions. We read less frequently of cruel punishments inflicted on rebels. And, above all, at his court a taste for literary activity must have prevailed, which was certainly connected with his preference for Babylon. Ashurbanipal boasts of the literary education which was given him, and to it we are indebted for the collection of his celebrated library.

The Assyrian empire under Esarhaddon, as under Sennacherib and even later, obtained no considerable additions apart from the valueless conquest of Egypt.



SENNACHERIB, AN ASSYRIAN KING WHOSE REIGN WAS A FAILURE

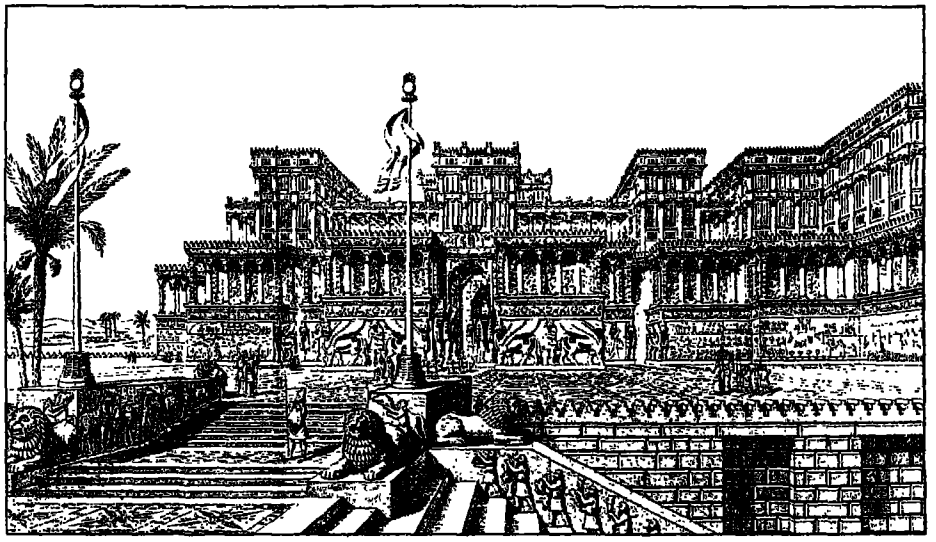
Sennacherib was put on the throne by the military party in Assyrian politics, but his wars were everywhere failures, and he was murdered in a rebellion of the pro-Babylonian party, headed by his own son, Esarhaddon. He is here shown in a bas-relief, now in the British Museum, on his throne before the Jewish city of Lachish.

Esarhaddon's wars were, on the whole, merely directed to the maintenance and complete protection of the territory already subjugated. There were attempts at revolt by the Chaldæans in Babylonia during his reign, but matters stopped short at revolts, and did not go so far as the setting up of a rival prince. In the " Country of the Sea " a grandson of Merodach-baladan, Nabu-zer-napishti-ushteshir, made an attempt to seize Southern Babylonia and advanced to Ur, but he was forced on the approach of an Assyrian army to fly to Elam. There, however, contrary to the old tradition, he found no asylum, and was murdered. His brother Naid-Marduk considered it, therefore, more prudent to leave this place of refuge and walk into the very jaws of the lion ; he was pardoned by Esarhaddon and installed as ruler in the " Country of the Sea."

The affairs in connection with Bit-Dakuri serve to illustrate the conditions which the destruction of Babylon had produced, and to characterise the Chaldæans generally. We have already described how on Sennacherib's departure certain Aramæan tribes had descended upon the district of Babylon and Borsippa ; and how they had been defeated and driven off by Erba-Marduk, who, in return for his services, was recognised as king of Babylon. The Chaldæans appear to have been more successful than the Aramæans, and to have established themselves firmly in the province of Babylon, and the adjoining territory of Borsippa. The restoration of Babylon necessitated the recovery of what had been unlawfully appropriated, and this could not be done without force. Their "king," Shamash-ibni, was deposed in favour of Nabu-ushallim, a member of a different family. In the negotiations which subsequently took place under Shamash-shum-ukin as to the conditions of the tenure and the rights of some villages situated in the district of Bit-Dakuri, the latter came forward as superior lord. The district of Babylon and Borsippa was evidently retaken from the Chaldæans.

Khumbakhaldash of Elam, as we have already seen, had not received the fugitive grandson of Merodach-baladan. Nevertheless, in the year 674 he raided Northern Babylonia as far as Sippar, which consequently suffered great loss. Esarhaddon

was no better able than Sargon or Sennacherib to seek out this dangerous enemy in his own inaccessible country. He was content to secure the loyalty of the tribe of the Gambuli, settled on the Elamite frontier near the mouth of the Tigris, and to entrust their chief, in his fortress of Shapi-Bel, which was strengthened for the purpose, with the protection of the frontiers; a policy adopted at all times by Oriental states. Esarhaddon established friendly relations with Urtaki, the brother and successor of Khumbakhaldash. Urtaki sent back the images which had been carried off from Sippar in the preceding year, even obtaining assistance from



NORTH-EASTERN FACADE AND GRAND ENTRANCE TO SENNACHERIB'S PALACE

It was the ambition of every Assyrian monarch to build himself a new palace, exceeding in grandeur and splendour those of his predecessors. The above is a restoration, by Sir A. H. Layard, of Sennacherib's great palace.

Esarhaddon on the occasion of a famine in Elam, and this worked for peace.

In the west, Tyre, after 701, persevered in its resistance, and after 694 or so found a supporter in Egypt under the Ethiopian king, Tirhakah, who was eager for victory. Sidon also, which had been severed from Tyre by Sennacherib, now revolted in 678 under the new king, Abd-milkot, or Abdi-milkutti, the successor of Ithobal. It was captured, and the old town, which, like Tyre and Arvad, lay on an island, together with the national objects of worship, was destroyed. A new town was built on the mainland, which received the name of *Kar-Ashur-akhu-iddina*, "*the Castle of* Esarhaddon"—in reality, of course, it still bore the name of Sidon—and became the seat of an Assyrian governor. Sidon then remained a province, and did not again have kings of its own until the Persian era; the town of Esarhaddon became the nucleus of the later Sidon. Sanduarri of Kundi—perhaps Kyinda, the old name of the fortress of the later Anchiale—and Sizu, a Cilician prince, had been allied with Abd-milkot. After a three years' resistance his castles fell into the hands of the Assyrians, and Sanduarri's head was brought to Nineveh almost at the same time as that of Abd-milkot.

Tyre offered a more obstinate resistance. The "island" of Sidon must have been situated close to the mainland. The island of Tyre was more difficult to capture, and was taken for the first time by Alexander by means of his famous mole, which then connected Tyre permanently with the mainland. When Esarhaddon marched against Egypt, he was compelled to attempt the capture of Tyre, and besieged it by land, occupying Ushu, which is situated there, and cutting off the inhabitants of the island from all access to the land by means of counter-walls. But the island, which was supplied with provisions from the sea, held out until the news came from Egypt of the expulsion of Tirhakah, in 670. King Ba'al then considered further resistance useless, and offered to pay

tribute. His submission was accepted under the usual condition that he retained only what he actually then possessed—that is, he kept nothing but the island city of Tyre itself, while an Assyrian province was constructed out of the territory held by the Assyrians on the mainland.

In this year, 670 B.C., the stele of Senjirli was set up, which shows us Tirhakah and Ba'al as subject kings before Esarhaddon. The representation on it was finished, and the inscription was about to be engraved when Tirhakah suddenly returned to Egypt, and Ba'al, who indeed had hardly anything left to lose, once more revolted. The end of the inscription, in which it had been intended to give an account of Ba'al's submission, was therefore intentionally omitted. When Tirhakah had been driven out for the second time, in 668, and Tyre had been besieged for five years in all, from 673 to 668—the Assyrian blockading lines had practically remained effective throughout the period—then Ba'al once more submitted. Tyre, this time also unconquered, retained its independence, but its authority was restricted to the small island. Its territory on the mainland was not given back, but remained under Assyrian government.



ESARHADDON Mansell
From the famous stele of Senjirli, showing the kings of Egypt and Tyre subject before Esarhaddon.

The possession of all the trading towns on the Syrian coast, especially Gaza, the terminus of the caravan route, as well as of Edom, through which the route ran, brought Assyria into contact with the Arabian tribes who were engaged in the overland trade. Sennacherib had tried to subjugate the Arabians of the plains, and had undertaken an expedition by which he overthrew the "kingdom" of Aribi which existed there, took the capital, and brought the queen, together with the gods, to Assyria. Esarhaddon now sent these back on receiving assurances of obedience. On the borders of Cilicia and Cappadocia there were constant disturbances. Esarhaddon tells us of an inroad into the district of the Dua in the Taurus, adjoining Tabal. The Assyrian historical inscriptions tell us nothing of the fact that Melid, or Malatia, had been conquered by Mukallu, probably the chief of a Tabal or similar tribe, and that the latter, in alliance with Ishkallu of Tabal, had become dangerous to the Assyrian claims. We learn of this fact from questions upon the subject asked of the oracle in the temple of Shamash, the sun-god. We may conclude that the Assyrian possessions in the direction of Asia Minor had grown less.

These same tablets of oracles afford us the best account of the great Aryan movement in the north, in Armenia. The governors of the frontier provinces no longer, as under Sennacherib, report the reverses which Urartu has sustained from the Cimmerians; they now anxiously inquire of the sun-god whether the threatening enemies, the Cimmerians, Saparda, Ashkuza, or the Medes, who were already devastating adjoining districts, would spare the Assyrian provinces; they ask if the Assyrian troops will succeed in relieving beleaguered towns or in recovering those already taken. That is quite a different story from Sargon's announcements of victories. And when Esarhaddon tells of victories over Cimmerians and Ashkuza, he cannot report any results gained by them. We may, therefore, conclude that such victories at the best were won only over roving bands, if they did not actually consist in a retreat. On the whole, it is evident that Assyria's power was waning. Negotiations were now begun with the barbarians on a basis of equality. Esarhaddon looked round for allies against the threatening Cimmerians, and found them in their neighbours on the east, the Ashkuza, whose king, Bartatua, actually received a daughter of the king to wife. We shall again meet these Ashkuza as allies of Assyria in its last days.

The expedition to Media, where, after the disappearance of the Namri and Parsua, the Aryan element became increasingly prominent, are of no real importance. It was certainly an easy task for a disciplined Assyrian army to subjugate isolated tribes and bring

booty and prisoners home with them. But the expeditions as far as the "Salt Desert" to the south-east of the Caspian Sea and up to the Demavend had no lasting results; new tribes immediately pressed forward, and where one wave of this flood of nations exhausted itself, others kept rolling on. Here the destiny of the old Oriental civilisation, in spite of the victories claimed in the inscriptions, was inevitably fulfilling itself. Still, no blame can be attached to the Assyrian king if he did not recognise the full extent of the danger and tried to derive new revenues from the conquest of other lands.

Esarhaddon can record one success which had not yet fallen to any Assyrian king: he conquered Egypt. In so doing he certainly took into consideration the necessity of conquest for Assyria, to provide employment and booty for the mercenary army on whose spears the existence of the empire depended. He was further influenced by considerations of state policy.

Egypt was as much dependent on Palestine as the countries lying on the Euphrates. If these latter required the ports on the Mediterranean, Palestine was for Egypt the nearest and most promising country, if it ever wished to expand. As long, therefore, as we can trace back the history of these countries, Egypt is either in possession of Palestine, or is trying to win it back. It interfered, therefore, in all revolts against Assyria, but usually failed to render the promised help. "The broken reed which pierces the hand of him who leans on it" was the phrase already coined by Isaiah for the false Egyptian promises of assistance. The continual unrest in Palestine made it prudent to prevent the disturber of the peace from doing further damage; Sennacherib had already tried to do this on his last expedition when he lost his army.



Mansell

ASHURBANIPAL

Son of Esarhaddon, whom he rebelled against, assuming the crown before his father's death.

Esarhaddon renewed the attempt: all the more because Egypt had again become united under the Ethiopian Tirhakah, against whom Sennacherib's expedition was directed, and who was a bolder spirit than the last Pharaohs. We have seen that he was implicated in the revolt of Tyre, which broke out in 673. The Babylonian chronicle records in this same year a defeat of the Assyrians in Egypt; the first attempt to attack Tirhakah in his own country had miscarried. In 671, however, a new army advanced against Egypt, and Tirkakah could not withstand it. The Assyrians advanced irresistibly from Iskhupri, where the first battle took place, as far as Memphis in fifteen days. Tirhakah five times offered resistance, and was himself wounded in battle: he then fled to Thebes. Memphis was taken in the advance "in a half day." The family of Tirhakah and rich treasures fell there into the hands of the Assyrians; fifty-five statues of kings were brought to Nineveh. Tirhakah seems to have been unable to remain in Thebes. His army was scattered, and as a foreigner he found no support in Egypt. He thus fled back to "Kush"—that is, Nubia—and evacuated Thebes.

The Assyrian king placed twenty-two "kings," or governors, over the separate districts of Egypt, who are all enumerated for us by his son Ashurbanipal. But each of them received an Assyrian official as overseer, with a large body of Assyrian officials at his side. The most southern district named is Thebes. This fact shows within what narrow limits the Assyrian sovereignty was recognised. Esarhaddon therefore uses extravagant language when he styles himself after this success. "King of the kings of Musur, or Lower Egypt, Paturisi, or Upper Egypt, and Kush." Even the Senjirli stele, which, like a memorial carved at the mouth of the Nahr

el-Kelb, near Beirut, glorifies this victory, expresses rather the wish than the accomplished fact when it represents Tirhakah as a prisoner, a ring through his lips, imploring mercy on his knees before Esarhaddon. This supremacy lasted only a few months, when Tirhakah came once more upon the scene. The Ethiopian was in fact no Egyptian; and we see that he had "fled" only in order to bring up a new army. Meanwhile Esarhaddon was again in Assyria, where he had to cope with a rebellion, at the bottom of which was his son Ashurbanipal; Tirhakah had naturally been privy to this. Then an "express messenger" came to Nineveh and announced that Tirhakah had occupied the whole country once more, and was again ruling as king in Memphis, having driven out or crushed the Assyrians who were in the land. The Egyptians must have looked on at this "restoration of settled order" with the calmness with which this people, accustomed for thousands of years to oppression, have acquiesced in their numerous masters before and since.

Son Rebels Against Father

After the internal affairs in Assyria had been arranged, and Ashurbanipal and his brother Shamash-shum-ukin had been crowned in 668, the army was once more available for Egypt. Esarhaddon himself started thither: he had become superfluous at home, and was certainly sufficiently acquainted with the nature of an Oriental throne to see that there was little left for him but to die. He actually died on the march in 668. The campaign was therefore brought to an end in the reign of Ashurbanipal, as he himself records.

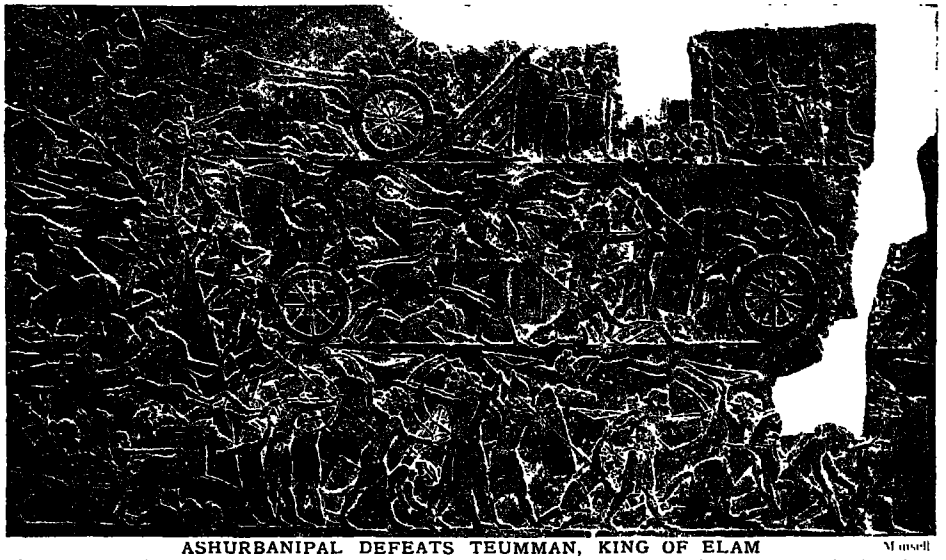
The causes which had led to the coronation of Ashurbanipal have already been mentioned in their place. When Esarhaddon wished to put the coping-stone to his work, and to have himself or Shamash-shum-ukin, his son by a Babylonian woman, proclaimed king in the rebuilt city of Babylon, the time had come for the Assyrian party to take action. In 669 B.C., so the Babylonian chronicle announces, "the king put to death many nobles in Assyria;" yet Ashurbanipal reports that when he was proclaimed successor to the throne and co-regent at the beginning of 668 he had "interceded" for them. Esarhaddon had clearly intended that Shamash-shum-ukin should be at once crowned king of Babylon, in order that the power might be secured to him on his own death. This scheme was now frustrated. With Ashurbanipal the Assyrian military and aristocratic party gained the day over the Babylonian priests and citizens. Under Ashurbanipal's long reign, from 668 to 626 B.C., the Assyrian military system, with its army of mercenaries, a strange medley from the lands of every ruler, achieved its final triumphs.

Displaced by his Sons

The success of the Egyptian campaign, in the course of which Esarhaddon died, was rapid and complete. The army with which Tirhakah attempted to defend Lower Egypt was defeated near Karbaniti, the Egyptian city of Qarbana; he abandoned Memphis to its fate and withdrew to Thebes. In "one month and ten days" the Assyrian army advanced thither. Tirhakah, who could not repose any confidence in the population of the capital, preferred to evacuate this town, and entrenched himself higher up stream on both banks of the Nile, obviously in order to bar the passage of the river plain. The Assyrian army did not advance beyond Thebes, and Ashurbanipal, like his father, could impose kings only in the districts up to this point. In the same year, or soon afterwards, Tirhakah died while holding his entrenchments. His successor in Napata was Tanut-Ammon, his sister's son, who at once assumed the aggressive. The Assyrian army must have already left Thebes, and the nephew of Tirhakah had no difficulty in seizing the rest of Egypt. The Assyrian garrison in Memphis alone offered resistance. Tanut-Ammon invested it and took up a strong position at On, or Heliopolis, to the north of it. Once more an express messenger reached Nineveh with the tidings, and the Assyrian army started by forced marches to the relief of the besieged. Tanut-Ammon thereupon abandoned the siege and evacuated the country as far as Thebes, where he tried to hold his own. But the town was captured in 667 or 666, and the Ethiopians were forced to abandon Egypt. Ashurbanipal was able once more to install his provincial princes. But this state of affairs did not last long. The Assyrian supremacy naturally enabled the Egyptian princes to get rid of the Kushites. When that object was attained, they had only to devise a way of ridding themselves of their not less troublesome ally. Within two years

Temporary Conquest of Egypt

Psammetichus, son of Necho, to whom Ashurbanipal had given the districts of Memphis and Sais, declared himself independent. The Assyrian army was occupied elsewhere, and thus Egyptian diplomacy proved successful in its plan. It had driven the Kushites out of the country with the help of Assyria, and now seized the right moment for robbing their helper of his reward. Ashurbanipal complained of similarly base ingratitude from Gyges of Lydia. The Cimmerians, at the very time of his accession, had made aggressive movements towards Lydia, and had crossed the Halys. Since Assyria had aided the Ashkuza against the Cimmerians, Gyges asked help from Ashurbanipal, whose Cilician and Cappadocian possessions, as they adjoined Lydian territory, were equally threatened. Ashurbanipal helped him, indeed, by offering prayers to Ashur, which proved so effective that in the end Gyges conquered the dreaded enemy. He sent two chiefs from among the prisoners in chains to Nineveh, where the strange-looking barbarians, "whose language was understood by no interpreter," caused great astonishment. The thankless Lydian thought that by doing this he had shown sufficient gratitude. He sent no more embassies or "presents," and actually supported the revolt of Psammetichus, not by prayers, but by auxiliaries. This outrageous conduct soon met with punishment, according to Ashurbanipal's account, in answer to his fervent prayer: Gyges failed to ward off a fresh attack of the Cimmerians. He fell in battle, and Lydia was overrun by barbarians. Gyges' son, whose name is not mentioned by Ashurbanipal, but whom Herodotus calls Ardys, offered his submission. But Ashurbanipal still refrained from sending any effective aid; the Lydians were forced to help themselves. The attack of the Cimmerians did not break up until it reached Cilicia, on the Assyrian frontier, although its defeat hardly seems to have been due to any efforts on the part of Assyria. This all took place in 668 B.C. and the succeeding years.



ASHURBANIPAL DEFEATS TEUMMAN, KING OF ELAM Mansell

About 660 B.C., the Elamites descended on Babylonia. This resulted in a succession of wars between the Assyrian and Elamite kings, which finally led to the capture of Susa, the capital, and the annihilation of Elam, thus destroying a "buffer state" which could guard Assyria from the advancing Aryan tribes of barbarians.

In 668 also, after Tirhakah had evacuated Thebes for the second time, Ba'al of Tyre finally submitted. He was compelled to be content with retaining only his island city. The king of Arvad, Iakinlu, who had certainly reposed hopes in Tirhakah, now paid tribute again and sent his sons as hostages and pages to the Assyrian court. Another expedition against the rebellious Mannai on Lake Urumiya, in which district the Ashkuza, allies to Assyria, were expanding their power, falls within the first years of Ashurbanipal's reign. It is not difficult to imagine the reasons which induced King Akhsheri to suspend payment of tribute. With the Ashkuza in the country,

who were still allied with the suzerain, the revenues would be in a sorry condition. But when the Assyrian army advanced, Akhsheri fell a victim to a rebellion, and his son Ualli submitted to the Assyrians.

About the same time there were expeditions against some Median chiefs.

War with Elam

Ashurbanipal did not advance in this direction so far as Esarhaddon and Sargon: this region had already been flooded by the great stream of nations.

War with Elam broke out afresh in 660 B.C. or somewhat later; and once more the Elamites were the aggressors. For the last few years, since Esarhaddon's time, there had been peace with Urtaki. Now, having made an agreement with the chiefs of Babylonian tribes, especially those of the Gambuli, he tried to establish himself firmly in Babylonia, and for this purpose despatched an army thither. Ashurbanipal does not appear to have had his army ready: it was only when the Elamites appeared before Babylon itself that he interposed and drove them back over the frontier. He did not venture farther. Assyria thus, after the one attack led by Sennacherib, which was accompanied by such disastrous consequences, always remained on the defensive against Elam. Urtaki died soon after. The complications following on the change of kings led to war with Teumman, who advanced on Northern Babylonia, but was forced to return after reaching Dur-ilu. An Assyrian army now marched for the first time through the passes of the Zagros to Elam and up to the walls of Susa itself. The successes of Kurigalzu and Nebuchadnezzar I. were thus repeated. This war concludes the operations during the first half of Ashurbanipal's reign.

All the succeeding wars of Ashurbanipal are connected with the great rebellion of Shamash-shum-ukin, which broke out

Rebellion of a Brother

openly in 652 B.C. The Assyrian army asserted its superiority in the suppression of it; but the sympathy which Shamash-shum-ukin had found everywhere, the hopes which had been raised by his efforts in every part of the realm, showed at the same time that the empire was held together only by force, and that it would infallibly fall to pieces if the help of its army of mercenaries should be withdrawn. Ashurbanipal did not, indeed, treat Babylon as Sennacherib did, but, as a representative of the "Assyrian" policy, he acted like Tiglath-pileser and Shalmaneser. This is shown very clearly from the fact that he himself, precisely as they did, assumed the crown of Babylon, and reigned there under the name of Kandalanu from 647 to 626 B.C.

Once more Babylon had received from Elam the strongest support during the rebellion. The result of this was a succession of wars, which finally led to the capture of Susa and the complete annihilation of Elam. Assyria, however, which made no effort to retain the conquered territory, gained only one result: she placed the neighbouring country at the mercy of the advancing Aryan tribes. Just as in Urartu, so here she had destroyed the "buffer state" which could guard her from this enemy. The progress of the annihilation itself, during which we see that Elam suffered from continual disturbances, will be better treated in the history of Elam. In Babylonia itself, as

Elam completely Destroyed

was naturally to be expected, the different tribes had been equally won over by Shamash-shum-ukin; the Gambuli and Puqudu, as well as some Chaldæan states, were chastised for it. The overthrow of Merodach-baladan's grandson in the "Country of the Sea" was connected with this campaign, and contributed its share to the complications with Elam.

In Phœnicia, at this time, Ushu, the town on the mainland facing Tyre, and Akko were punished. The "province of Tyre" had, therefore, attempted a rebellion; this seems to have been the only practical result which the appeal of Shamash-shum-ukin effected in the west.

The king of Urartu, Sarduri III., now voluntarily courted the suzerainty of Assyria, and in 644 B.C. sent an embassy to Ashurbanipal; the invasions of the Aryan tribes forced him to take this step. This is the last event which Ashurbanipal himself records of his reign.

We have no records for the last years of Ashurbanipal's reign: this is a rather long gap, ten or fifteen years, perhaps. We may assume generally from his victories that he upheld the prestige of Assyria. The fact that he remained king of Babylon up to his death is also in favour of this assumption. The rapid downfall which followed shows how this prestige was due to one man and his army.



THE LAST KING OF ASSYRIA DIES IN HIS PALACE

Braun, Clement et Cie.

When Nineveh fell, in 607 B.C., its last king, Sin-shar-ishkun, set fire to his palace and perished in the flames. Legend also records this fate for Sardanapalus, the famous Ashurbanipal, and the celebrated picture by the French artist, L. Chalon, from which the above illustration is reproduced, is known as "The Death of Sardanapalus."

Ashurbanipal's renown in the modern world rests rather upon his patronage of literature than upon his victories, which, however, made his name, under the form "Sardanapalus," celebrated even in classical legend. He founded in his palace at Nineveh a library of cuneiform tablets, which contained copies of all the Babylonian literary productions and old inscriptions which his emissaries were able to discover during a prolonged search through the ancient cities and temples of the land. We owe to the remains of this great library, which have now been recovered and are preserved in the British Museum, almost all our knowledge of Babylonian literature and of many valuable documents, of which the originals are lost. Ashurbanipal's victories do not stand alone in Assyria, but he is unique among Assyrian kings in that he found pleasure in obtaining copies of the ancient records and in reading them himself. Without the wealth of tablets which have come down to us from his royal library at Nineveh we should have no conception of the high level of literary achievement to which the Babylonians and Assyrians attained.

Sardanapalus, Patron of Literature

Assyria had at least two kings after Ashurbanipal, Ashur-i il-ilani and Sin-shar-ishkun. Little is known of their reigns. Babylon was lost upon the death of Ashurbanipal, but not the whole of Babylonia, of which some parts were kept until the end. We are not informed how long either of them reigned, nor are we certain that the throne was not occupied by other rulers in addition to them.

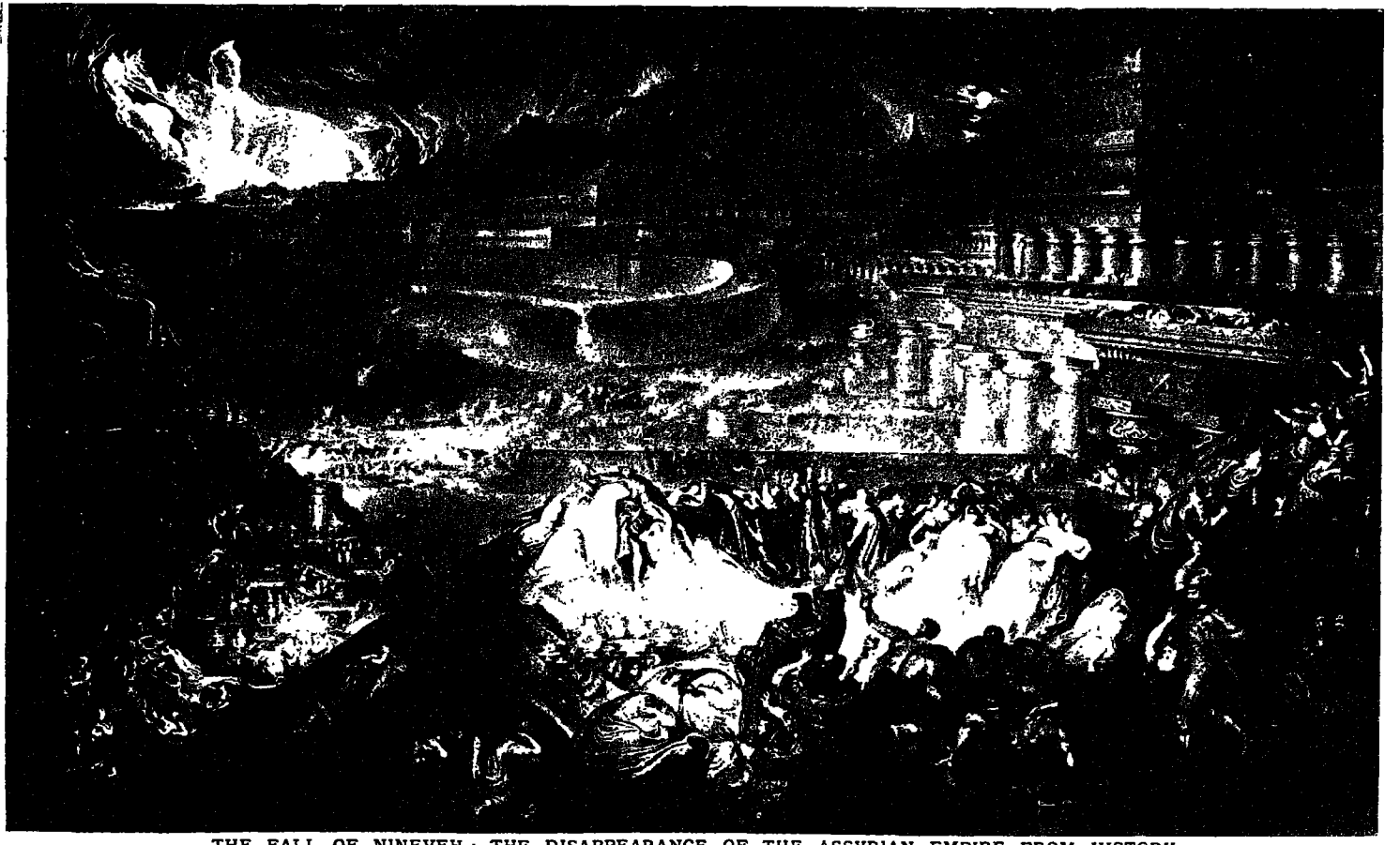
We have at present only some slight accounts of the end of the Assyrian empire. The Chaldæan Nabopolassar could no longer support himself on Elam, as his Chaldæan predecessors on the throne of Babylon had done, for Elam existed no longer. But he found instead a more powerful ally in the successor to Elam, the Medes. Assyria, on her side, had, since the time of Esarhaddon, been allied with the Ashkuza, who, as neighbours of the Medes, were their natural foes. In 609 we find Nabopolassar in possession of Mesopotamia. He boasts of his victory over Shubari, using the ancient designation of Mesopotamia. The power of Assyria must thus have been already broken, for soon afterwards we find the Mede Cyaxares in front of Nineveh. An auxiliary army of the Ashkuza, under Madyas, son of the Bartatua who had married Esarhaddon's daughter, advanced, but was defeated by Cyaxares. This sealed the fate of Nineveh, which fell about the year 607. The last king, Sin-shar-ishkun, is said to have set fire to his palace, and to have perished in the flames—the fate which legend records of Sardanapalus. The Median bands attended to the business of plundering and laying waste far more thoroughly than their ally liked: for not only Nineveh, but all the towns of Assyria, and even those of Babylonia which had remained loyal to Assyria, were ruthlessly sacked. Nineveh never again rose from her ruins; a fortunate circumstance for us, for, buried beneath the soil, the remains have been preserved for us which otherwise might have served as building materials for a later age.

Last Kings of Assyria

Nabopolassar looked with very little satisfaction upon the conduct of his allies, for they were, after all, devastating his own lands. But it is noteworthy that the barbarians seem really to have kept their agreement; they evacuated the conquered country, and observed the treaty by which the Tigris was to be the boundary of their respective provinces. A new condition of things was thus created. Media possessed all the country to the north of the river district of Elam as far as Asia Minor. Babylon kept Babylonia, Mesopotamia — Assyria would have remained Median — Syria, and Palestine, about 605 B.C.

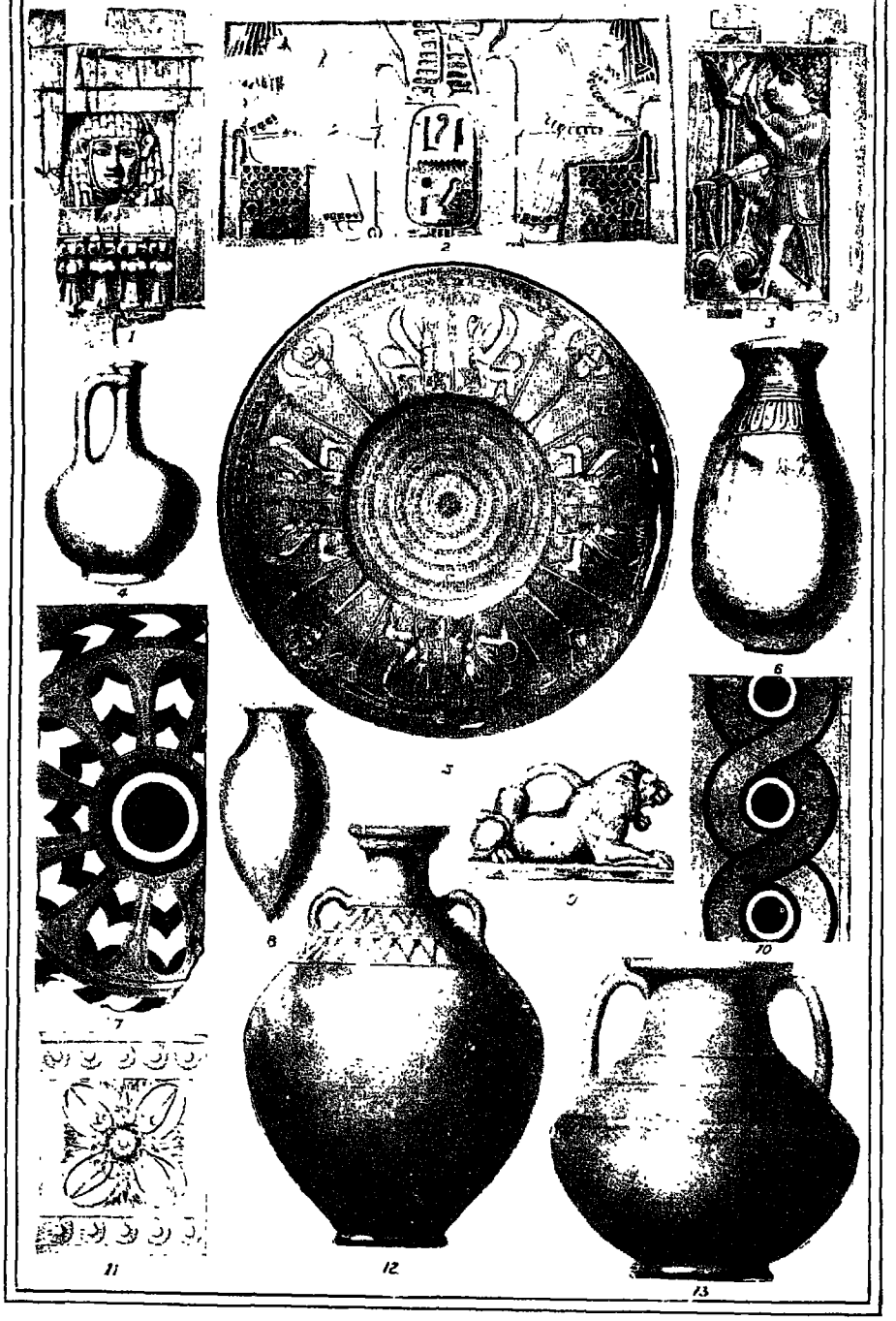
Assyria Disappears from History

Thus the "Assyrian Empire" disappeared from history. We have already suggested more than once why it was impossible for any attempts at revolt to be made. The "empire" was supported merely by an army of mercenaries and a host of officials. It was long since there had been an Assyrian people in the true sense of the term. In the provinces it was a matter of indifference whether the governor extorted money in the name of the king of Ashur or the king of Babylon. The only feeling excited was the wish for a new master, fostered by the vain hope of an amelioration of their lot. The provinces—Syria and Palestine—had long been incapable of action. Only in some isolated places, such as Judah, was any resistance offered, and this naturally could not withstand a large army.



THE FALL OF NINEVEH : THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE FROM HISTORY

Nineveh fell, never to rise again, in 607 B.C., on the attack of the Median hordes under Cyaxares, who sacked ruthlessly not only Nineveh, but all the towns of Assyria.



SPECIMENS OF THE APPLIED ART OF ASSYRIA

In its principal achievements Assyrian art exhibits little foreign influence beyond that of Babylonia. Carved ivories, such as those shown above (1, 2 and 3), have, however, been recovered from the remains of Nineveh which show traces of Egyptian influence. The bronze lion weight (9) is distinctly Phœnician. Other examples on this page are more purely Assyrian. Such are the pottery, glazed (12 and 13) and unglazed (4, 8 and 6), and the painted bricks and tiles from the palace at Kalkhi (7, 10 and 11), which show the surprising antiquity of some of the designs in modern use. The gem of the collection is the bronze plate (5),



ASSYRIAN CHARACTERISTICS

RETROSPECT OF ASSYRO-MESOPOTAMIAN CULTURE

THE region farther up the rivers—namely, Mesopotamia and Assyria—has a distinctly different character from Babylonia with its hot climate. The vicinity of the mountains tempers the heat of the great plains; and a more ample rainfall, with some snow in winter, make its climatic conditions similar to those of the warmer countries of Europe. The two great rivers are here far apart, and flow mostly between rocky banks, so that any idea of the construction of canals on the scale of the Babylonian system is out of the question. Smaller streams, especially the Khabur and Belikh in Mesopotamia, intersect the plains and produce wide stretches of corn-land; between them lie vast steppes which have at all times furnished the nomads with a welcome home, whence they pressed on toward the cultivated land studded with flourishing towns.

Climate of Assyria

Until some considerable discoveries going back to the pre-Assyrian epoch are made on Mesopotamian soil, we must abandon any attempt to settle the peculiar character of Mesopotamian civilisation in its variations from the Babylonian. The necessary information cannot be extracted from the existing records. All that we can ascertain with certainty is the nature and condition of Assyrian rule.

The country on the left bank of the Euphrates above the Lower Zab did not develop an independent civilisation; it is in every respect an extension of the sphere of Babylonian civilisation. The sovereignty which it exercised towards the end of the period when that civilisation held a preponderating influence in Western Asia was purely political and won by force. Our first duty is to ascertain the nature of that sovereignty.

Assyrian Culture is Babylonian

We must assume that Assyria at the time of her first expansion in the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C. still possessed an active and vigorous population; this condition presupposes a numerous peasant class. We do not know how that class came into being, but that it had long been in existence is probable since she was able to send out colonies, and this can best be done when a thriving and multiplying peasantry exists. On the other hand, there are indications that the conditions attending the ownership of the soil were no longer satisfactory, that "over-population" was a growing evil; or, more correctly expressed, the distribution of the soil no longer conformed to the conditions necessary for a peaceful and progressive development of the agricultural classes.

The later Assyria of Ashurnasirpal and Shalmaneser II. had a quite different population, influenced in some degree by the Aramæan immigration. It is true that Ashurnasirpal was still able to lead colonies into the reconquered or newly acquired lands. But we may hardly assume that the colonists were drawn from surplus masses of the people; they were really parts of a population which had become indigent through faulty economic policy. We have seen that it is only once recorded, and then under special circumstances, that Shalmaneser II. had "summoned the country to arms." The wars of aggrandisement were waged by Assyria with a standing army—that is, with mercenaries. This points to a complete change of the basis of Assyrian power. Henceforth there is no Assyrian nation which expands by conquest, but only an armed predatory state, which, by the use of troops recruited from every country, crushes the nations, and wrings from them the means for keeping them dependent. The Assyrian people, so far as one existed at all, sank into insignificance before the priesthood, which had obtained the supremacy on the one side, and before the monarchy, with its feudal adherents, on the other. We saw in the

Extinction of Assyrian People

policy of Tiglath-pileser IV. an attempt to put the state once more upon a broader basis; but the attempt was unsuccessful, and the powerful reaction under Sargon restored the character of Assyria and sealed her fate.

The power of Assyria lay then in its army. This was an army of mercenaries, composed of heterogeneous elements, which the king was obliged to support and to provide with pay. The maintenance of the army furnished a motive for incessant expeditions of conquest and plunder. Such an army clamoured for employment and booty, and experience showed that in the East there were no means to support it unless they were wrung from conquered lands. The country was mostly in the possession of the temple-lords and feudal owners; even the larger towns enjoyed freedom from taxation, and the insignificant and oppressed peasant class was naturally unable to furnish the required supplies. Thus a perpetual incentive to new military expeditions was given by the very basis of the constitution. This in itself would have forced Assyria forward on the path of conquest, even if richer or weaker neighbours had offered no tempting prey.

Assyria's Army of Mercenaries

Ashurnasirpal's reign and the beginning of the age of Shalmaneser II. saw the overthrow of the newly formed Aramæan state of Mesopotamia. This ancient sphere of civilisation was thus mainly brought under Assyrian government, and became an essential part of the empire. The Aramæan population, so far as it consisted of the priesthood and feudal lords, was put on an equality with the Assyrian. Assyria, therefore, in the widest sense, comprised the countries extending up to the Euphrates as its western boundary. The perfecting of the system of government was the chief work of the second period of Assyrian history. The result thus obtained lasted until the overthrow of the empire and the destruction of its constitution.

Constitution of the Empire

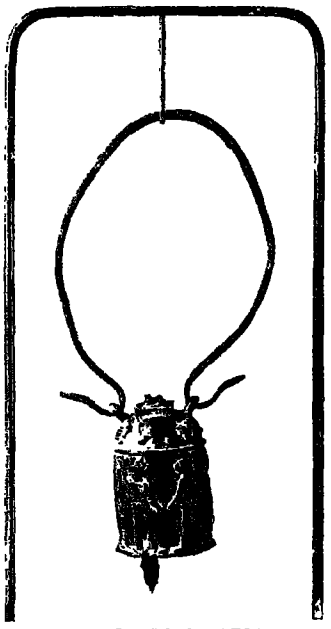
The advance beyond the Euphrates marked a new stage of development, which had already begun under Shalmaneser II. and his successors, but did not lead to permanent results until the rise of the new Assyrian empire after Tiglath-pileser IV. Under this latter king, the greater number of the countries west of the Euphrates for the first time lost their own government and were constituted Assyrian provinces. But no definite successes were attained here; for the new provinces consisted of states which, in spite of everything they owed to the common mother civilisation, possessed a peculiar population and culture of their own. They were thus never assimilated by Assyria. Here also the other sphere of civilisation, that of Asia Minor, exercised its influence and raised a wall of partition, which, in spite of arbitrary political arrangements, was never entirely thrown down, between the civilisations on the right and left banks of the Euphrates.

The policy of the Assyrians toward subject states was that which similar powers—the most recent example in the world's history is the Turkish Empire—have always adopted. The ceaseless unrest caused in the civilised country by nomads eager for booty and land made it necessary to reduce them to some form of subjection in order to be protected from their inroads. The first stage of this submission was the duty of paying tribute, since a complete subjugation and the institution of a local government were impossible with such tribes. A similar policy would then be adopted toward neighbouring civilised states. The king is called upon to pay tribute; if he consents to pay it, he retains, as the vassal of Assyria, the absolutely free administration of his own land. Besides the payment of tribute, he is also bound to furnish troops. His suzerain does not as yet interfere with the internal government of his country.

Assyria's Turkish Policy

This, indeed, especially in cases where the taxes imposed were considerable and the land incapable of paying them, often meant little more than that the prince filled the office of an Assyrian tax-collector, on whom the responsibility for the punctual payment of the imposts rested. The great king did not consider himself in any way bound to render it possible for the vassal to perform his obligations by guaranteeing him complete protection against enemies. If the vassal, through the offers or the oppression of a neighbouring state, allowed himself to be seduced from his allegiance to Assyria, and accepted the suzerainty of the new oppressor, then an Assyrian army appeared

in order to call to account the "rebel," who had probably submitted only to compulsion. The vassal princes therefore usually stood between two or three fires. They were responsible to the great king: on the other hand, the people, who had to supply the taxes, were discontented. Thus parties were formed, each of which sought the advancement of its respective interests in an adhesion to Assyria or another great power. We have contemporary testimony to the existence of such parties in the utterances of the Israelitish prophets. We see how at the time of Amos the question stands in Israel and Judah: adhesion to Assyria, such as Ahaz represents, or to Damascus and Egypt against which Amos utters warning. After the fall of Damascus Hosea knows only of Assyria and Egypt, just as Isaiah does: and again after the appearance of Tirhakah, an Egyptian party continues to oppose the Assyrian. The king stands between the two, usually in a very precarious position, since he can save himself only by joining the stronger power. We can thus trace Hezekiah's vacillation, and recognise from the activity of Jeremiah the pitiful position of the last kings of Judah, who, faced by the choice between Nebuchadnezzar and the Pharaohs, are in the end overtaken by their destiny.



AN ASSYRIAN BELL
From the Royal Museum of Berlin.

It is in the nature of things that such relations, which merely imposed burdensome obligations upon the vassal, were broken off so soon as any favourable prospect of revolt presented itself—that is, if there was no immediate fear of an invasion by the Assyrian army. But if the army appeared, the fate of the rebellious state was virtually sealed, owing to the military superiority of the Assyrians.

Hard Case of the Vassal

If a state had been completely conquered by force of arms, it was confiscated; it lost its independence, and became an Assyrian province. So long as this process was applied to the districts of Mesopotamia, it caused, as we have seen, little difficulty, owing to the affinity of the population and the homogeneousness of the country. But when an advance was made into countries of different character, it was found impossible to force an Assyrian government on a foreign population, which had shown the vitality of its peculiar customs and institutions by recent rebellion. Such a course would have been tantamount to abandoning the handful of Assyrian officials to certain death on the next recrudescence of discontent. And a deportation of the majority of the population as slaves would have destroyed in great measure the productivity of the new province.

Reason of the Captivities

After the time of Tiglath-pileser IV., when Assyria itself could supply no more colonists, an attempt was made to remedy these difficulties by transplanting the population, and interchanging the inhabitants of newly-conquered provinces lying at opposite ends of the empire. The Bible has made us familiar with the carrying away of the population of Samaria to Mesopotamia and Media, with that of the Jews to Babylonia, and with the replenishment of the population of Samaria by inhabitants of Babylonian towns under Ashurbanipal after the overthrow of Shamash-shum-ukin. Such exchanges and resettlements are mentioned as matters of course in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon. The districts were not only re-populated in this way, but the new settlers were naturally less able to trouble the Assyrian government. Torn from their native soil, themselves made up of different elements, and not yet blended with the remnants of the old population with whom they had no affinity, the new settlers found no firm support except in the Assyrian officials. The tribal organisation and class system which had bound them together in their home, and had enabled them to resist the oppression of the powers, was thus dissolved, and they

were rendered incapable of offering opposition to the new authorities.

Thus an administration, really capable of civilising and developing, would certainly have found in these products of the two great organisers of Assyria ample material from which a new population might have been formed, whose interests would have been inseparably connected with the continuance of the Assyrian empire. But the administrative arts of a predatory state, based on militarism and a wealthy priesthood, are not adapted to the production of lasting works of civilisation. Assyria wished only to derive advantage from the new provinces, and could give them nothing in return. The ultimate object of Assyrian administration was the enrichment of the government officials, from the lowest tax-collector to the governor himself; each paid tribute to his superior; the governor finally had to pay it to the court. What a province "received," if anything at all, bore no proportion to that which was taken from it. The inevitable end of this was widespread destitution and desolation. When the mother country, as a result of an unwise distribution of the ownership of the soil, had no more vitality, but lived on the impoverishment of its subject states, the transference of its own system of administration to them could have only the same consequences.

Short-sighted Foreign Policy

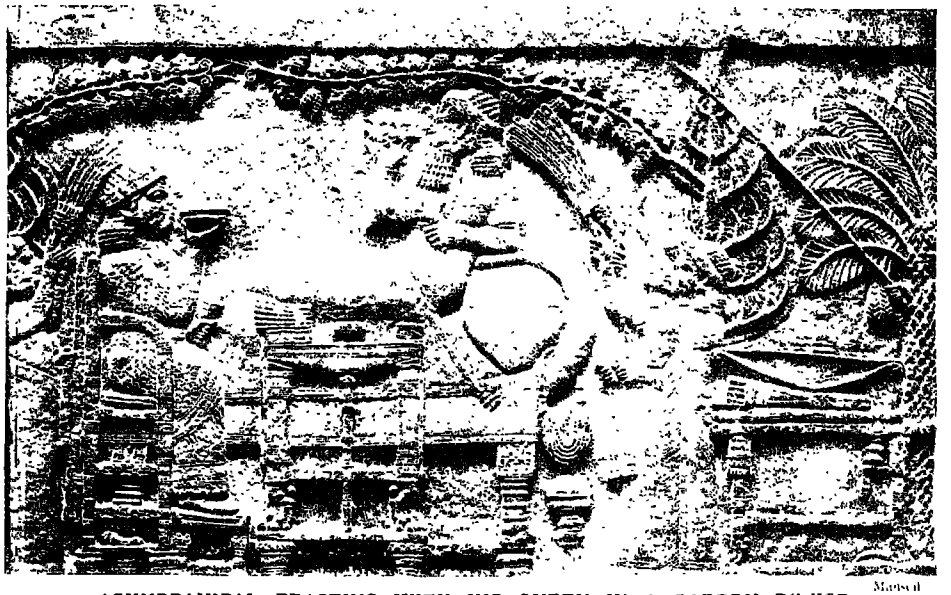
If Assyria granted to her vassal states no compensatory advantages for the burdens imposed upon them, she conceived her obligations towards her newly-acquired provinces in an equally short-sighted spirit. The governor, or *shaknu*, who ruled a province was much the same as the former prince of the country, only the administration, which had formerly been in the hands of fellow-countrymen of the subject people, was now in the hands of Assyrian officials. The material position of the people was not essentially affected by this change. We need not assume that the Assyrian lords extorted more from their subjects than the former native princes; at least, that was hardly possible where the greater civilised states were concerned. The governor, who had taken the place of the feudal prince, assumed his entire rights and responsibilities. His administration offered more security to the great king's interests, because he, in a land which was still strange to him, had to rely on the support which Assyria gave him; whereas the native prince, on the other hand, was adverse from Assyria, both from tradition and from national feeling. In other respects the position was unchanged. The *shaknu* was obliged to meet the requirements of his province out of its revenues, and to fulfil his obligations toward the court. He had to furnish for campaigns a detachment of troops, which he was compelled to keep out of the resources of his province; but for the security of his own territory, unless its loss seriously threatened the empire, he had, out of his own personal resources, to provide money and men. The king had his own army, "the royal army," for the support of which he was responsible, and he was therefore at pains to let this duty devolve, if possible, upon his officials: the governor also had his own troops, whose duty it was to guard the safety of his province, and to furnish a contingent for the royal army in the event of war. The position of the governor was therefore very independent. He was an imperial officer, and at the same time a reigning prince. It is obvious that he must have had many temptations to push his fortunes elsewhere than in Assyria by joining a new conqueror, or by declaring his own independence in the time of her defeat, for there was no organic tie between empire and province.

Rule of the Provinces

Independence of the Governors

If, therefore, the Assyrian "Empire," which had no united population, and by its administration promoted in no degree the cohesion of its separate divisions, disappeared after the fall of Nineveh without leaving a trace, and without inspiring an attempt at its reconstruction, we can feel no surprise. All that held it together was an army of mercenaries and an official class; when these were destroyed the empire also perished. We can easily comprehend that no one came forward to revive the two institutions, which had served only to impoverish the subject classes of the population.

Assyria subdued the Nearer East with an army of mercenaries, and there was necessarily little selection of recruits; any were taken who could be found. We may assume without further remark that the adjoining barbarian countries furnished



Mansell

ASHURBANIPAL FEASTING WITH HIS QUEEN IN A GARDEN BOWER

Assyrian monuments do not display the pleasure felt by the Egyptians in scenes from domestic life, and this bas-relief showing the monarch feasting with his consort is an exception. It is an example of the skill of the latest period.

the supply of men in the first instance, just as the Germanic tribes did for later Rome, the Normans and English for Byzantium, etc. When a state was conquered, the king as a rule drafted part of the conquered army into his troops.

Among the various sections of the army the war-chariot was the heaviest, the most dreaded, and the most honourable engine of war: the king in battle is always represented in a war-chariot. It is familiar from sculptured representations, in which it appears drawn by two horses, and holding a driver and a fighting man [see page 1052]. It is still uncertain where this method of fighting had its origin. We know little as yet as to the military system in Babylonia during the earliest period, except what the "Stele of the Vultures" teaches us; this seems to show that in the time of the kings of Lagash a closed phalanx with shield and lance formed the chief method of attack. This subject is closely connected with the question as to the time when men became familiar with the horse and where its original home was. In the Babylonia of 3000 B.C. there is no discovered trace of it; the chariot of Eannatum was doubtless drawn by asses. In the Kassite period horses and war-chariots played a prominent part, as in contemporary Egypt. Had they been introduced by the "Canaanitic" immigration, or from the north through "Hittite" and similar conquests? At any rate, the Greek epic teaches us that in Asia Minor, at a time which corresponds approximately to the last period of the Assyrian empire, war-chariots were in general use.

The cavalry was unimportant in comparison. The nobles drove to battle in their war-chariots, but the cavalry, never very numerous, seem, at the time with which we are more intimately acquainted, to have been a disparaged arm of the service: they were apparently used only for skirmishes and pursuit. Riding without proper saddle and without stirrups prevented their development into an effective body of troops. The chief strength of the army lay in the heavily armed battalions, who carried lances and short swords, and were protected by shields, armour, and helmets. The archers stood by their side as the light-armed troops [see illustrations on pages 1648 and 1650].

The siege methods were developed proportionately to the numerous wars. Ordinary fortifications did not as a rule long resist the Assyrian attack. A mound —the Roman "agger"—was built up to the walls of the town, on which heavy battering-rams could be brought into position, and brick buildings could not

long resist their shock. This device failed against stronger masonry. Damascus, with its walls of stone, defied Shalmaneser II., and we do not yet know whether Tiglath-pileser took it by storm. At the siege of Tyre, which Alexander was the first to capture, an attempt was made to isolate the town by constructing an earthwork; but no result was accomplished, owing to want of a sufficient naval force.

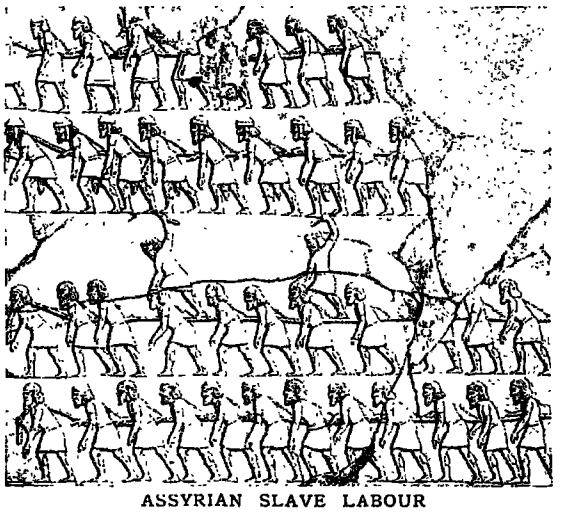
Ancient Siege Methods

The arming of the troops was naturally the concern of the person who retained them—namely, the king or governor. The building of a palace, which was the consummation of an Assyrian reign, included the erection of an arsenal, which must be stocked with weapons. The maintenance of the army does not seem to have been provided for by a payment in money raised by a definite tax, or out of the total revenues of the king; traces of the nature of its origin may still be detected in the inscriptions.

Originally the duty to bear arms depended on possession of of real property. This duty may have still applied to the noble vassal, but it had been replaced, after the decay of the peasant class, and owing to its inability to perform military duties, by a tax, or military impost, which the small owner had to pay instead of tendering his services. This was assigned to the mercenaries, and, indeed, an attempt has been made to prove that the individual mercenary was assigned a peasant who had to pay him his taxes. The king, when he could not provide sufficiently for the army, tried to place the burden of supporting bodies of troops on high officials, who, naturally, were unwilling to pay the king's troops in addition to their own; thus there were abundant occasions for conflicts and disturbances to arise. Even in the period of prosperity indications can be found which show on a small scale the result which had inevitably to follow when once Ashur, which was closely surrounded and limited in its natural resources, had no longer any provinces to impoverish and plunder.

Payment of the Mercenaries

The most complete and productive excavations up to the present time have been carried out in Assyria, and we are therefore better informed on many subjects there than in Babylonia. The first place may be given to our knowledge of architecture and sculpture, of which important examples have been discovered in the palaces of Nimrud, or Kalkhi, and Kuyunjik, or Nineveh. These familiarise us with the art of the builders and sculptors of the ninth century B.C., with Ashurnasirpal in Kalkhi, and of those of the eighth century—Tiglath-pileser IV. in Kalkhi, Sargon in Dur-Sharrukin, Sennacherib and Ashurbanipal in Nineveh, Esarhaddon in Kalkhi. The recent excavations at Shergat, the site of Ashur, the earliest Assyrian capital, have also furnished information concerning the ground plans and construction of private and royal buildings, temples, fortifications and river-side quays, built for the most part in the earlier period.

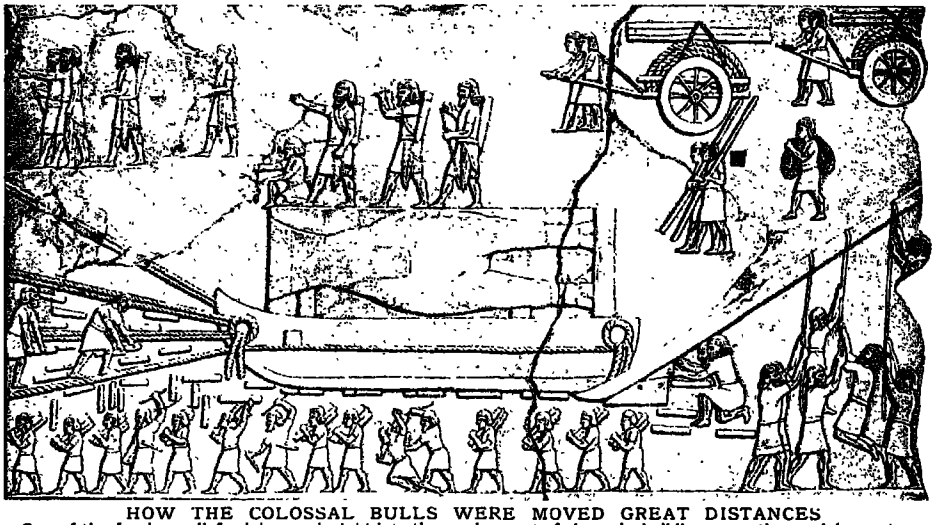


ASSYRIAN SLAVE LABOUR

A continuation of the bas-relief on the opposite page.

It is a constantly recurring phenomenon in the East that a powerful and wealthy monarch finds a satisfaction to his pride in the erection of colossal buildings, and above all in rearing a palace destined for his own use and enjoyment. This ambition is no doubt dictated in the main by the desire for a splendid abode which may outwardly express his grandeur. Political reasons also combine to influence the change of the royal residences; and, finally, the king may wish to have a worthy place of sepulchre for himself and his family, for it was necessary to remain after death beneath the protection of the household gods if the shade of the dead man was

not to wander about restless and homeless. With very few exceptions, the monuments of Assyrian art which have come down to us belong to the later historical periods. But, even so, its Babylonian origin is unmistakable; the material of the vast buildings is the same brick which ancient Babylonia employed. Assyria, too, was unacquainted with blocks and columns of stone, although the vicinity of the mountains would have furnished ample materials for them. The Assyrians built with clay bricks after the Babylonian model, and employed as supports cedar trunks fetched from the Amanus and Lebanon. The country was more favourably situated as regards stone for sculpture than Babylonia, where Gudea was obliged



HOW THE COLOSSAL BULLS WERE MOVED GREAT DISTANCES
One of the few bas-reliefs giving an insight into the employment of slaves in building operations. A huge stone figure is being dragged by gangs of slaves, others carrying slips of wood for the sledge to slide on.

to obtain the slabs for his statues from Sinai and Palestine. The mountains to the north of Nineveh supplied alabaster and limestone with which the brick buildings could be faced, and the colossal figure of Arban shows that a pre-Assyrian age was acquainted with the gigantic bulls which guarded the palace doors and city gates. Babylonia has not yet furnished such products of art, for stone was not available for their construction. But the recent excavations at Babylon have proved that brick was employed there for the construction of reliefs on a large scale. In many cases the representations are formed of coloured tiles, and the dragons and other monsters thus depicted undoubtedly served the same purpose as the colossal bulls of Assyria, and were believed to guard the buildings on the walls of which they were set up.

The ample store of material which was available for facing the brick walls, and the ease with which the soft alabaster could be worked, gave Assyrian buildings their peculiar characteristics. While we have to imagine to ourselves in Babylonia the walls of a temple or palace covered with a plain lime-wash, or, at best, decorated with enamelled tiles, here the walls of the palace are covered by slabs of alabaster, bearing inscriptions and sculptured representations of the achievements of its founder. One or two rows of bas-reliefs and the commemorative inscriptions of the king in question usually run round the walls. These inscriptions form one of the chief sources of our information for the history of certain periods. The sculptures are, as yet, the only available commentary on the bare record, and they furnish us with details which cannot be gathered from the inscriptions themselves.

These monuments do not show the pleasure felt by the Egyptian in scenes from domestic life—it must be admitted that we have not any sculptured tombs or decorated buildings of non-royal personages; the sculptures as yet recovered represent only incidents worthy of a king of Ashur. Nine-tenths of them are devoted to the glories of campaigns or hunting expeditions, and the rest to the buildings of

the king, for a king of Ashur was interested in little else. It was only the highly developed skill of the latest period under Ashurbanipal which attempted anything of a different character: but pictures like that of the monarch feasting with his consort are exceptions in the long series of battle scenes. There we see the king driving out in his war-chariot, the camp life, the battle, the pursuit of the enemy, the capture of towns. The splendid exploits of the king in building are also duly commemorated. We see how the terraces on which the palaces stand were raised by the employment of enormous numbers of men, how the colossal stone figures, in crates, drawn by ropes, were moved upon rollers by means of levers, and were thus transported from the rafts upon the Tigris to the palace platform; but we learn little of the domestic life of the Assyrians. We do at the same time learn isolated details of the daily life of the people, but these are introduced only incidentally in scenes depicting war or building operations. A few scenes of camp life may be reckoned under this head, and we also gain some insight into the life of the slaves and the methods employed in building operations. We have already noted how great weights were moved. The earth is carried in baskets on the backs of long rows of slaves; an overseer walks here and there and lets his whip fall across the shoulders of the laggards.

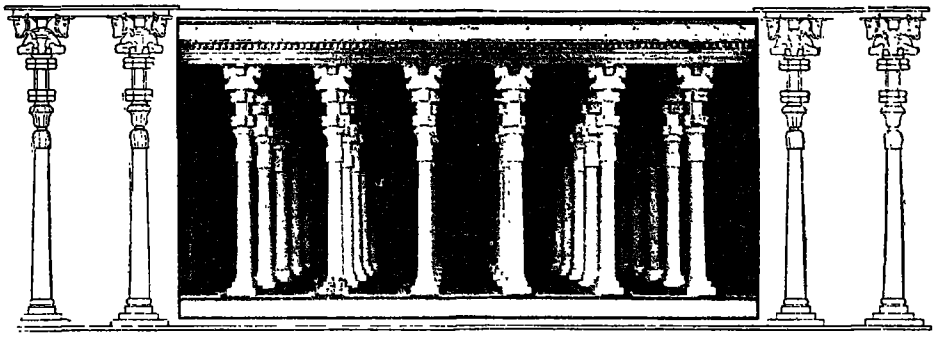
The Latest Art Period

Art shows a progressive development, especially in the execution of details. It is possible to trace accurately the progress from the sculptures in the palace of Ashurnasirpal to those of the New Assyrian Empire. While the former still exhibit figures that are comparatively stiff and notably fail to represent large masses of men in battle, a far greater freedom and variety in conception and execution is traceable in the latter. The scenes from the wars of Ashurbanipal show the climax of Assyrian skill. This royal Assyrian art—we know nothing of any other—grows in exact proportion to the power and the wealth which was acquired. We cannot decide whether art was practised by wider sections of the native population, and whether this latter had any large share in the development already noted. If mercenaries fought the Assyrian battles and Phœnician shipwrights built their fleet, artists and sculptors were also probably collected from every country. Carved ivories and examples of metalwork have, indeed, been recovered upon Assyrian sites which show unmistakable traces of Egyptian and Phœnician influence. But in its principal achievements Assyrian art exhibits little foreign influence, except in so far as it was a development of the earlier art of Babylonia. A comparison of Assyrian art with that of the early Babylonians and Sumerians proves that it made no advance upon the high level of excellence attained by these earlier peoples. The stele of Naram-Sin, for example, is unrivalled by any artistic product of the later periods. The first vague efforts to attain an ideal of beauty were abandoned in favour of a stereotyped art, which aimed only at an exact copy of outward forms. We may more certainly regard it as a result of Semitic art, since the same spirit is evident in all we know of Semitic life. It is the complete want of the imagination which dreams of a more beautiful world. The Semite has remained a child whose imagination sees bliss in the limitless accumulation of material delights.

Development of Assyrian Art

Superiority of Babylon's Art

The reason why the Assyro-Babylonian art, in spite of all delicacy of technique, could not advance to an idealisation has been thought to lie in the fact that it never took as its subject the nude human figure. In the first place, that is not quite correct; we actually possess small Babylonian statuettes of Ishtar, or Venus, and the torso of a large female statue from the time of the Assyrian king, Ashur-bel-kala. It is true, on the other hand, that the Semitic spirit regards the nude human form as something mean. That again is a practical proof of an undeveloped and childish spirit, to which the Semite, even in theory, has never risen superior. The glory of this world finds outward expression in trappings of costly stuffs: therefore he represents his ideal of beauty by infinitely delicate reproduction of costly apparel [see page 269]. In this way we may explain the decline which characterises Assyrian art when compared to the products of the earlier periods in Babylonia. Moreover, the genius of Assyria exhibited itself in war and in political administration rather than in art. In the latter realm she learnt from Babylon, and she did not improve upon her teacher.



THE EMPIRE OF THE ELAMITES

THROUGHOUT the whole of Babylonian history we have been able to trace a struggle with Elam, the neighbouring state on the east, which has often led to the dominion of the Elamites over Babylonia, and temporarily even to the subjugation of wider districts, until the power of Elam was finally broken by Ashurbanipal. But just as Babylonia, which had become Chaldæan, finally triumphed again over Assyria, so Elam in the end became the seat of the power which ruled the whole Nearer East; but then it was no longer Elamite, but had been conquered by the Aryan Persians. As Nebuchadnezzar once again restored the old sphere of Babylonian power, at least towards the west, so Elam under the Persians became the seat of sovereignty for all the countries which had once been subject to the most successful Elamite conquerors, and for a still wider circle.

The Seat of Persian Power

The real Elam is the region, with Susa for its centre, which in the north is separated from Media by the chain of the Zagros, and is watered by the Kerkha and the Karun. In the south the Persian Gulf forms the natural boundary; in antiquity it extended far more to the north-east than it does at present, and into it the Euphrates, Tigris, and Karun flowed by separate channels. The head of the gulf has been filled up by the alluvial deposit carried down by the rivers, and it now forms the marshy country on the edge of which Basra lies. It was called by the Assyrians Nâr-marrati, "the bitter water." On its northern shore lay Dur-Jakin, the capital of Merodach-baladan, the prince of the "Country of the Sea," which surrounded the shores of the gulf, and, from its perpetual contact with Elam, has already frequently occupied our attention. In the direction of Babylonia, the further natural boundary is the mountain range on the Median borders which shuts off the river valley, the Jebel Hamrin, with its eastern spurs. Toward the east we cannot fix a frontier for the pre-Persian Elam, with which we are now concerned, as the newly discovered inscriptions from Susa do not throw much light upon the expansion of Elam on the east, while from those of Babylonia and Assyria we can, in the nature of things, obtain information only as to her relations with the west.

Boundaries of Ancient Elam

The district of Susiana stretched in Persian times almost up to the Shapur; a line drawn thence in a northerly direction to the Zagros represents, roughly, the extent of this Persian province. This may, perhaps, have been regarded by the Elamite kings also as their peculiar territory. But precisely as Babylonia considered the country of Mesopotamia to belong to it, so the district which was most closely connected with Elam extended still further; for, even in the seaport of Bushire, Elamite kings raised buildings, and inscriptions by them have been found. We may reasonably assume that kings whose armies had perhaps penetrated as far as the Mediterranean Sea would not have stopped at the frontiers of their native land in an easterly direction; Elamite armies, in times when the empire flourished, may have traversed countries which on this side correspond to the extent of the later Persian empire.

The position of Elam in relation to the sphere of Babylonian civilisation is thus decided from the first. As the first

firmly organised state against which the influx of nations pressing westward from the great steppes of Central and Eastern Asia must have struck, it was for the civilised region of the Euphrates the "buffer state" which warded off the barbarians from it, or, if conquered itself, it received them and civilised them first before they extended their conquests further to the west. We may, perhaps, discover some traces of this last rôle in the different Elamite conquests.

Elam the Buffer State

Down to the year 1898 the only Elamite inscriptions that had been recovered were the bricks of some kings of Susa, and a few scarcely more important inscriptions on stone, also from Susa, which Loftus discovered, some bricks with similar inscriptions from Bushire, excavated by F. C. Andreas, and two longer royal inscriptions which were found by Layard at Mal-Amir and Kul Fira'un in the Zagros on the upper course of the Karun. Loftus, and more recently Dieulafoy, had excavated at Susa, the extensive works of the latter having mainly brought Persian remains to light. But in the winter of 1897–98 those French excavations at Susa, under the direction of De Morgan, were begun which have resulted in the recovery of a series of unique monuments throwing a flood of light upon the history of Elam and the position which she occupied among the early races of the Nearer East.

It is true that the most valuable of the finds made by the French mission consist of Babylonian monuments which had been carried off to Susa as spoil. But, apart from these foreign importations, the diggings have yielded a long series of inscriptions of the native kings and princes. They have, moreover, resulted in finds of the first importance with regard to the history and development of Elamite art. The inscriptions confirm what we must deduce from the course of history—that we meet in Elam a civilisation developed under Babylonian influence, and borrowed from Babylonia, which, however, for its part had impressed its character to a large extent on what it borrowed. The native inscriptions are written in a character modelled on the Babylonian, and, what is more significant, they are composed in the Elamite language. This language, into the structure of which we thus gain an insight, is not closely allied to any of those otherwise known to us, if we except the language of the second column of the inscriptions of the Achæmenidæ. The capital of the country



THE PLAIN OF SUSA AND THE MOUNTAINS OF ELAM

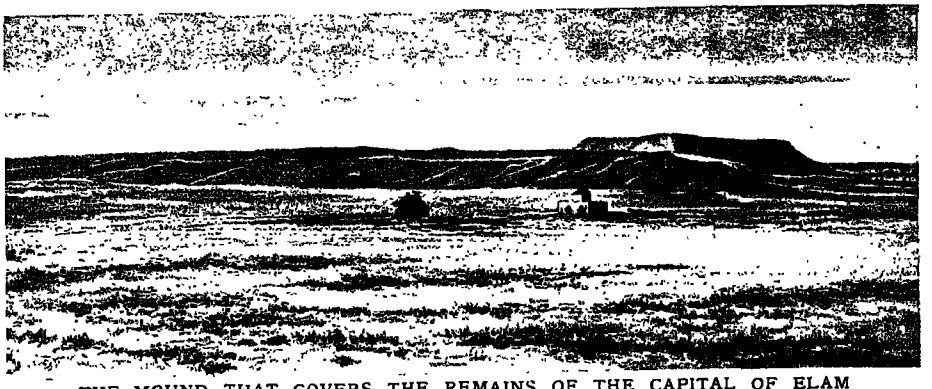
A view from the great tumulus of Susa. The mosque in the centre is said to be the tomb of the prophet Daniel

was at all times, so far as we can see, Susa, or Shushan, which is to be regarded as the centre of Elam, properly so called, the heart of the empire. Here was the sanctuary of Shushinak, the national god of Susa, and the city must have been the common centre for the different provinces and tribes. The kings of Elam resided in Susa, which was, therefore, for the empire in question, what Ashur and Nineveh had been for the Assyrian empire. Elam, too, must have owed its rise as a state to the subjugation of many towns and tribes, one of which, the Hapirti, was governed by separate kings. The numerous cities, called by the Assyrians "royal cities," are difficult to locate. For information as to these, and as to the political division of Elam, we are indebted to the

Susa the Heart of the Empire

accounts by Ashurbanipal of his own wars. We can distinguish three or four parts of Elam with their chief towns: Madaktu in the west, then Susa in the district of Bara'she; further on, Bubilu in the east, and finally, adjoining the Persian Gulf, in a northern situation in the Zagros, Khidalu, which is expressly described as a mountain province. The general Semitic name for the whole country was Elam: while Anshan, or Anzan, was the general native name for the greater part of it.

The language in which the native inscriptions are composed was probably much the same as that spoken by the first Elamite conquerors of Babylonia: for the names which they contain are the same, and belong to the same language, as those of the first conquerors, and of the last kings of Elam. This proves that



THE MOUND THAT COVERS THE REMAINS OF THE CAPITAL OF ELAM

This view, looking towards the tumulus, is taken from a point exactly opposite to that shown on page 1694.

the "Elamites" have been of as great importance in the history of the state of Elam as the Semitic Babylonians in that of Babylonia. Obviously, in the period of two thousand years for which these names are authenticated, Elam, not less than Babylonia, had been inundated by other peoples of various ethnic affinities. The fact that, notwithstanding this, the language was preserved points to the same conclusion as the corresponding phenomenon in Babylonia. It was this people which imprinted its own intellectual stamp on a previously existing civilisation, and, under the influence of Babylon, created the Elamite civilisation and the organisation of a great state, which afterwards became dangerous to Babylon itself.

Original Language Preserved

We have a difficult task to find the ethnic affinity of this people, and to classify its language under a larger group. The relation of Elamite to Kassite still remains undecided, in view of the fact that only a few words of the latter have as yet been recovered. On the whole, distant affinities are possible, and, in fact, may be assumed. A large number of clay tablets have recently been discovered at Susa. They are inscribed in what we may term the proto-Elamite writing, in all probability a pre-Semitic system; most of the signs and characters impressed upon them are very different from those of the Sumerians and early Babylonian Semites. Although these texts cannot be fully deciphered at present, it is certain that they contain lists of figures and accounts. Some of the ideographs, such as that for "tablet," with which many of the texts begin, resemble those of Babylonia, but the majority are entirely different and are developed upon a system of their own. We have, in fact, in these lately discovered tablets a new class of cuneiform in an early stage of its development when the pictorial origin and hieroglyphic character of the signs can still be recognised.

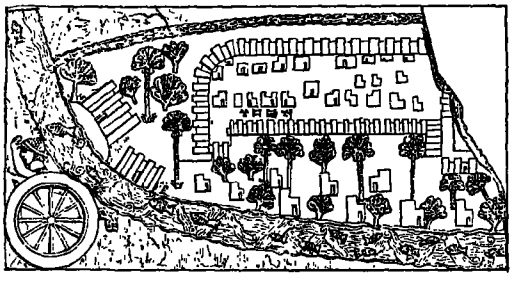
Elamite Cuneiform Writing

On the Semitic invasion of Elam in the third millennium B.C., it is probable that this proto-Elamite system of writing was the one generally employed throughout the country. But the invaders brought with them the system which they themselves had adopted from the Sumerians, and in the subsequent period we have the strange spectacle of native Elamite princes employing the Semitic character and language for their own inscriptions. The native

proto-Elamite character indeed continued to be employed for the common purposes of life, and we even possess an inscription of the age of Karibu-sha-shushinak written in Semitic Babylonian, to which an addition has been made in proto-Elamite. In course of time a modification of the Babylonian system was adopted by the Elamites for writing their own language phonetically, but for a considerable period Semitic Babylonian was largely employed. This fact, which is amply proved by recent finds at Susa, is a striking proof of the intercourse which took place at this early period between Elam and the Mesopotamian plain. There was only one road by which communication could be made between Babylonia and Elam, since the region round the head of the Persian Gulf was entirely impassable owing to the swamps caused by the water from the rivers—namely, through the passes of the mountain chain of Media and Elam, which led to the plain of Northern Babylonia. We have noticed that Dur-ilu was the town where the Elamites entered Babylonian territory, and that Northern Babylonia was the first object of their invasions. Of large towns at a greater distance, Nippur usually was exposed to their attack, and Uruk, or Erech, if they penetrated farther toward the south.

Intercourse with Mesopotamia

Erech, known at the period of the early city-states as the seat of a separate kingdom, was the centre of a particular sovereignty certainly down to the times of the "kingdom of Sumer and Akkad"; for we have inscriptions of "kings of Uruk" who belong approximately to the same period as the dynasties of Isin and Larsa. Later hymns tell of great distress in Nippur, and in this very Erech, caused by the Elamites; and one of the first historically authenticated accounts relates to a conquest of Erech by the Elamites. These conditions are reproduced in a Babylonian hero-legend. Gilgamesh, the chief figure of the great Babylonian epic, of which the Babylonian story of the Flood forms an episode, is the hero of Erech, the "builder" of the town, and its liberator from the yoke of Khumbaba, king of Elam.



ASSYRIAN PLAN OF SUSA

This plan is taken from an Assyrian bas-relief, now in the British Museum, representing an attack on Susa. The river is the Shawur, on the east bank of which the capital of Elam lay.

This legend, no doubt, is based upon episodes in early Elamite and Babylonian history, and, though Khumbaba may not have been an actual historical ruler, he may be taken to personify the power of Elam in its early relations with Babylonia.

In the earliest historical inscriptions which have yet been recovered we find the princes of Elam owning allegiance to suzerains in Babylonia, for they bear the title of patesi, or priest-king, proving that they did not enjoy complete political independence. One of the earliest of these native rulers, to judge from the archaic forms of the characters employed on an inscription of his that has been recovered, was Ur-ilim. Of the suzerains to whom these early priest-kings owed allegiance we have evidence from the Babylonian side. Sargon of Agade, and his son, Naram-Sin, both held sway in Elam; and the latter conquered the Elamite district of Apirak. Another early conqueror of Elam was Alu-usharshid, or Urumush, king of the city of Kish, a number of whose inscriptions have been found near those of Sargon at Nippur, proving that he subdued Elam and Para'se, the district in which Susa was probably situated. Victories over the hosts of Anshan, the western boundary of Elam, and the district of Para'se, are also recorded in an inscription of Mutabil, an early governor of Dur-ilu; and Gudea, the famous patesi of Lagash, also boasts of victorious wars against Anshan. But, as neither Mutabil nor Gudea enjoyed the position of independent kings, we must assume that their conquests were undertaken on behalf of their own suzerains in Babylonia. The kings of the Dynasty of Ur appear to have exercised a more enduring influence over Elam, for bricks have been found at Susa proving that Dungi, and his three successors, Bur-Sin I., Gimil-Sin, and Ibi-Sin, all included Elam within the limits of their

Babylonian Sway in Elam

empire. The excavations of De Morgan have furnished us with numbers of inscribed bricks, cones, steles, and statues, bearing inscriptions of a number of native Elamite rulers who are to be assigned to this early period. The records consist chiefly of building inscriptions and foundation memorials, commemorating the construction or repair of temples, the cutting of canals, and the like. We do not, therefore, gather from them much information for settling the problems connected with the external history of Elam at this time, but they enable us to form a true conception of the internal administration of the country. By their help we may picture the Elamites of this period as a nation without ambition to extend its boundaries, and content to own allegiance to foreign suzerains. The native princes are not engaged in warlike operations or in the conduct of campaigns, but devote their energies to the worship of the gods and the beautifying of their temples. It is to this period that we may probably assign Karibu-sha-Shushinak, Khutran-tepti, and his descendant Idadu I., who was followed in direct succession by Kal-Rukhuratir and Idadu II. Names of other priest-kings are known, of whom we may mention Beli-arugal, and Urkium, both of whom were probably contemporaneous with the later kings of the Dynasty of Ur.

A Nation Without Ambition

The first authenticated account of the succeeding period deals with a conquest of Babylonia by the Elamitic king Kuturnakhundi. Ashurbanipal, to whom we owe it, states that the latter, sixteen hundred and thirty-five years before his time, therefore about 2280, had carried away the image of Nana, the goddess of Erech, from her temple to Elam. Kuturnakhundi had pillaged Babylonia and oppressed it in every way. We have here to do with a time similar to that described in the Gilgamesh epic, although it was not the first of such epochs in Elam. We have already referred in Babylonian history to the tablet carried away from Erech and rediscovered by Kurigalzu in Susa: this may have been taken away by Kuturnakhundi on that occasion. The account of Ashurbanipal refers us to an earlier age than that of the "First Dynasty of Babylon" in Northern Babylonia, and of the dynasty of Larsa in the South; but Kuturnakhundi's invasion may well have been one of these earlier episodes in the Elamite wars carried on by the kings of the "First Dynasty." In that case we must conclude that the figures given by the scribes of Ashurbanipal are unreliable, having been based on an exaggerated estimate of the period separating Ashurbanipal's conquest of Susa from the age of Kuturnakhundi. If Ashurbanipal's figures be accepted, we must set Kuturnakhundi's invasion and his conquest of Erech some two or three hundred years before the rise of Babylon to a position of pre-eminence in Babylonia. In favour of retaining Ashurbanipal's estimate of the period at which Kuturnakhundi's invasion of Babylonia and conquest of Erech took place, we find that the inscriptions recently discovered at Susa furnish us with the names of many rulers who are probably to be set within this period of Elamite conquest and expansion, which was brought to an end by Hammurabi and his son Samsu-iluna. The change in the political condition of Elam appears to have been reflected in the change of title, and the native princes discarded their former designation of patesi, or "priest-king," in favour of a title which may have carried with it the implication of suzerainty over a portion of Babylonia. However this may be, we find that, like their predecessors, they continued to reside at Susa, and carried on their work of temple building. To this period we may probably assign the rulers Shirukdu, Temti-agun, his nephew, Temti-khisha-khanesh, the son of Temti-agun, and Simebelar-khuppak, a descendant of Shirukdu. Another allied group of rulers who probably came to the throne rather later are Shilkhakha, and his brother-in-law Lankuku, whose son was Kuk-Kirmesh, and Attapakshu, Kurigugu, Temti-khalki, Kal-Uli, and Kuk-Nashur, all of whom were descendants of Shilkhakha.

Elamite Conquests in Babylonia

Under the earlier kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon Elam was still the suzerain of Southern Babylonia. This state of affairs meets us in a clear and distinctly attested form during the reign of Rim-Sin, the last king of Larsa and of Sumer and Akkad. He had been appointed king by his father, Kutur-Mabuk, as the successor of his brother, Arad-Sin, upon the throne of Larsa, and he reigned in his father's name. In dealing with the history of Babylonia we have already described the defeat of Rim-Sin by Hammurabi,

Suzerain of South Babylonia

and his death at Samsu-iluna's hands. With his death Elam relinquished her claims to Babylonian territory.

In the period of Elamite expansion before the downfall of Rim-Sin must be set the series of events referred to in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, with its noteworthy narrative of a campaign by the kings of Elam, Babylon, and other countries against Palestine, and of the wonderful rescue of Lot by Abraham. It is permissible for us to conjecture that we here have before us an account which has been derived from Babylonian chronicles or legends. It is there stated that, at the time of the kings Amraphel, or Hammurabi, of Babylon, Eri-Aku of Larsa, and Tidal of Goïm, the king of Elam, Kutur-Lagamar, or Chedorlaomer—he was in the original account the only one who conducted the campaign—undertook an expedition to the west. The connection of this account with the legend of the destruction of Sodom and with the story of Abraham brings the narrative into conformity with that of the Babylonian chronicles. Kutur-Lagamar might have been the king of Elam at the time when Kutur-Mabuk, father of Rim-Sin, was king of the Elamite district Iamutbal, which adjoins Babylonia, and was therefore a vassal of Elam.

Expedition Against Palestine

These are the principal facts at present known to us of this expansion of the power of Elam, which was brought to an end by Hammurabi and Samsu-iluna. We may perhaps regard it as a precursor, upon a smaller scale, of the Persian power which ruled the east from Susa; accordingly the Elamite kings, who fought with Assyria for the possession of Babylonia, undertook no unprecedented task, but could appeal to a tradition of former power.

The succeeding period, that of the early Kassite supremacy, is obscure for Babylonia, and still more so for Elam. We may avail ourselves of this interruption to enumerate here the more important kings known from Elamite inscriptions, who, it has been suggested, may be assigned to this period. But we will first trace the steps by which, according to our recent information, the Kassites, who were settled in Elam, obtained control over Babylonia. Towards the close of the first dynasty of Babylon we have evidence that an Elamite king named Sadi, or Taki, was defeated by Ammizaduga, the last king but one of the dynasty; but in the subsequent period it is certain that the empire founded by Hammurabi quickly crumbled before the onslaught of more vigorous and less civilised invaders.

The Kassite Control of Babylonia

In dealing with the history of Babylonia we have seen how Iluma-ilu succeeded in founding an independent kingdom in Southern Babylonia on the shores of the Persian Gulf, whose kings must have harassed and weakened the later Semitic rulers of the first dynasty. Moreover, as early as the ninth year of Samsu-iluma the Kassite tribes which were settled in the western mountains of Elam began to make raids upon the Babylonian plain. It is clear that they were repulsed for a time, but, when the first dynasty had been brought to an end by the Hittite invasion, and Babylon lay defenceless and with her great temple and her palaces in ruins, the Kassite hordes poured down from their mountain fastnesses, and probably met with small resistance in their occupation of the city. Large numbers of the Kassite tribes remained behind in Elam at this period, and the Kassite conquest of Babylon represented the advance of what was merely the vanguard of their host. For a considerable period Northern Babylonia only was in their hands, and the kings of the "Country of the Sea" succeeded in retaining their hold upon Southern Babylonia.

Kassites of Elam

The Kassites of Elam must have harassed the "Country of the Sea" in the same manner as their predecessors had harassed Babylon, and it was probably to put an end to such raids that Ea-gamil, the last king of Iluma-ilu's dynasty, invaded Elam. But he had underestimated the number and vigour of his opponents, for Ulam-Buriash, the brother of Bitiliash, the principal Kassite chief in Elam at this period, not only succeeded in driving him from Elamite territory, but followed him into Southern Babylonia, and conquered and occupied the "Country of the Sea." By this conquest the whole of Babylonia became Kassite, and it is probable that a new and extensive migration took place by which fresh Kassite tribes advanced from the Elamite mountains into the Southern Babylonian plain.

The next question is that of the relation of the Kassites to Elam. Since the

Kassites migrated into Babylonia over the mountains of the Median border—that is to say, since they came through the passes by which the Elamites themselves made their inroads, they also may have left permanent traces in Elam. We may, indeed, assume that they were a later group of the same family of peoples to which the Elamites themselves belonged. There is no evidence one way or the other as to the affinity of their language with the Elamite. The remnants of the Kashshu, who did not advance to the conquest of Babylon or to that of Southern Babylonia and of the "Country of the Sea," remained behind in the mountains, where they were attacked by Nebuchadnezzar I., and again by Sennacherib; and in Alexander's time they are mentioned as Kossæans. A tribe of the Kissians is also mentioned as dwelling in Elam, near Susa; it is possible that they were descendants of the Kassites who had settled in Elam, but this cannot, of course, be proved. It is difficult to imagine that Elam did not experience a Kassite conquest, which must have followed its own course, apart from those of Babylonia; but hitherto we have found no trace of it in the inscriptions. Such victories would be more difficult to prove, since a Kassite name is easily distinguishable from a Babylonian; whereas Elamite names bear a stamp resembling those of the Kassites—a fact which points to the affinity of the two races.

Kassite Conquerors of Elam

There are two imaginable theories. It is possible that the Kassites who settled in Elam exercised authority over the whole of the country, and in that case such a ruler as Bitiliash, the brother of Ulam-Buriash, must be regarded not merely as a Kassite mountain chief, but as a genuine king of Elam. The other alternative is, that the Elamites proved themselves capable of offering adequate resistance, and thus the conquest of Elam by the Kassites did not lead to a definitely established Kassite supremacy. In any case no lasting union with Babylonia, under Kassite kings, was effected. Agum II. does not mention Elam, and under the later Kassites we find Elam at war with Babylonia. In accordance with this latter alternative, which on the evidence at present available appears the more probable of the two, we may imagine that while the Kassites occupied portions of Elamite territory, particularly the mountainous districts in the west, there was a regular monarchy established at Susa.

In that case it is possible to assign to this period of Elamite history such Elamite rulers as Pakhir-ishshan, the son of Iri-khalki, and Attar-kittakh, his brother: Khumban-ummena, and his son Untash-gal, who married Napir-asu, and was an enthusiastic patron of the arts, as the very beautiful bronze statue of his wife, which we have recovered, testifies; and Untakhash-gal and Kidin-Khutran, both sons of a ruler, Pakhir-ishshan, probably the second of that name. During this period we can trace no point of contact between Elam and Babylonia, and they do not appear to have come into direct contact until well on in the Kassite dynasty, when we find that Kurigalzu, the great-grandson of Ashur-uballit, waged war with Elam. It is evident from the accounts that Elam was once again the aggressor; at the beginning she oppressed Babylonia, but she was afterwards driven from Babylonian soil, and from an inscription that has been recovered we may infer that Kurigalzu invaded Elam and besieged and captured Susa. Khurbatila was king of Elam, according to the account of the Babylonian chronicle, to which we are indebted for information as to this war. We learn that, after being defeated at Dur-Dungi, he was taken prisoner by Kurigalzu, but he was afterwards released in return for the cession to Babylon of a considerable tract of Elamite territory.

Early Kings of Elam

For the next record of Elamite history we are also indebted to the same Babylonian chronicle. During the reign of Bel-nadin-shum I., king of Babylon, Kidin-khutrutash, king of Elam, invaded Babylonia, captured Nippur and Dur-ilu, devastated the open country, and carried away the inhabitants as prisoners: this was the time when Tukulti-Ninib conquered Babylonia. We thus have the scene presented to us which is so familiar from the later Assyrian age—that is, Babylonia the prey of Elam or of Ashur. Kidin-khutrutash, like Tukulti-Ninib, must have considered himself the protector of Babylon. The invasion was soon afterwards renewed "after that Adad-shum-

Babylonia the Prey of Elam

iddina was returned," as the chronicle says. We may imagine that Adad-shum-iddina, who maintained friendly relations with Assyria, and, perhaps, governed under the suzerainty of Tuk-ulti-Ninib, was attacked by Kidin-khutrutash and dethroned, and that the Assyrian could not help him because a rebellion broke out in Assyria at the same time; that is the same series of events which we see later under Sennacherib and Ashur-nadin-shum. Babylonia had once more to suffer grievously during this invasion. Once again the country was laid waste, and this time in particular Isin was pillaged; and it is noteworthy that this ancient royal city is mentioned, together with Nippur, in hymns of lamentation and penitential psalms as being sacked by Elam.

Royal Cities Pillaged

A king of Elam who followed Kidin-khutrutash, after no long interval, upon the throne was Khallutush-in-Shushinak. Little is known of him beyond the fact that he was the father of Shutruk-nakhundi, who succeeded him upon the throne and proved himself a dangerous enemy of Babylonia. For he invaded the country, and defeated and slew Zamama-shum-iddina, the last king but one of the Kassite dynasty. With the assistance of his son, Kuturnakhundi, he sacked the city of Sippar, and carried a rich booty back with him to Elam, including the stele of Naram-Sin and the famous stele inscribed with Hammurabi's code of laws, both of which documents have recently been recovered by the French mission at Susa. He also defeated the king of Ashnunnak, and from the city of Kish in Northern Babylonia he carried away the Obelisk of Manishtusu, which is now in the Louvre. His booty also included numerous Kassite "boundary stones." Though many of these were hammered to pieces by the Assyrians at the sack of Susa in the reign of Ashurbanipal, those that have been recovered during the recent excavations have thrown considerable light upon our knowledge of the Babylonian system of land tenure during the Kassite period. Shutruk-nakhundi had three sons, two of whom, Kuturnakhundi and Shilkhak-in-Shushinak, occupied the throne in turn. Numberless remains of the latter's activity as a great builder of temples to the gods have been recovered at Susa. Remains of numerous steles have also been found dating from his reign, from which we may infer that he conferred great benefits upon his land and preserved peace and prosperity within the borders of his kingdom. He had nine children, of whom Khute-ludush-in-Shushinak, the eldest, and Shilkhina-khamru-Lagamar, each in turn occupied the throne. The interference of Elam in Babylonian affairs, which took place towards the close of the Kassite dynasty was brought to an end under the most powerful king of the succeeding dynasty, Nebuchadnezzar I., with whose reign there begins a new independence of Babylonia, which once more proved herself superior to Assyria; this was the last era of Babylonian prosperity. The statue of Marduk had been carried to Elam in the reign of one of Nebuchadnezzar's predecessors, probably Bel-nadin-akhi, whom he mentions, and we may conjecture with considerable probability that it was Shutruk-nakhundi who carried it off. Babylonia was, therefore, without the lord of the land, who alone could confer the crown upon the king.



"Struggle of the Nations," S P C.K.

AN ANCIENT NEGRITIC SUSIAN

The most important race inhabiting ancient Elam was the negritic type illustrated here, of short stature, with brown skins, and black hair and eyes.

After his successes in the west, Nebuchadnezzar proceeded to break down the supremacy of Elam, and, if possible, win back his god. We have fragments of numerous songs written on these wars, as well as two records of enfeoffment, one of which expressly mentions the recovery of Marduk from Susa; the other describes the war with Elam, and records that during it the king of Elam, whose name is not given, died. The recovery of the statue would, in the first place, presuppose a capture of Susa. It is, however, conceivable that on the change of sovereign the new king lost no time in concluding peace.

Elam's Supremacy Lost

and surrendered the statue. In any case Nebuchadnezzar had shown himself an independent and well-matched opponent of Elam, and by the recovery of his god he had destroyed the outward token of his vassalage. He now could once more style himself with all right and justice king of Babylon.

The success of Assyria after Nebuchadnezzar, under Tiglath-pileser I. was only temporary. Babylonia remained for some time still in possession of Mesopotamia, and was, therefore, probably able to free herself from Elamite tutelage. We are entirely without inscriptions referring to the relations existing between the two countries at this period. We saw that among the successors of the second dynasty of Isin a king of Elamite origin was reckoned by himself as forming a distinct dynasty; we may, therefore, fix a new advance on the part of Elam at that time—about 1000 B.C.—when Babylonia and Mesopotamia were exposed to every kind of devastation, and even Assyria could not protect herself against the plundering hordes of the Aramæans and the Sutu.

If we judge by the events of later times we may reasonably suppose that in the ensuing period, when Chaldæan princes for the most part sat upon the throne of Babylon—Nabu-shum-ishkun and others—Elam also exercised an important influence. It does not seem indeed to have been able at first to interfere actively in Babylonian affairs. We cannot ascertain the cause, whether internal disorders or an invasion from the east, or both: but it is a noteworthy fact that Shalmaneser II., when he entered Babylonia, found no resistance offered by Elam. His successor, Shamshi-Adad IV., regards Elam in a manner which does not correspond to its earlier or its later position as a great power. After this we hear nothing more of Elamite affairs. A period of weakness is also implied by the fact that Shalmaneser, as protector of Babylon, received presents from Bactria, especially Bactrian camels and Indian elephants. We may, perhaps, gather from this that attempts had been made by this country, which had been long cut off from Babylonia by the power of Elam, to come into renewed touch with the lord of Babylonia. A fresh access of power by Elam nipped these attempts in the bud.

Thus the Far East remained outside the horizon of the Western peoples until in the Persian age Elam became involved with the Persians against the West, and Alexander once more restored communication by his victories over Persia and her allies. When Tiglath-pileser IV. appeared upon the scene the power of Elam had revived; Bactria was again under Elamite dominion, and the Chaldæans thenceforth found support in the Elamite kings of Susa, who alternated with the Assyrians in being the patrons



A MODERN NEGRITIC SUSIAN

A descendant of one of the original Elamite races, showing a remarkable resemblance to his forefather, illustrated on the opposite page.

or feudal lords of Babylonia. It is only a momentary gleam which is thrown on the relations to the east by the Bactrian embassy; but it is sufficient to make us recognise that Elam, in consequence of her position and civilisation, was really the connecting link between the civilised countries of Nearer and Further Asia, and the predecessor of the eastern half of the Persian empire.

A Connection with the Far East

The Middle Assyrian empire did not come into contact with Elamite territory before Tiglath-pileser IV.; the nearest approach was made by Adad-nirari IV., who reckoned Ellipi among his tributary states. We may conclude in any case that Elam in the ninth and the first half of the eighth century B.C. had not yet encroached upon the west. After the accession of Nabonassar, in 747 B.C., and Tiglath-pileser IV., in 745, we have continuous records of Elamite history. The Babylonian chronicle, which begins with this period, describes very clearly, in its condensed and abbreviated style, the actual conditions in Babylonia; and it continuously refers to the kings of Elam and of Assyria and their relations to Babylonia. It notes only facts, and never draws the slightest general inference from them. But the conclusion which results from the frequent occurrence of these notices has been already drawn in dealing with the history of Assyria; the ensuing period is taken up with a struggle between Elam and Assyria for Babylonia. There are two parties—an Assyrian, which sees the patron of Babylon in the king of Ashur, and a Chaldæan-Elamite party, which sees him in the king of Elam; and the chronicle takes account of both by recording the reigns of kings in both countries.

In 743 B.C. it is recorded that Ummanigash, or Khumbanigash, became king of Elam: his father, according to the account by Ashurbanipal, was called Umbadara, and had also been his predecessor on the throne. He reigned until 717, when his death is related to have taken place. Tiglath-pileser, who exercised his rights as protector over Babylon after 745, does not allude to him, even when, in 729, he drove out the Chaldæan Ukin-zir. We may, perhaps, assume that Khumbanigash had at least favoured the latter, although he was not in a position to interfere vigorously in his behalf. Even under Shalmaneser, who indeed reigned in Babylon unopposed, nothing transpires about him. On the other hand, on Shalmaneser's death he entered the lists in support of his protégé Merodach-baladan, who under his suzerainty became king of Babylon; and when Sargon tried at once to eject him, Khumbanigash advanced into Babylonia and compelled Sargon at Dur-ilu to abandon the territory of Babylon and Southern Babylonia.

Struggle for Babylonia

In 717-699 followed Ishtar-khundu, as the chronicle has transformed his name, or Shutur-nakhundi, as Sargon more correctly calls him. When Sargon, in 710 once more attacked Merodach-baladan, he began by separating the two confederates. He first turned against Elam, conquered the countries on the Lower Uknu, took the border fortresses erected there by Shutur-nakhundi, and occupied the border countries of Lakhiri, Pillatu, etc. Merodach-baladan hastily sent presents to Elam, and advanced with his army to the province of Iatbur on the Uknu, adjacent to the districts occupied by Sargon; but the Emalite "accepted his present, yet forbade him to advance farther," or to enter Elamite territory. This is a strange situation. Did he really abandon his vassal in order that war might not reach his own land, or had Merodach-baladan perhaps tried previously to set himself free from him? In any case he did not venture to advance into Babylonia, and avoided the contest with Assyria. Sargon was able to secure the frontier districts which he had occupied, and to place them partly under Assyrian administration. Soon afterwards, in the disputes for the throne of Ellipi, when Nibe, one of the two brothers, sought help from Shutur-nakhundi, and the latter had installed him in Elam, he did not venture to take any steps in support of his protégé when Sargon brought back his own candidate, Ispabara. The battle at Dur-ilu must have taught Elam a severe lesson, and the army of Sargon became as formidable as that of Tiglath-pileser.

Sargon Attacks Elam

Merodach-baladan, after his expulsion from Bit-Iakin, had in his flight an asylum in Elam, and he was again welcome there, now that he had no army. When Sargon was dead he was brought back to Babylon by an Elamite army in 703, but was immediately expelled by Sennacherib. In the battle of Kish it was the Elamite

troops especially who fought for him. Once more he found refuge in Elam, and he again found assistance there when he advanced from Bit-Iakin to Babylon and forced Bel-ibni to join him and thus to recognise the protectorate of Elam. They were once again driven out by Sennacherib in 700. These failures of Shutur-nakhundi possibly contributed to a transference of power into the hands of his brother Khalludush, or Khallushu, who rebelled in the following year, took his brother prisoner, and mounted the throne himself in 699, and ruled for six years. His reign at least produced a more vigorous action against Assyria, and he achieved successes in Babylonia, which balanced those of Sennacherib. In 694 the latter made a descent on the Elamite provinces situated on the great lagoon of the Euphrates and colonised by fugitive Chaldæans from the "Country of the Sea," while at the same time Khalludush invaded Northern Babylonia, capturing and plundering Nippur. Sennacherib's son, Ashur-nadin-shum, was brought as a prisoner to Elam, and Nergal-ushezib was placed upon the throne of Babylon. Elam had thus become liege lord of Northern Babylonia, while the South was still in the hands of Assyria. Nergal-ushezib maintained his power in Babylon as long as his protector reigned. The latter must have found it difficult during the next year and a half to interfere again on his behalf, for the Assyrians invaded his territory from Southern Babylonia and took him prisoner, without any Elamite army coming to his assistance. An explanation may possibly be found in the statement of the Babylonian chronicle, that almost simultaneously a rebellion broke out in Elam in which Khalludush experienced the treatment which he himself had shown to his brother. Kuturnakhundi, the third of the name known to us, was raised to the throne as head of the rebellion in 692, but did not retain the position for more than ten months. He had been only a short time on the throne when the Assyrians invaded Elam by land —that is, from Northern Babylonia. Kuturnakhundi was in Madaktu, the town which commands the western part of Elam, but he ventured on no resistance and withdrew to Khidalu, the province and town in the Zagros. Since he thus abandoned Susa, we must suppose that he was not acknowledged there. He may have been prince of Madaktu in the same way as there were independent princes of Khidalu, and was therefore forced to relinquish any attempts at occupying Susa, the capital of the empire. It is thus explained why, although he had just proclaimed himself king by means of a rebellion, he had been unable to raise an army with which to face the Assyrians. These ravaged the western provinces, and retook some border districts which had once been held by Sargon and had subsequently been recovered by Elam under Khalludush.

Lordship Over Babylon

Rebellion Follows Rebellion

This failure could not have served to strengthen the power of the new king. He thus fell a victim, only three months after his flight from Madaktu, in another rebellion, by which Umman-menanu was raised to the throne. His reign marks a new era of success for Elam, and thus of insecurity for the Assyrian possessions in Babylonia. Even while the Assyrian army was in Elam, Mushezib-Marduk had usurped the sovereignty in Babylon, and hastened to make sure of the protection of Elam. Northern Babylonia was once again, as under Khalludush, lost to Assyria. Sennacherib, in 691, attempted to win it back, but Umman-menanu was strong enough to perform his promises made to Babylon. He appeared in Northern Babylonia, and in the battle of Khalule victory was at least so far on his side that Sennacherib was forced to retire to Assyria. It is also important in estimating the situation to notice that the fall of Babylon did not take place until 689 B.C., when Umman-menanu had been struck down by apoplexy and was, therefore, incapacitated from marching to the defence of Babylonia. The Babylonian chronicle in its laconic style leaves this fact to be inferred, by placing the notice of the capture of Babylon between the announcement of the illness and death of Umman-menanu, thus: "On the 15th Nisan (689 B.C.) Umman-menanu, King of Elam, was struck down by apoplexy; his mouth was affected and he was incapable of speech. On the 1st Kislev the city (Babylon) was taken. On the 17th Adar Umman-menanu died."

Death of Babylon's Protector

His successor was Khumbakhaldash I., who reigned from 689 to 681 B.C. He reigned during the last eight years of

Sennacherib, when, according to the expression of the chronicle, "there was no king" in Babylon, though, according to another chronicle, recently discovered, Erba-Marduk was, for a portion of that period, recognised as king in Babylon and in Borsippa. In fact, after its destruction Babylon was abandoned alike by Assyria and Elam, and she had to rely upon her own weakened resources to defeat the plundering expeditions of Aramæan and Chaldæan tribes. We have already seen that it was in consequence of his success against the Aramæans that Erba-Marduk secured the throne. In the absence of help from Assyria or Elam, the Chaldæan invasion was at least partially successful, and it was not until the reign of Esarhaddon that the immigrants were driven from Babylonian territory. We have no accounts of Sennacherib at this time, and the Babylonian chronicle states merely that a few months before his murder, in 681 B.C., Khumbakhaldash died of fever.

Babylon Neglected by Elam

He was followed by Khumbakhaldash II., who ruled from 681 to 676 B.C., and whose reign falls in the first six years of Esarhaddon. Nothing is at first said of complications with Assyria; indeed, in the attitude adopted toward Nabu-zir-kitti-lishir, king of the "Country of the Sea," we may well see an effort to establish friendly relations with Assyria and an express repudiation of any claims on Babylonia. This may, perhaps, be the explanation of a statement in the Babylonian chronicle that in 680 B.C. the gods of Dur-ilu and of the Babylonian Dur-sharrukin—not to be confused with Sargon's capital—had come back into their own cities. This can hardly refer to anything else—especially since Dur-ilu is mentioned—than the statues of the gods which had been brought to Elam, presumably by Khalludush, and were now sent back by Khumbakhaldash. But friendly relations did not last for long. Only six years afterwards, in 674 B.C., the chronicle announces as laconically as ever, "the king of Elam invaded Sippar and caused a massacre." No details are told us. Esarhaddon is naturally as silent as Sennacherib was over a similar disaster eighteen years before. We thus know nothing of any relations having been entered into with Babylonian rebels. Soon afterwards Khumbakhaldash died "without being sick, in his own palace." In this way Assyria was again freed of a dangerous rival.

Babylon's Gods Restored

Urtaki, the brother and successor of the deceased, seems from the very first to have been equally anxious for a good understanding with Esarhaddon, who was certainly glad, for his part, to have in Elam a peaceful neighbour. The Babylonian chronicle reports during the year the arrival of the statues of the gods of Agade, the sister city to Sippar, from Elam. This plainly refers to those which had been carried away by Khumbakhaldash in the preceding year, and were now surrendered to cement the friendship. The famine reported by Ashurbanipal, during which permission was granted by Assyria that distressed Elamites should seek a refuge on Assyrian soil in order to send back this "property," is the only other event which we know of this period. The institution of the frontier guard, which Esarhaddon attempted to form by winning over the Gambuli, is a proof that he did not trust merely to the good will of Elam, but was anxious to secure peace effectually by other means. The peace lasted during Esarhaddon's lifetime. By the reconstruction of the kingdom of Babylon, a most favourable opportunity was presented to the Elamites of once more realising their old ambitions in Babylonia. Urtaki advanced into Northern Babylonia, in order that, in concert with the sheikh of the Gambuli, who was dissatisfied with the rôle assigned to him, and with a Babylonian prince, he might march on Babylon itself. Nothing is said of any measures of defence undertaken by Shamash-shum-ukin. Ashurbanipal, as protector of Babylon, acted as the Elamites Khumbanigash and Umman-menanu had done; he advanced against Urtaki, and compelled him to evacuate Babylonia. He did not march against Elam, from which we may argue that the border districts once occupied by Sargon and Sennacherib had long since been abandoned.

Peace with Assyria

Urtaki died soon afterward—certainly before 665 B.C. His death furnished Assyria with a motive for interfering in Elamite affairs. This was the beginning of the series of wars which were destined to lead to the destruction of Elam.

Urtaki did not die a natural death; Ashurbanipal's inscriptions are full of expressions about the misery of his violent death, but they do not state the method of it. He was deposed by his brother Teumman; and the latter was bound to act like other Oriental rulers in the same position—to kill all the sons of his brothers in order not to experience the same fate some day at their hands. "He placed himself like a fiend upon the throne," Ashurbanipal writes. The sons of his two brothers and predecessors, Khumbakhaldash and Urtaki, with sixty other members of the royal house and an escort of adherents, successfully made their escape to Assyria, where they implored Ashurbanipal to protect them and to restore them to their home. Teumman demanded the surrender of the fugitives, and, when this was refused, became more peremptory, sending every month insolent letters—a serious breach of the laws of diplomatic courtesy between rival courts—

Teumman Invades Assyria

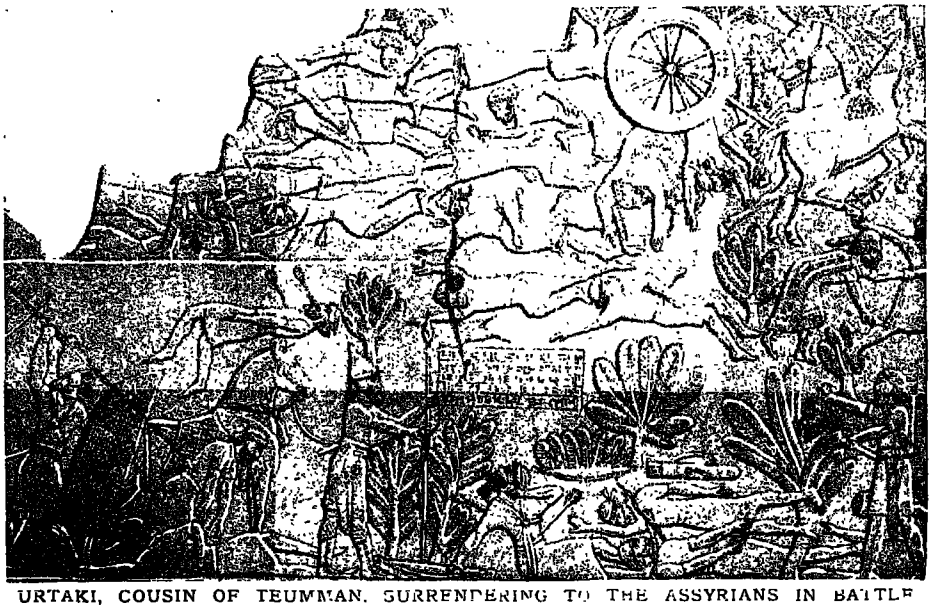
and continued his preparations for an invasion of Babylonia. He appears at this time to have had an epileptic attack, which seemed to Ashurbanipal a divine warning; but it did not deter the Elamite from carrying out his threats and from marching against Assyrian territory. It is not clear how far he advanced. Ashurbanipal himself was now compelled to take serious measures. Judging by the display of indignation, omens, and prayers which he exhibited on this occasion, we feel that it was a very difficult task for

Elam Defeated at Susa

him to put an army into the field against Elam. But at last there was no other alternative, and he hastily occupied Dur-ilu in order thus to bar the road into Babylonia.

Teumman does not appear to have calculated on any opposition, for now he did not venture to defend his frontier, but retreated before the Assyrian army to Susa. Ashurbanipal advanced as far as the Ulai, as the Karun and its tributaries were called by the Assyrians—the river in question is the Shawur, on the eastern bank of which Susa lay—and defeated the Elamite army, which here met him in the open field at Tullis before the walls of Susa; Teumman fell in the battle.

Ashurbanipal was now able to install in Susa one of the fugitive princes, a son of Urtaki, named Ummanigash, as the Assyrian reproduction of the name Khumbanigash (II.) runs. Ishtar-nakhundi—that is, Shutruk-nakhundi—who had reigned in Khidalu as an independent king, and in whom we may probably see a son of Teumman, also met his death in the battle. Tammaritu, another son of Urtaki, was appointed in his stead by Ashurbanipal, to whom such a state of affairs could not



URTAKI, COUSIN OF TEUMMAN, SURRENDERING TO THE ASSYRIANS IN BATTLE



THE BATTLE WHICH DESTROYED ELAM'S POWER

An Assyrian bas-relief representing the battle of Tullis, before the walls of Susa, in which Elam was finally defeated by the Assyrian forces under Ashurbanipal. Teumman, the king, is seen under an inscribed tablet being decapitated.

but be welcome, according to the principle "divide et impera." But the same relation existed between himself and his brother in Babylonia. Elam was thus subject to Assyrian influence, a success which Assyria had never hitherto attained, and was now by no means secure, since the new king must have been anxious to shake off the yoke. When, therefore, Shamash-shum-ukin, who revolted from his brother, began to secure allies and sent "presents" to Khumbanigash—that is, besought and acknowledged his protectorship — the latter was prepared to become a protector instead of a "protected," and to restore the influence of Elam in Babylonia. Ashurbanipal vainly demanded the surrender of the agents of Shamash-shum-ukin; the Elamite granted the help requested and marched to Babylonia. But at the right moment for Ashurbanipal a rebellion broke out in the rear of the army. Tammaritu, the son of Khumbanigash, a fourth brother of Khumbakhaldash II., Urtaki, and Teumman, proclaimed himself king, and Khumbanigash met the fate of his predecessors; he was murdered together with his family. Ashurbanipal secured however, no further advantage from this at the time: for even Tammaritu, according to Elamite tradition, considered that to be ruler of Babylon was far more desirable than to be ruled by Assyria. He, too, sent an army to the aid of Shamash-shum-ukin, and began, as we shall see, to form alliances in Southern Babylonia. His army was already menacing Nippur, and the tribe of the Puqudu was on the point of joining him, when the same fate happened to him as to his predecessor. He, too, fell a victim to a rebellion, the opportune outbreak of which suggests the thought that Ashurbanipal did not rely solely on the prayers to his gods, which were prominent on this occasion, but had taken the precaution of securing help by other means. Tammaritu was, however, more fortunate than his predecessors;

Assyria's Unwonted Supremacy

Assyrian Machinations in Elam

he made good his escape. He fled to Ashurbanipal, and was actually welcomed by him.

The new king, Indabigash, who reigned from 648 to 647 B.C., was not a member of the royal family. He immediately set about establishing friendly relations with Assyria, and refrained from interfering in Babylonian affairs. He merely looked on when Shamash-shum-ukin prematurely met his fate in 648 B.C. It was, however, impossible to avoid complications for any long period, and this time, as so often before, the "Country of the Sea" was the determining cause. Ashurbanipal had despatched an army thither to prevent the advance of an Elamite army, which Khumbanigash had despatched during his reign. The reigning king, Nabu-bel-shumate, a grandson of Merodach-baladan, had to submit with the best grace he could to these "protectors," and was forced to join his troops with them. He succeeded, however, in thus getting the power into his own hands. He compelled the governor of Ur to join him, and delivered the Assyrian troops, probably under Tammaritu, into the hands of the Elamites. All this took place about 651–649 B.C.

Friendship with Assyria

After the taking of Babylon, Nabu-bel-shumate, when the Assyrians once more occupied the south, fled, according to the tradition of his house, to Elam, where in the interval Indabigash had become king. The latter had sent back to Assyria the Assyrian troops which had been handed over to his predecessor, but he refused to surrender Nabu-bel-shumate. Ashurbanipal thereupon threatened war, and the result was a rebellion by which Ummanaldash, or Khumbakhaldash III., son of an otherwise obscure Attametu, was raised to the throne in the stead of Indabigash. But he also refused the surrender of Nabu-bel-shumate and the abandonment of the Elamite claims to the "Country of the Sea." Again there was a rebellion under an Ummanigash, or Khumbanigash, son of an otherwise unknown Amedirra. But this time the prayers of Ashurbanipal were not so effective as on the three previous occasions, and Ummanigash maintained his position. There was no course left for Ashurbanipal if he wished to secure Southern Babylonia but to abandon prayers and intrigue, and to declare war; he advanced into Elam, and occupied the frontier fortress Bit-Imbi. Ummanaldash had hardly yet been able to set his own home affairs in order, and was not, therefore, able to hold the west and Madaktu; he withdrew "into the mountains"—that is, to Khidalu.

Assyria Abandons Intrigue

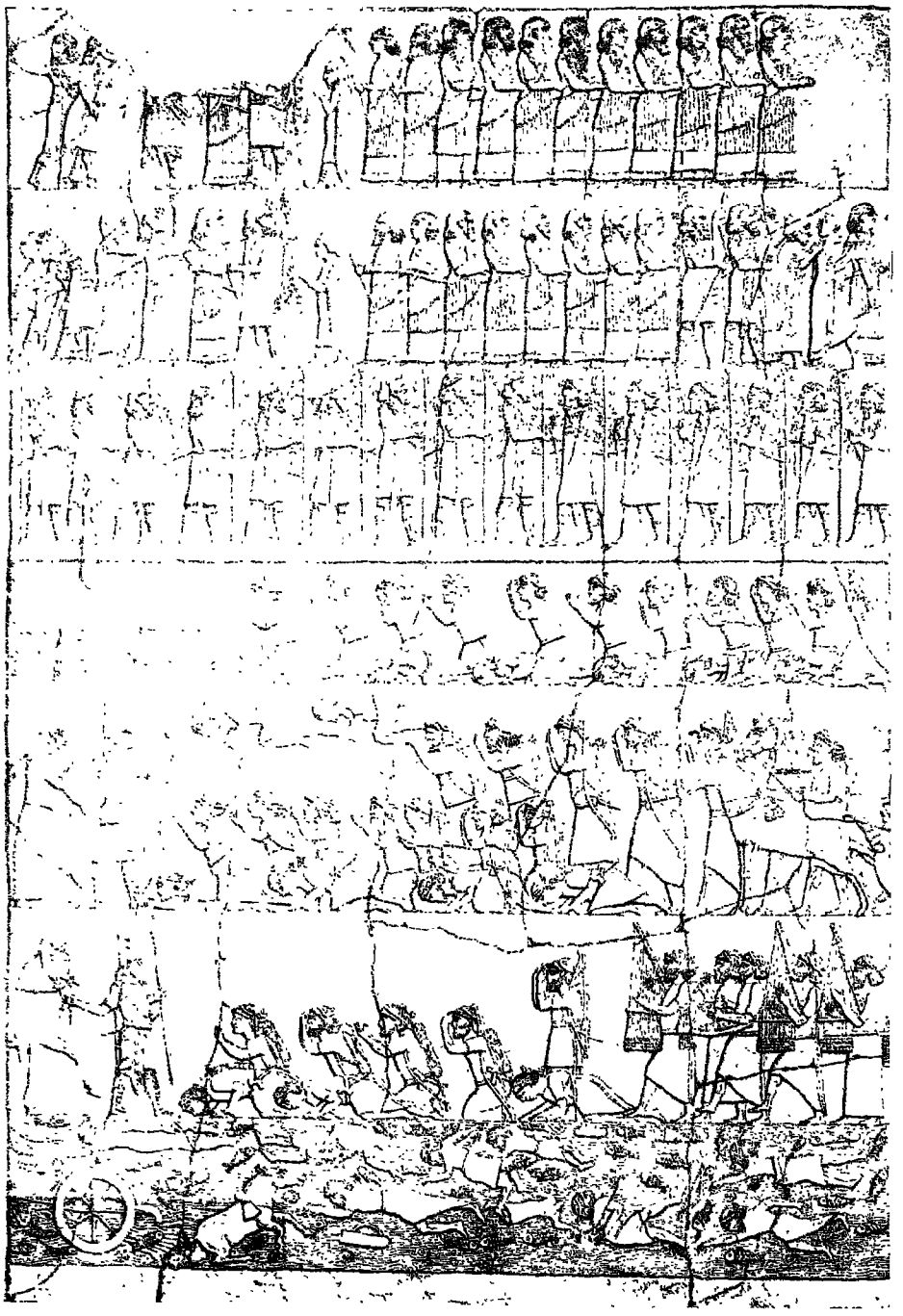
It seems as if an attack had also been made upon Elam from the side of the "Country of the Sea." A king of Bubilu, the eastern part of Elam, by name Umbakhabua, who had made himself independent there during the preceding disturbances—an analogous case to what we have seen in Khidalu—abandoned his country and capital and retired to an island, where he was safe, at any rate from the Assyrians.

Thus the country was in the power of the Assyrians, and Ashurbanipal once more installed there the fugitive Tammaritu as his vassal. But hardly was that done and the Assyrian army on its return, when Tammaritu, who saw his throne in jeopardy, found himself forced to draw the sword against his "benefactors." Ashurbanipal, it is true, speaks of a second subjugation of Tammaritu and of a plundering and laying waste of Elam; but, if we may judge by the usual style and method of Assyrian accounts of wars, this is nothing but a plausible periphrasis for a forced retreat. In this way Assyrian diplomacy was for a time outwitted by that of Elam.

Elam Outwits Assyria

Ashurbanipal's accounts of the succeeding years are vague. He says that Tammaritu had been deposed; clearly that happened only after the withdrawal of the Assyrians, not before: the new king was put on the throne by Ashurbanipal. He was Ummanaldash, or Khumbakhaldash II. The latter had returned from Khidalu for the second time, and had either himself driven out Tammaritu or had commanded his followers to do so. In any case Tammaritu fled to Assyria, where he was detained in dishonourable captivity at the court of Ashurbanipal.

Ummanaldash, when he had established himself firmly on the throne, drove out the Assyrian garrison from Bit-Imbi; this left Ashurbanipal no alternative but to take up arms once more. He occupied Bit-Imbi and the border province of Rashi. Ummanaldash abandoned the west with Madaktu, and entrenched himself behind the Idide, the Ab-i-Diz, near Susa. The



THE TRIUMPH OF THE ASSYRIANS AFTER THE BATTLE OF TULLIS

From a relief in the British Museum, showing the Assyrians' triumph. After the battle the victors were met by a throng of people from Susa, which opened its gates to the Assyrians, with priests, singers and harpers, to welcome the new king, Khumbanigash II., appointed by Ashurbanipal. He is seen at the beginning of the second row from the bottom. Note how the river Shawur is choked with corpses of men and horses and battle débris.

Assyrian army long hesitated to attack this strong position, and contented itself at first with scouring the defenceless country and occupying the fortresses. Finally, after much questioning of the soothsayers, the Assyrians ventured on an attack, and met with no resistance. The cause of this is not revealed. Ummanaldash had once more withdrawn to Khidalu, and abandoned Susa as before. The old capital was sacked and pillaged, the sacred grove desecrated, the temple and royal castle plundered and destroyed. Twenty statues of gods and thirty-six statues of kings were carried away to Assyria, and the tombs of the Elamite kings were violated. The statue of Nana, which, according to Ashurbanipal's account, had been carried away from Erech by Kutur-nakhundi 1,635 years before—a record which we have already discussed—was then brought back to Erech. An oracle was found which Nana had presumably given on her removal from Erech to the effect that "Ashurbanipal will bring me back from the hostile land of Elam." Nana had thus predicted the reign of her liberator, an interesting contribution to the history of oracles. The excavations conducted by the French mission at Susa have revealed numerous traces of the havoc wrought by the Assyrian soldiers on their capture of the city. The damage they wrought is much to be regretted, as it destroyed many memorials of the old centre of civilisation, which often dominated a wider world than Babylon itself.

Sack of Susa

The task of the Assyrian army was thus fulfilled. No attempt was made to form an Assyrian province, for that would have given rise to endless insurrections. The army was withdrawn. Ummanaldash was able to occupy his devastated country afresh and to return to Madaktu. But his power of effective resistance was broken. When the surrender of Nabu-bel-shumate was again demanded, he assented to it. But the descendant of Merodach-baladan freed him from the necessity of surrender, since he and his armour-bearer died together by their own hands. Thus Ummanaldash could send only his embalmed body to Nineveh. There Ashurbanipal outraged his dead enemy with the insults he would have offered to the living man. Ummanaldash had by this act declared his submission. For this reason he secured Assyrian support against an opponent who clearly had been pitted against him by the anti-Assyrian party. This was Pa'e, who held his own for a time, but could not in the end resist the threats of Assyria and the attack of Ummanaldash, and, like Tammaritu, made his way to Nineveh.

Ummanaldash himself could not long submit to be a vassal of Assyria. He incurred the fate which befell all kings in his position: he stood between two parties, one of which urged defection from Assyria, and the other, with the help of Assyria, frustrated the results of any such defection. So soon then as his loyalty toward Ashurbanipal began to cool, the usual rebellion of the Assyrian party broke out at the "command of the Assyrian gods"—that is to say, at Assyrian instigation. Ummanaldash had to seek refuge from this party on a mountain, which was probably in the vicinity of the Assyrian frontier; there he was taken prisoner by Assyrian troops and led to Nineveh. Here there were now the three rivals together—Tammaritu, Pa'e, and Ummanaldash—and they were employed by Ashurbanipal to enhance, as his servants, the magnificence of his triumphal processions.

End of Elam

This happened somewhere about 635 B.C. We learn nothing more of Elam. Ashurbanipal does not name the successor whom the rebellious subjects had proclaimed king. We are inclined to conclude from this that Elam, through this rebellion, had slipped out of his hands. We have, besides, approached the time when Elam again came forward as an opponent; after the year 626 B.C. Babylon was once more in the hands of the Chaldæans.

The old game would certainly have begun again had not another force appeared upon the scene. It is no longer with the help of Elam that Nabopolassar tries to assert his power in Babylon and acts against Assyria, but with that of the Medes. This is indeed a great change, and yet it is only the continuation of the old policy: the Medes have simply taken the place of the Elamites. We can at most insert a period of twenty years between the time when Ummanaldash was brought to Nineveh and that when Nabopolassar entered into an agreement with the Medes, if indeed he had not been supported by them from the very first. If we take this fact into consideration, the question involuntarily suggests itself whether

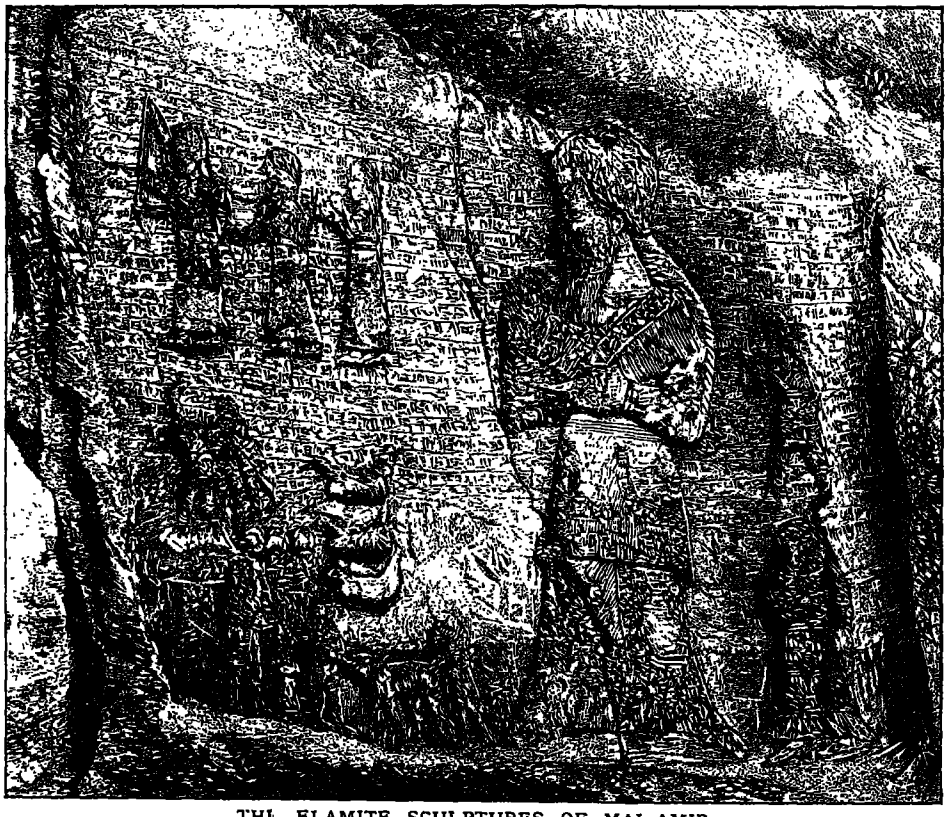
Elamites Displaced by Medes

Ummanigash after all was not the last king of Elam, and whether Ashurbanipal's noteworthy silence over the subsequent conditions in Elam is not to be explained from the fact that the land had then fallen into the hands of the invading Aryan tribes. If we reflect that Esarhaddon had already shown some anxiety in his attitude towards them, that he was not ashamed to enter into alliances with one of these new peoples, the Ashkuza, against the other two, the Cimmerians and Medes, it is a probable supposition that Ashurbanipal himself may very soon have understood the case; he had himself placed the country at the mercy of these dangerous antagonists, whose power he had only succeeded in checking. The result of deposing Ummanigash was that he suddenly found fresh enemies in Elam, who soon adopted the policy of their predecessors, and helped their protégé in Babylon against Assyria. Just as in Urartu, so now in Elam, Assyria had herself abolished the natural "buffer-state." Elam, therefore, according to our theory, fell into the hands of the Medes soon after, and was occupied by an Aryan population. It did not play any prominent part during the Median rule. But it was once more raised by Cyrus to be the seat of empire, and Susa became the capital of the East. We shall treat this subject more fully in dealing with the history of the Medes and Persians.

A Buffer State Destroyed

The French excavations at Susa have yielded material remains of Elamite activity ranging from prehistoric times down to the period of the Achæmenian kings. The influence of the early Semitic inhabitants of Babylonia upon the artistic and social development of Elam was so great that it undoubtedly furnished the mould in which Elamite civilisation was cast. On its artistic side this Babylonian influence can be traced in a remarkably complete degree.

Civilisation of Elam



THE ELAMITE SCULPTURES OF MAL-AMIR

Elamite sculptures, though artistically inferior, show distinct evidences of Babylonian influence. The bas-relief illustrated here is one of three hundred in the valley of Mal-Amir, portraying princes of local Elamite dynasties.

On the whole, we may regard many of the attainments of the Elamites as imitated or borrowed from Babylonian civilisation; this is shown by the script, as well as in works of art, the style and technique of which correspond in many particulars to the art of the Babylonians. If it were not for some details of dress, the sculptures of Mal-Amir, for example, might well be taken for Babylonian. But in spite of the strong Babylonian element in Elamite art, the Elamites themselves added something of their own which serves to differentiate their productions from those of contemporary artists in Babylonia. In their work in bronzes, ivory, and the precious metals, the Elamites attained to a high level of design and technical perfection, and it is now possible to talk of Elamite art as quite distinct from that of Babylonia and Assyria.

The Art of Elam

The large number of votive and building inscriptions that have been recovered throw some light upon the number and names of the great temples and other sacred buildings in Susa, while the sumptuous foundation deposit found in the temple of Shushinak is of the greatest interest from the nature of the offerings which it comprised. But for the character of the Elamite religion as a whole, and of the details of the ritual, we are still to a great degree dependent on conjecture.

The Elamite inscriptions and Ashurbanipal give us a series of Elamite names of deities, but they still remain little more than names for us. An exception may be made, perhaps, of the principal "Susan" goddess, who was identified by the Elamites and Babylonians with the Nana, or Ishtar, of Erech. It is inevitable, with the multifarious conquests and relations of Elam with Erech, that legends of one shrine should have been interwoven with those of another, and that a dispute as to the antiquity of the two should have been decided empirically by making the statues accrue as spoil to the victors.

There is little doubt that Susa was the principal city of Elam from the earliest times throughout the whole course of her history. But we are still without information with regard to the relations of the capital to other great cities in the land. Ashurbanipal designates all important places—that is to say, all fortified towns—as royal towns, thus departing from the custom in other countries where only the capital is so called. Were all fortified places, in contrast to the Babylonian and Assyrian usage, the property of the king, and were there thus no municipal rights emanating from that ownership of the land by god and temple, which is so characteristic of the Semitic idea? This would point to a great diminution, as compared with the Semitic civilised countries, in the influence of the priesthood, which, with its large possessions, formed a prominent factor in the development of the Semitic peoples and states.

Priesthood Influence Diminished

That the Elamites were great warriors is fully proved by the history of their battles with Babylon and Assyria. When the Assyrians speak of Elamite spoil the baggage waggon plays a prominent part in it. The Assyrian is acquainted only with the chariot as an offensive weapon of war. The Elamite has carts drawn by mules, on which he carried his baggage. The principal weapon of the Elamites is not the spear or sword, but the bow. It is obvious, however, that Babylonian civilisation influenced their mode of warfare. Still the bow must have been the original weapon, and for the noble Elamite it was the badge of the warrior.

If the geographical position of Elam makes us fix our attention on countries and peoples of another kind than those which determined the fortunes of the Nearer East, we might expect information from this quarter as to the migrations and extension of Babylonian civilisation to the East. It is only under the Persians, Alexander the Great, and the Caliphs, that history shows us events which must have been foreshadowed even in the times of the real prosperity of the East. If the trade with India and Eastern Asia is one of the most important factors in the history of the world, Elam must also, in the days of her power, have interfered in the decision of points at issue, obstructing if unable to assist, but always having an important word in the matter. Her position on the borderland of Western Asia thus endowed her with a strategic and commercial importance, which explains the prominent rôle she played among the civilised races of the ancient world.

Importance of Elam in History

HUGO WINCKLER
LEONARD W. KING



PASS THROUGH THE MOUNTAINS DEFENDING THE HITTITE CAPITAL

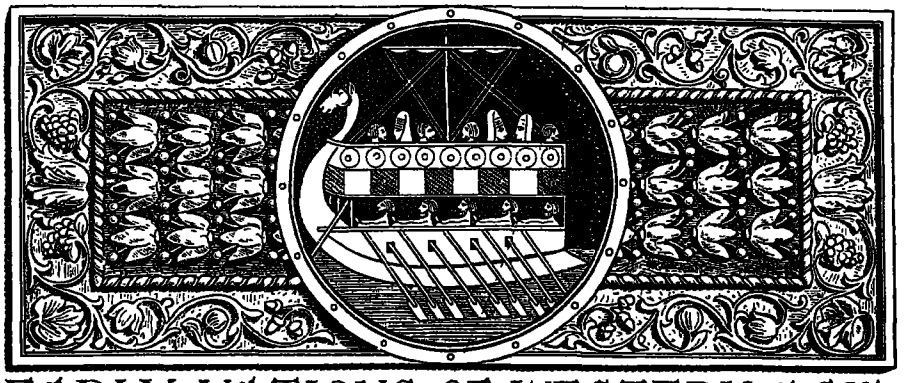


THE PLAIN AND MODERN VILLAGE OF BOGHAZ KÓI



SANCTUARY OF THE TEMPLE: ALL THAT REMAINS OF THE ANCIENT CITY

BOGHAZ KÖI, THE GREAT CAPITAL OF THE MYSTERIOUS HITTITE EMPIRE



EARLY NATIONS OF WESTERN ASIA

BY DR. HUGO WINCKLER, L. W. KING, M.A.,
DR. K. G. BRANDIS & H. R. HALL, M.A.

SYRIA AND THE HITTITE EMPIRE

THE tract between the Euphrates, the Armenian mountains, the Taurus, and southward as far as the end of the Lebanon —that is, as far as Hermon—is roughly what is designated *Syria*. The name has an historical development, and is, therefore, applied here with some freedom, in a way, perhaps, more suitable to later ages. Its origin is now known. The Babylonians termed the land which runs northward of Mesopotamia to the mountains and westward to Cappadocia, Subartu, or, as the characters in the original ideograph for the name may very probably be read, Suri; the latter name survives even in classical times in that of the Leuco-Syrians in Cappadocia. When Assyria and the southern part of Syria became Aramæan the name was then extended to the more southern countries, since Aramæan and Syrian became to a certain extent synonymous terms.

Syria's Varying History

Syria, in our sense of the term, had no uniform history. Situated between the civilisations of Babylonia and Egypt, it was exposed to their influence, and its history is completely dominated by them. But yet a third civilisation had great power here; one which for the least obscure part of its history had this region for its scene, so that Syria appeared until quite recently to be the country where we were best informed as to an otherwise unsolved riddle of the East. But recent discoveries have shown that it is to Cappadocia we may look for further enlightenment upon the subject. We call this civilisation the "Hittite," after the people, the Khatti, who are the most clearly recognisable representatives of it. Khatti is the title of this people among the Assyrians; in Egyptian, Kheta. The reader must, however, understand that in what follows we designate by this name only this one people, while by this term Hittite a complete ethnic group is meant, to which the Khatti belonged. According to our present knowledge, they appear to us to be the most important people of the group, for the recent discoveries at Boghaz Köi in Cappadocia prove that on that site stood the ancient capital of the Hittite empire, which bore the name of Khatti and gave its title to the Hittite people. Here, as we shall see, was the original centre of the great Hittite empire, and it is probable that the city from the earliest times played a prominent part in the history of the race.

The Hittite Peoples

We know nothing of the Syria which was contemporary with the Old Babylonian empires. Since, however, Phœnicia was subject to their influence, Syria must also have received its share of the "Semitic Babylonian" and "Canaanite" immigrations. What sort of nations invaded or tried to invade simultaneously from the north, whence the "Hittites" were advancing, is a question about which we know little as yet, though the Hittite

invasion of Babylonia at the close of the first dynasty of Babylon is proof of the early date of the Hittite southward movement. We do obtain further information at the time of the eighteenth Egyptian dynasty, when Egyptian accounts and the letters from Tell el-Amarna and the despatches recovered from the native Hittite archives at Boghaz Köi afford us some insight into the conditions. We see from them that in the meantime a non-Semitic population had forced its way forward, and that other portions of the same race were pressing on behind, and from this period we can form at least a rough idea of Syrian history.

Coming of the Hittites

This is the population which we call Hittite, and its characteristics may probably be traced in a number of monuments which give representations of early dwellers in Asia Minor, or are covered with inscriptions in hieroglyphic writing. The Hittite type differs considerably from the Semitic: race, dress, finally technique, show that we have to do with representatives of a peculiar civilisation distinct from the two great Oriental forms. In dress we find a characteristic feature in the Hittite cue and the shoes, usually with points bending upward. The writing is also characteristic: a clearly defined hieroglyphic script employing pictures, which has no affinity with the Egyptian or the Babylonian script [see page 1729]. We possess a number of these hieroglyphic inscriptions; but hitherto no one has succeeded in deciphering them and in making the language or languages of those who engraved them speak to us in their own form. But since the Mitani population and the "Urartæans" probably belong to the same group, we have in them two languages of "Hittite" peoples, although not of that section which employed this picture-writing. The native inscriptions, written in Babylonian characters upon clay tablets, which have been found at Boghaz Köi furnish numerous examples of the principal Hittite language employed during the period of the empire; and it is probable that we shall be able to recover the linguistic outlines of other Hittite dialects. Moreover, when the new material is published and made available for study, it will be possible to form a more definite opinion on the disputed question of the Hittite origin of the hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Languages of the Hittites

The Hittite civilisation was brought to Syria from outside by the conquerors, especially by the Khatti. The question arises, whence? The Khatti were settled, before their invasion, in Cappadocia—that is to say, in North-east Asia Minor. There we possess in the rock sculptures of Boghaz Köi conspicuous monuments of "Hittite" art, and it is on this site, as already stated, that recent excavation has brought to light a wealth of tablets inscribed not only in Babylonian, the early language of diplomacy, but also in the native tongue. Similar monuments are found over the whole region of Asia Minor as far as the west coast, where the "Sesostris" sculptures in the vicinity of Smyrna are the best known. We conclude, therefore, that Asia Minor was the home of Hittite civilisation. Future research will, perhaps, throw light on the relation of the Hittites in question to the pre-Aryan populations of the West, and render it possible to compare them with Etruscans, Iberians, and other types which loom in the mists of primitive history. We cannot, at present, do much more than conjecture that the population of Asia Minor in the second millennium, and even earlier, was Hittite, and that we must look there for the centre of this civilisation, which here concerns us only in so far as it spread over the Taurus. Here, again, it is impossible at present to establish proof of the mutual connections and affinities of the separate nationalities, but it is unreasonable to suppose that in an organised and united movement of nations different races took part promiscuously. When, therefore, the problem of the "Hittite" hieroglyphic writing is solved, we may, perhaps, find different dialects represented in the inscriptions of the different countries, inscriptions having been found in Syria, especially at Hamath, Aleppo, Carchemish, Marash, and Cilicia.

Whence Came the Hittites?

The Hittites, at the epoch when our information begins, had already forced their way into Syria, Mesopotamia, and even Northern Babylonia, for our earliest mention of them is in a recently discovered chronicle in the British Museum, which proves that they succeeded in capturing and sacking Babylon at the end of the first dynasty of Babylon before the Kassite conquest. Later on, in the

fifteenth century, Mitani possessed the supremacy in Mesopotamia and Northern Syria, especially Khanigalbat, or Melitene, and in Musri, the tract which lies south of it, reaching away to the Anti-Taurus and the Taurus. This is the most ancient Hittite people with whom we are acquainted by means of their own inscriptions; it is, however, to be conjectured that they formed by no means the first detachment of the race which penetrated to Syria and across the Euphrates. In the Tell el-Amarna letters we find many indications of a Hittite population even in the southern district of Syria; the name of a prince, whose town we must look for in the territory of the Phœnicians, is undoubtedly Hittite. It cannot be ascertained at present to what extent we must look for Hittite names among the many which have not a Canaanite sound, especially in Syrian towns. This much, however, is clear – that the Hittites by that time had penetrated far into Syria.

By the side of these early Hittite tribes the empire of the Khatti, or Kheta, must have already existed, being called so uninterruptedly after the time of Thothmes III. We can now accurately determine from its own records and from the letters of Tushratta that it still had its capital in Cappadocia. We do not yet know how far it extended to the west, but we can trace both in the Tell el-Amarna letters, and in recently found documents at Boghaz Köi its later advance toward Syria. Tushratta himself was attacked by the Khatti, and before the end of the reign of Amenophis IV. the kingdom of Mitani had been brought to an end by the victorious advance of the Hittite king Shubbiluliuma and his successors, Murshili and Muttallu. In Phœnicia it was known how to make their menacing inroads not less alarming to the Pharaoh than the plans of the Babylonians. Aziri, the Amorite, in particular based his attacks against Nukhashshe, in the district of Aleppo, on the invasion of the Khattian king, from whom he professed to wish to rescue the land for the Pharaoh. As it turned out, Sapalul had already invaded Nukhashshe—that is to say, had advanced south of the territory of Mitani. Some fragments of the correspondence between him and the Pharaoh are extant. They testify to a strained position. Matters had gone to the extent of a refusal to show respect, since in the correspondence the king of the Khatti placed his name in front of that of the Pharaoh instead of after it, the position which is demanded by courtesy. This furnishes the subject of a special letter of the Pharaoh.

The advance of the Khatti, which is thus attested, was favoured in the next period by the impotence of Egypt. Accordingly, Assyria and the Khatti were natural rivals in Syria. So long as Adadnirari I., Shalmaneser I., and Tukulti-Ninib asserted their power and kept possession of Mesopotamia, their advance must have still been blocked; indeed, under Shalmaneser, Assyria advanced as far as the borders of the Khattian empire itself. However, by the precipitate downfall of the Assyrian power, owing to the death of Tukulti-Ninib, about 1270 B.C., they obtained a free hand in Syria.



A HITTITE SCULPTURE FROM WESTERN ASIA
Hittite sculptures are found over the whole of Asia Minor as far as the west coast. This is one of the "Sesostris" sculptures, near Smyrna, showing the pointed cap and turned-up boots.

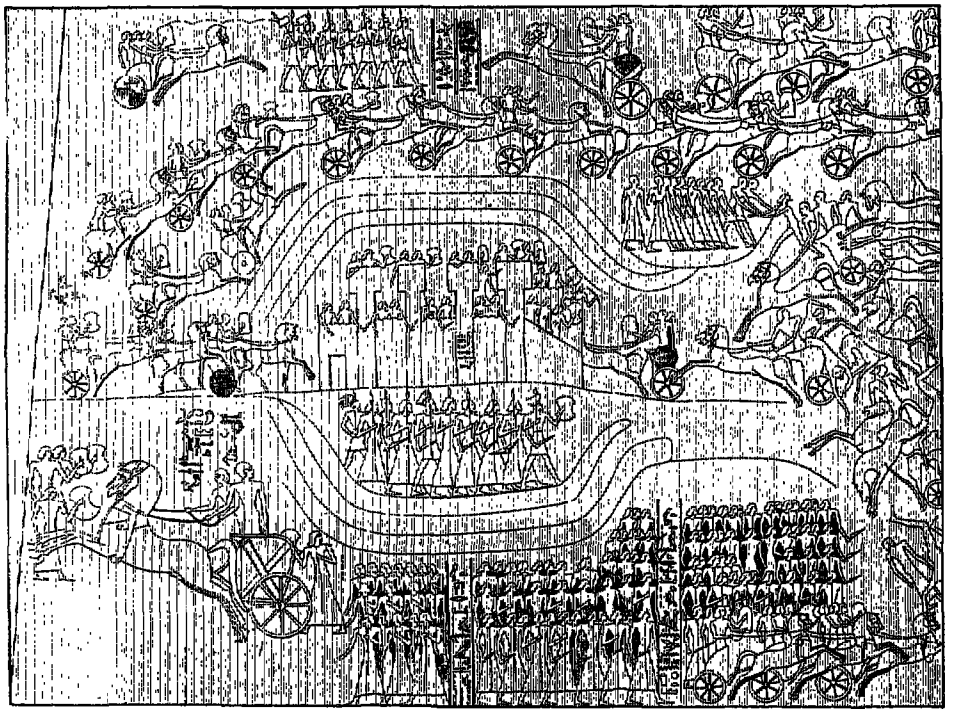
We now find them, on the renewed advance of Egypt in the twelfth century B.C., in possession of almost all Syria, and it is to this period that the large and

important find of tablets at Boghaz Köi mostly belongs. It was already known from the Egyptian inscriptions that under Rameses II. friendship existed between the kings of the Khatti, Sapalul, and Mautenra —that is, that Egypt had tolerated their advance. Seti I. records wars against the king of the Khatti, when he begins to reconquer the Asiatic provinces; but it is improbable that he had already won victories over him. Ramses II., on his further advance into Palestine, had been forced to fight several battles with the Khatti, and boasts, in particular, of a great victory at Kadesh, on the Orontes, one of the towns which even in the Tell el-Amarna period had a prince with a name that is probably non-Semitic. The battle is more important from its description than from its results. Sixteen years afterwards a solemn treaty was concluded between the two powers, in virtue of which both states mutually acknowledged their respective rights, and pledged themselves to guard their common interests. The king of the Khatti was Khetasar—or, as we now read the name in his own inscriptions, Khattu-shili. While Egypt, by this agreement, claimed Palestine roughly as far as Mount Carmel, Syria was completely conceded to the Khatti, and belonged to them as absolutely as it did, for example, to the Assyrians in the eighth to the seventh centuries. Henceforth the term "land of the Khatti" was adopted by the Assyrians to designate Syria; and the title remained, and was even extended further to the south in times when the Khatti had long since disappeared, or only the small remnant of their former greatness, the kingdom of Carchemish, still existed.

Egypt's Hittite Wars

It is interesting to note that among the tablets recently found at Boghaz Köi one of the most important of the diplomatic communications as yet deciphered is a version in the Babylonian language of the treaty drawn up between Khattu-shili and Ramses II., which was previously known to us only from the Egyptian copy upon the walls of the temple of Karnak. The tablets, and fragments of tablets, found upon this site during the excavations carried out since the summer of 1905 number several thousands, and it is probable that the site is still far from exhausted. They are all

Treaty with Egypt



A PICTORIAL RECORD OF THE VICTORY OF RAMSES OVER THE HITTITES AT KADESH
From a sculpture in an Egyptian temple commemorating the victory of Khatusaru



From "The Kingdom of the Empires," S.P.C.K.

HITTITE SPIES CAUGHT BY THE EGYPTIANS

From a picture in an Egyptian temple, illustrating an incident before Ramses' battle with the Hittites at Kadesh. The spies, being beaten, disclosed the secret of a Hittite ambush, thereby contributing to the Hittite defeat.

written in the cuneiform character of Babylonia; but while some are composed in the Babylonian language, the majority are written in the native language of the country. Those in the former category, like the Tell el-Amarna letters, are composed in Babylonian, since that was the language of diplomacy throughout the East. Of these several represent diplomatic communications which passed between Ramses II. and the Hittite king Khattu-shili, the most important being the Babylonian text of the treaty already referred to. From these documents we learn that the native name of Khattu-shili's wife was Padu-khipa, and that among his predecessors upon the Hittite throne were Shubbiluliuma, Murshili and Muttallu, under whom the Hittite advance into Northern Syria took place. As might be expected, the tablets also begin to furnish information concerning the kingdom of Mitani, and the names of other members of the family of Tushratta who occupied the throne have recently been recovered. We may note that in Khattu-shili's correspondence the full name of Ramses II. is given as Uashmuaria Shatepuaria Riamashesha mai-Amana, which gives the appropriate pronunciation, doubtless slightly altered in a foreign tongue and writing, of the Egyptian name which we conventionally read as Usermaa(t)ra setepenra Ramses meri-Amen. We thus see, as in the Egyptian names which occur in the Tell el-Amarna letters, that no modern transliteration of ancient Egyptian represents accurately the true pronunciation of the characters. It is natural that of the documents discovered, those in the Babylonian language should be the first to be deciphered. When the whole "find" has been made available for study we shall be able to trace in considerable detail the history of the Hittite empire at the period of its greatest prosperity. A preliminary examination of the documents composed in the native tongue seems to indicate that this was employed for communications to vassal states, for matters of internal administration, and for local and commercial intercourse. The decipherment of this class of tablets is facilitated by the fact that the language is written upon them in the Babylonian character, which was thus employed by the Hittites of this period in much the same way as the Arabic character by the Persians and the Turks. The language itself, it is already noted, is very similar to that of Arzawa, in which two of the letters found at Tell el-Amarna are written, and it is not improbable that the tablets will furnish us with examples of other native languages and dialects. These documents, both Babylonian and Hittite, are already yielding the names of a large number of provinces and cities of the Hittites themselves, and of the races with whom they were in contact, and when they have been completely deciphered

Hittite Egyptian Letters

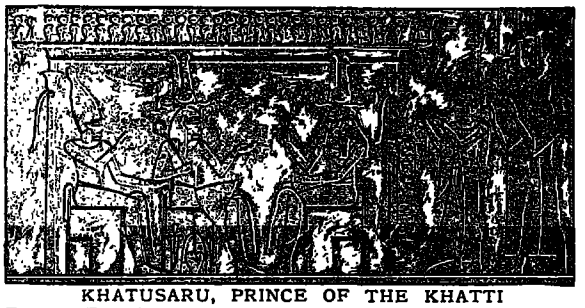
Babylonian Hittite History



CARCHEMISH, A LANDMARK OF THE VANISHED HITTITE POWER IN SYRIA
This mound at Jerabis, on the Euphrates, probably covers the remains of the Hittite state of Carchemish.

and translated, there is little doubt that they will reveal an entirely new chapter in the ancient history of the Nearer East.

The supremacy of the Khatti in Syria did not last long; they were not driven out by Assyria, which did not stand in the way of their advance, but when Tiglath-pileser again invaded Syria their empire had already lost its power. It had been overthrown by peoples of its own race, those which followed the very same road as the Mitani in former times. We find these people in 1100 B.C. in the extreme north of Mesopotamia and on the borders of Asia Minor in conflict with Tiglath-pileser. They may have destroyed the empire of the Khatti in Northern Asia Minor, and occupied the most northerly part of Syria as well as the adjacent districts of Asia Minor, invading them from the north. The sole remnant of the Khattian empire was the state of Carchemish, on the Euphrates, which may at first have also possessed part of Syria. After this time this state is termed Khattian by the Assyrians, and this is the cause of the transference of the term "land of the Khatti" to Syria proper. But soon, being hard pressed on the south by the Aramæans, it lost its importance, and after the time of Shalmaneser II. it meets us as an insignificant tributary state of Assyria, or of the other great powers which dominated Syria, such as Urartu, before 745 B.C., and was then annexed by Sargon under its last king, Pisiris.



KHATUSARU, PRINCE OF THE KHATTI
From an Egyptian sculpture of the Hittite prince and his daughter. The above is reproduced from "The Struggle of the Nations," S.P.C.K.

The newly immigrated peoples which thus took the place of the Khatti, and were, according to the theory referred to above, Hittites also, were especially the Kummukhi, or Kumani, who had been settled for some time in the district south of Armenia on both banks of the Euphrates when Tiglath-pileser mentions them for the first time. They remained permanently settled there, and their name (Commagene) was retained for the district on the right bank up to Hellenistic times. In the Assyrian era they were governed by kings of their own, but, like Carchemish, they were gradually brought under the yoke of Assyria, or had to obey the existing rulers of Syria. During the wars of the Assyrians with Urartu, the princes of Kummukhi, being situated exactly between the two powers, naturally vacillated from one to the other. The Hittite population here, as throughout Armenia, was first driven back by the immigrating Indo-Aryans. Besides this older stratum of the Kummukhi, the Kaski are mentioned, who

dwelt towards Northern Asia Minor—roughly speaking, Armenia Minor—and soon disappeared from the Assyrian horizon; it is possible that their name is identical with that of the Colchians. Tiglath-pileser mentions together with these, for the first time, the people of the Muski, some of whose levies tried in his time to conquer the territory on the left bank of the Euphrates, which had already been occupied by the Kummukhi. They were repulsed, and likewise disappeared from view, until their name meets us 400 years later, when Mita of Muski, as sovereign of a powerful kingdom in Asia Minor, waged war with Sargon on the Halys and in Cilicia, and was solicited by Carchemish for help against the Assyrian. The fact that the last representative of the Hittite power in Syria did this proves that the Muski were regarded by him as the successors of the Khatti, who once dominated



TYPES OF HITTITE SOLDIERS



"Struggle of the Nations," S.P.C.K

A PRINCE OF THE KHATTI HITTITES

Asia Minor. They must, therefore, have replaced these in the supremacy of the Halys, and further westward: for Mita of Muski is none other than the Midas of Phrygia, who, soon after 700, met his death in the wars with the Cimmerians.

Melitene itself was also a separate state under princes of its own. The inhabitants were closely akin to the Tabal, who adjoined them on the south, and were settled mainly in Cappadocia as far as the Taurus, which separated them from Cilicia. They were split up generally into a number of cantons, which were governed by their own princes; their neighbours in Melitene were occasionally included among them, although sometimes we hear of a union under an over-lord, which amounted to a regular Tabal kingdom. Thus Sargon actually gave his daughter in marriage to Ambaridi, the "king" of the Tabal, and ceded to him, as a dowry, a portion of Cappadocia. He evidently intended by this favour to secure for himself a sort of "buffer state" against Midas, and thus to bring the Tabal—who had never been subjugated—if not under Assyria, at least under a native yoke. These were considerable nations, which had preserved the bond of national homogeneity, and in the highlands, a district more remote from the influence of Babylonian civilisation, were better able to retain their characteristics as well as the organisation of their tribal life. These immigrations also left some trace in the Syrian towns. We can clearly distinguish in them down to the Syrian age a non-Semitic as compared with an Aramæan population. But in them, just as in Carchemish, we should, on the whole, see not component parts of this new wave, but rather remains of the conquest by the Khatti, or of the "Hittite" immigrations which preceded them. At least, no definite people is here named by the Assyrians, but the accounts speak of princes who had long been in possession of the land, bearing both Semitic and non-Semitic, that is, Hittite, names.

We must equally reckon among the Hittites the population of Cilicia, called by the Assyrians Kue; and here hieroglyphic rock-inscriptions have been found right up to the Taurus. We may see in this population a wave of the great stream

which flowed thither from the Tabal. We ascertain from the Tell el-Amarna letters that the Lukki, also mentioned in Egyptian inscr ptions, engaged in piracy on the coast of Asia Minor and proceeded as far as Cyprus ; this was the people which gave Lycia its name, and from which Lycaonia also derived its title. If we add to this the Leuco-Syrians, who naturally are not "white Syrians," as the popular Greek etymology signifies, but are the Lukki from Suri, or Cappadocia, we thus have another branch of the Hittite migration which we may probably bracket with the Khatti. We might include in it the Hittite inhabitants of Cilicia. They would thus form a broader stratum than the Kummukhi, Muski, and Tabal, and would have entered the country almost contemporaneously with the Khatti.

Western Group of Hittites

If we consider these and the Tabal to compose a western group as compared with the eastern, which is represented by the Mitani and the Urartu nations—the Kummuki also belong more to this group—we can find authority for this division in a fact which, in the lack of other evidence, rivets our attention. The eastern group worshipped as their chief divinity Teisbes, or Teshub, who was identified with the Semitic Hadad, or Ramman. In classical times we find him still represented as Jupiter of Doliche in Commagene, with thunderbolt or lightning and the Hittite double axe. The chief deity of the western group, on the contrary, is Tarkhu, or Tarku, whose name meets us in the composition of many proper names. The hieroglyphic rock-inscriptions which we possess from Syria and Cilicia probably date from a period before Assyria was supreme there, or, indeed, had appeared upon the scene, and they may belong to the period of the earliest Hittite migration. The most ancient Hittite sculptures on Syrian soil have been brought to light by the excavations at Senjirli in Amq. They belong to the pre-Assyrian age, the most ancient of them probably to the second millennium B.C. ; in Senjirli we assume at all events only an old Hittite population, springing at latest from the Khatti ; Aramæans forced their way there later.

Most Ancient Hittite Sculptures

The result of this development is that Syrians and Aramæans are treated as synonymous, although this is true only in later times. In reality the Aramæans did not immigrate into Syria first, but became predominant there only after they had already spread over Babylonia and Mesopotamia. The reason of this is not far to seek ; the Hittite migrations had been able to advance only so long as no state powerful enough to offer a vigorous resistance was formed in the valley of the Euphrates. Mitani and the Kassites had advanced from two sides of the civilised country ; the earliest waves of the Hittites had equally profited by the weakness of Babylonia and Assyria. Contemporaneously with this stream, the flood of the Aramæan migration spread from the south over the Euphrates valley and Syria, meeting with no resistance from the Kassites who had settled on the river banks but forced to fight in Syria with the Khatti and their successors. Thus districts which appear to us at a subsequent period as completely Aramæan can have been occupied by Aramæans only at a comparatively late date. Damascus, Aleppo, and the towns of Northern Syria thus became Aramæan last of all, when Mesopotamia and Babylonia had long since been inundated by Aramæans. A town such as Pethor on the Euphrates, until then Hittite like Carchemish, was occupied only by Aramæans under Ashur-irbi ; Carchemish had always resisted them, and the more notherly districts of "Suri," like Commagene, had never been conquered at all by Aramæans, but had remained, until the annexation by Assyria, under the government of Hittite princes and tribes—a state of things which does not exclude the possibility of an advance by sections of the Aramæan population.

Limits of Aramæan Influence

The picture which Syria presents to us of the Aramæan migration about 1500 B.C. is as folllows : The old Canaanite population was driven out or subjugated by the Hittites, and now the Aramæans were advancing against these latter. Since Hittites still possessed in the twelfth century Cœle-Syria as far as Kadesh, the advance of the Aramæans into Syria was not, like that of the Arabians, immediately connected with the Syrian hinterland—that is, with the occupation of the countries of Damascus, Hamath, and Aleppo. They first went in a more easterly direction along the Euphrates, and, having seized Mesopotamia, they crossed the Euphrates and advanced towards the west—that is, toward Central Syria. Tiglath-pileser I.



ENTRANCE TO PALACE OR TEMPLE AT OYUK, GUARDED BY TWO SPHINXES



BAS-RELIEF AT FRAKTIN, REPRESENTING SACRIFICES TO HITTITE GODS



FACADE OF SCULPTURED STONES AND ENTRANCE TO BUILDINGS AT OYUK

drove the Aramæans at Carchemish over the river, where they occupied places of retreat on the right bank. The Hittite towns of Syria, with the exception of Damascus, were not occupied by them until later. It was only, therefore, in the Assyrian time that Aramaic supplanted the old Canaanite language. In the inscriptions of Senjirli from the time of Tiglath-pileser IV. we have perhaps the first attempts at Aramaic writing in these districts. Further to the north the Aramæan migration came into contact with the last wave of the Hittites, the Kummukhi, etc., and was thus hindered from any further advance. On their side they again prevented the advance of these latter into the regions once occupied by the Khatti as far down as Cœle-Syria. The action of Assyria after Ashurnasirpal prevented the Aramæans from occupying the larger cities and thus completing the subjugation of the countries already overrun by them. When that happened, the power of the Hittites to resist had certainly been broken, as is shown, for example, by the above-mentioned occupation of Pethor by Aramæans. But now everything was subdued by the Assyrians; the supremacy rested with them, and in a few districts with the Hittites. The failure to gain the political control is no proof indeed that the population was not becoming Aramæan; this tendency indeed would increase, unhindered, by peaceful methods.

Growth of Aramaic Language

The interference of Assyria explains the fact that we do not meet Aramæan states —that is, states where Aramæans ruled, a point which is almost clearly shown in our authorities by the names of the princes— in the old seats of civilisation of Central Syria; we may disregard those settled in the open country, since they could have had little influence on history. The only considerable Aramæan state which had for its home one of the centres of civilisation was Damascus; this, the farthest from Assyria of all those which we have mentioned, was the last to be attacked by the Assyrians.

Damascus Ruled by Aramæans

When Ashurnasirpal undertook his Phœnician expedition in 877 B.C., Amq, the tableland extending north of the lake of Antioch as far as the spurs of the Taurus, was united under one government, the kingdom of Patini. This is called in the Bible Padan-Aram, and is therefore regarded as Aramæan, the document which so calls it being the late Priestly Code. Nothing more need be inferred from this than that the population here at a later period was Aramæan. It does not seem probable that Aramæan princes ruled here in the time of Ashurnasirpal, and that the kingdom was therefore Aramæan; the names of the princes are indeed non-Semitic, therefore Hittite probably, so that we may see in this state a product of the Hittite conquest. We can determine from the Assyrian inscriptions the names of several kings; these are, Lubarna or Liburna, in the time of Ashurnasirpal; then Sapalulme, Kalparunda, Lubarna II., who died in 833 B.C., under Shalmaneser II.; Surri in 832 B.C., and Sasi after 832 B.C. The centre of the state is Amq, with its capital, Kinalia. The whole state had, like all these products of the Hittite time, a feudal constitution based on the system of cantons and tribes, the separate princes of which were independent or subject, according to the power of the suzerain. When, therefore, subsequently, Tiglath-pileser appeared upon the scene, the princes of the separate districts acted independently, and the kingdom of Patini apparently ended. We find, therefore, in its place the following separate states: Marqasi, the present Marash; Gurgum, Unki, or Amq, the former capital of the kingdom; Sam'al, and Ia'udi; and they were gradually annexed by Assyria.

Break-up of the Kingdom of Patini

The inhabitants of these countries, whose kings were, as compared with the Assyrian kings, merely large landowners, became in the meantime strongly tinged by Aramæan influences, although this does not prove that the Aramæans were rulers. Indeed, the names of the princes, such as Panammu and Karal, are hardly Semitic; and the only Semitic name, Azriia'u of Ia'udi, is probably not Aramæan, but Canaanite, and therefore belongs to the pre-Hittite stratum; the former have actual analogies in Cilician proper names, and may therefore be Hittite. On the other hand, the spread of the Aramæan language is noticeable, and the use of Aramaic and of alphabetic writing begins. It is also illustrative of the composition of the population, and of the persistence of an old Canaanite strain, that even now Canaanite was written in the "Phœnician" style, as is proved by a small fragment found a mile or two west of Senjirli.

The traces of the Aramæan script and language of this period were derived from excavations carried out in Senjirli at Amq, the capital of the small country Sam'al. These documents were drawn up by Barrekab, the vassal of Tiglath-pileser IV., the son of the Panammu mentioned by Tiglath-pileser, who died, according to his son's inscription, in 732 or 731 B.C., in the camp of Damascus, to which place he had followed the army. A somewhat older monument comes from Gerjin, a place five miles east of Senjirli, and was erected by Panammu the elder, " king " of the neighbouring district Ia'udi. The inscriptions are the most ancient texts in Aramaic which we at present possess, and they show by an unskilled employment of the language, and the want of any uniform orthography, that we have here the first attempts made in these regions at writing Aramaic. It follows from this that Aramaic was now spoken here, and that Aramæans had established a dominion by peaceful measures such as they could not have founded by force.

To the east of this district lies Aleppo, which is not mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions as the seat of a separate state. When Shalmaneser II. came there on his first expedition against Damascus, in 854 B.C., he sacrificed to Hadad, but he tells us nothing as to the political position of the town; we might suppose that it then had its own government, and was therefore a relic of the Canaanite-Hittite power. In the Tell el-Amarna period we find in this country the state of Nukhashshe, which had a constitution similar to that of Patini. Its suzerain writes to Amenophis III. that his grandfather had been appointed by Thothmes III.; he himself was being hard pressed by the Khatti. Aziri, the Amorite, speaks of kings of Nukhashshe; the land was governed, therefore, by various cantonal princes.

Aleppo a Separate State

To the south of this, Hamath commands the country between the territories of Aleppo and of Damascus. In the Tell el-Amarna letters the towns Ni, Katana, and Kadesh are named in its place. We may see in the first two the most important towns of the country, Apamea and Hœms, or Emesa, or their predecessors. They were occupied by a Canaanite and Hittite population; we have already become familiar with Kadesh as the home of the Khatti in the twelfth century. Here, too the Aramæans were unable to make conquests. We therefore find in the kingdom of Hamath, which soon afterwards comprised the whole country, a state with a mixed population of Canaanites and Hittites. When Shalmaneser, in 854 B.C., marched against Damascus, among his " allies," in reality his vassals, were Biridri and Irkhulini, king of Hamath. Like the other vassals, he broke away from Damascus on the change of dynasty under Hazael, and appears to have joined Assyria, since after that time no more is heard of Hamath. We meet Hamath again, under Tiglath-pileser IV., as an Assyrian vassal state, but under Sargon in the rebellion of Ia'ubidi it lost its independence.

Hamath a Vassal Kingdom

The territory of Damascus, the last great city toward the desert, adjoined that of Hamath on the south. At the period of the Tell el-Amarna letters it plays no more important part than Hamath, although it is mentioned as still subject to the Egyptians. It then suddenly appears, contemporaneously with the kingdom of David, as the seat of another kingdom, which had arisen during the impotence of the greater nations. From the very first it was in the possession of Aramæans, for the kings of Damascus were Aramæans, and this state is always expressly designated as Aramæan. This is the only instance in which the Aramæans, generally speaking, were ever rulers of a considerable state, based on an old centre of civilisation, and in which we can speak of any encroachment of the Aramæans on the political field of world history.

Damascus owed this advantage to its situation, which long protected it from the attacks of Assyria. On the other hand, it lay the nearest of all the centres of civilisation to the plains; and its importance consisted then, as now, in its peculiar position as the starting point of the caravan route through the Syrian desert. Damascus was thus the emporium of the Arabian and Babylonian trade with Syria and Palestine. It was therefore the great city in Syria which was first exposed to the attacks of the Aramæans invading from the plains, and it thus first fell into their hands. Even among the Tell el-Amarna letters a short despatch to the Egyptian court speaks of a menacing advance of Aramæan hordes; it is not clear

Damascus Syria's Greatest City

from what place they came, but the writers must have been settled somewhere in Syrian territory. The advance of the Aramæans and their successes in this district are further proofs of the fact that to the south of Damascus in the time of Saul and David there was a small Aramæan state in Soba, and also, stretching right up to Israelitish territory, the state of Geshur, where Absalom lived in banishment. But these states attained no position of importance, nor did they endure for long. It is indeed a probable conjecture to associate the rise of Damascus under such circumstances with its occupation by the Aramæans. According to this view the empire of Damascus would rank from first to last as a creation of the Aramæans, and may, from the standpoint of political development, be regarded as the focus of Aramæan history.

Scene of Absalom's Banishment

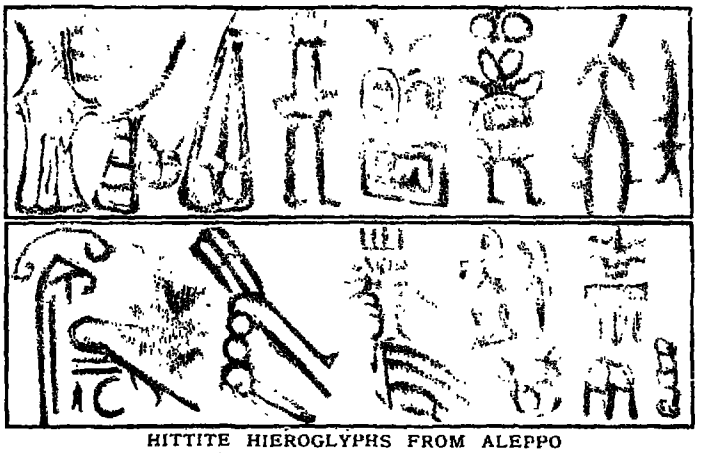
The first references to the empire are found in the Bible. According to these, in the time of Solomon, Rezon, son of El-yada, threw off the yoke of his lord Hadad-ezer, king of Zobah, seized Damascus, and thence, like David from Hebron, increased his power. Zobah must thus have been a centre of the Aramæans, who had pressed on against Syria. The occupation of Damascus would accordingly be the next stage in their advance, as well as their greatest success in this region. Rezon is said to have been continually at war with Solomon. Galilee and the district east of Jordan are henceforth a constant object of contention between Damascus and Israel. The Bible mentions other kings of Damascus; the tradition is uncertain, however, and the names are corrupt. It is most probable that we have in them the next two kings, the first of whom is called by the Bible Hezion, and may well have been named Hazael; he was followed by Tab-Rimmon, or Tab-el, but nothing beyond their names is known. In the period after their successor Bir-idri, the Ben-hadad of the Biblical narrative, our accounts are more copious. Damascus under him, about 885–844 B.C., comes into prominence as the leading state in Syria. In the year 854 B.C. Bir-idri was attacked by Shalmaneser II. On this occasion the latter enumerates the states dependent on Damascus, which had been forced to supply troops, as follows: Hamath. Israel—under Ahab, Moab and Judah are included as being dependent on Israel, and Edom, in its turn, dependent on Judah—the North Phœnician states to the north of Gebal, Ammon, and Kue, or Cilicia, in fact a list of vassals which represents an empire such as cannot be shown to have ever existed there before. The battle at Karkar did not result in any success for Shalmaneser. Equally fruitless were the attempts in his next expeditions to defeat this vanguard of Syria. So long as Damascus was not subdued, Assyria could not get a firm footing there. While this was the case, it was impossible for any states in those regions to side with Assyria, even if they wished to, for they were always exposed to the attack of Damascus so soon as the Assyrian army was withdrawn. We can trace this fact in the history of Israel. The issue now always turns on the question whether Assyria or Damascus should be supported; and this question continued to influence the policy of the smaller states until Damascus was taken by Tiglath-pileser.

The Rise of Damascus

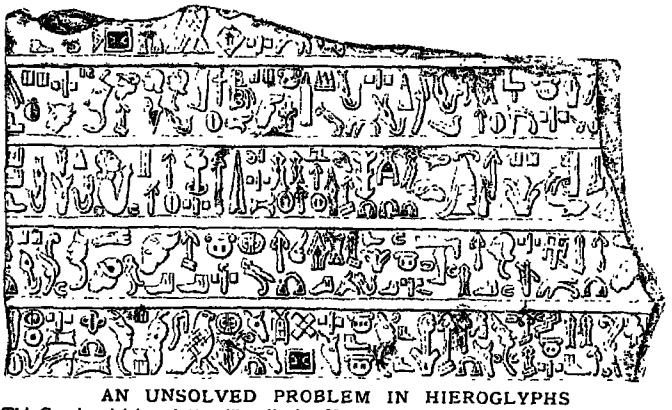
We must regard the increased power of Damascus, which we now first notice, as due to Bir-idri. Even in later years he and his successor Hazael were taken by the Israelites as types of the greatness of Damascus. Amos (i. 4) mentions the palaces of Ben-hadad as signs of the flourishing power of the state, which then for the last time was interfering in the history of Israel. Damascus is not alluded to before Shalmaneser. But we may, perhaps, gather from the silence of Ashur-nasirpal on his way to Patini, and from the road which he then took, that the empire of Bir-idri already existed at that time, and that the Assyrians avoided any collision with it. For this reason he did not extend his movements beyond Patini, and did not march further southward into Phœnicia; with the exception of Arvad he mentions no tributary Phœnician states, beyond a few which Shalmaneser does not enumerate as vassals of Damascus. It is possible that here also a critical state of affairs may have existed. In any case he avoided an attack on the hinterland or even a demand for tribute from it; this may account also for his silence as to Israel—then, perhaps, under Omri—which was tributary to Damascus, while Tyre, for example, pays tribute to Assyria. The Bible tells us—in 2 Kings viii.—

Powerful Kings of Damascus

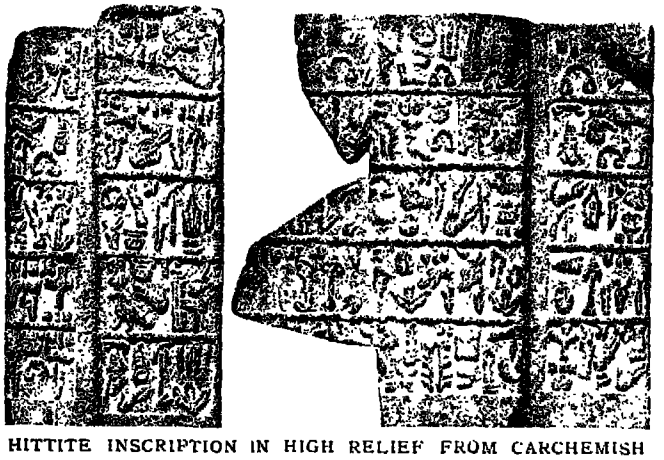
of the death of Bir-idri in one of the narratives of the prophet Elisha, but in a way which does not make it clear what part his successor Hazael played in the matter. This change of monarchy is clearly connected with the fall of the house of Omri —*that is, of the great* Yahve movement in Israel and Judah, which had brought Jehu to the throne. Since Jehu quickly submitted to Assyria, it may be concluded that Assyria had a hand in the revolution, which she fostered in the hope of weakening an enemy she could not subdue in the field. Hazael may also, perhaps, have courted Assyria in order to secure his throne, but, so soon as he was king of Damascus his interests demanded resistance to Assyria and an attempt to recover his old power. We therefore find him at once, in 842 B.C., at war with Shalmaneser. But a vast difference is now perceptible, which shows how Assyrian diplomacy had carried out its task. While under Bir-idri the vassal princes were always mentioned, Hazael now stands alone; and while the Assyrians had always hitherto been repulsed, they advanced this time right into the territory of Damascus itself, and Hazael was forced to defend himself in the capital. The other strong places were naturally not captured; Shalmaneser was obliged to content himself with laying waste the open country in the true Assyrian fashion. The expedition of 839 B.C. met with equally small success, and after that Assyria renounced for the time any further efforts to reach her goal. A disastrous time now dawned for the



HITTITE HIEROGLYPHS FROM ALEPPO
An untranslated inscription representing a distinct Hittite dialect.



AN UNSOLVED PROBLEM IN HIEROGLYPHS
This Carchemish inscription, like all other Hittite inscriptions, has not been deciphered.



HITTITE INSCRIPTION IN HIGH RELIEF FROM CARCHEMISH

states—Israel among the number—which meanwhile had joined Assyria, for Hazael began to subjugate them once more. Their position was the more unenviable, since a renewal of submission to their old lord implied a defection from the new lord, whose vengeance was then to be dreaded. They were thus placed between two fires. Israelite history shows us the distress to which this state was reduced, and the Bible has preserved the recollection of it when it makes Elisha bewail the evil which Hazael would bring upon Israel.

Israel Between Two Fires

The successor of Hazael must have been Mari, who is familiar to us from the inscriptions of Adad-nirari III.; the Bible in 2 Kings xiii. 25, appears to mention him also under the name Ben-hadad. He had been again attacked by Assyria, and had submitted after a siege of Damascus. Through this the other vassals of Assyria at least enjoyed peace, among them Israel. The decadence of the Assyrian power after Adad-nirari had once more given Damascus a free hand. In 773 we have evidence of a new expedition under Shalmaneser III.; then nothing more transpires as to Damascus until Tiglath-pileser IV. appears to resume and to conclude the struggle.

We must see the successor of Mari in Tab-el, whom the Bible, in Isaiah vii. 6, names as the father of Rezon; nothing further is known of him. With his son and successor, Rezon, we have once more additional sources of information. We find him, in 738 B.C., on the first appearance of Tiglath-pileser IV., still among the tribute payers. But soon afterwards he revolted, and at the same time, by contriving the rebellion in Samaria, which caused the fall of Pekahiah, the son of Manahem, who was loyal to Assyria, he raised his partisan Pekah to the throne. We then find the two together in 735 B.C. before the gates of Jerusalem (Isa. vii.) attempting to overthrow Ahaz, who adhered to Assyria, and hoped with its aid to gain Israel. But in the very next year Tiglath-pileser appeared in Palestine, subjugated Philistia, overthrew Pekah in Samaria in 733 B.C., and besieged and captured Damascus in 732 B.C. Rezon lost his throne and his life, and Damascus became an Assyrian province. This virtually completed the subjugation of Syria, since no further resistance of a serious nature was possible. The rebellion of Ia'ubidi of Hamath, which had hitherto supported Assyria, was easily suppressed by Sargon. Syria after that time was ruled by Assyrian governors, or feudal lords, who were unable to follow out any independent policy of their own.

Final Subjugation of Syria

There never was a Syrian civilisation in the sense in which we speak of a Babylonian or Egyptian culture. History has shown us how Syria, lying between the two great zones of civilisation, was almost always subject to their influence. Such investigations, as was the case with the political history, present far greater difficulties than in the region of the Euphratean empires, since a system of petty states has always prevailed in Syria, which renders it hard for the historian to adopt a comprehensive view, even if he were sufficiently acquainted with the necessary details. Here, therefore, we must content ourselves for the present with ascertaining isolated facts of which chance has informed us. At the same time we possess in the monuments on Syrian soil the productions of a civilisation the history of which is only beginning to be revealed to us. The explorer looks with longing eyes at the so-called "Hittite" hieroglyphs, in which an increasing number of inscriptions are being found. The materials are as yet, comparatively speaking, insufficient to furnish a key to their decipherment, which a more copious supply of specimens or the discovery of a lengthy bilingual inscription may reveal in the future. We can demonstrate that the system of writing employs the same fundamental notions as the cuneiform characters and the hieroglyphs, the main principle being the employment of separate signs for the syllable and for ordinary ideas; but a simple conjecture might have deduced that from the mere number of the written characters. Only their outward forms, therefore, are clear to us as yet, and these show, apart from their shape, a fundamental distinction from those of Egypt and Babylonia. While the Egyptians or Babylonians scratch or cut the writing into the material, the greater number of the Hittite inscriptions which we at present possess are executed in high relief upon the stone. It is idle to speculate as to the origin of this custom from the

Civilisation That is Still Obscure

comparatively late documents which have been found on a foreign soil; but, since the incised cuneiform writing is the reproduction of what was originally scratched or impressed on clay, the reverse usage must point to a different origin. It is, indeed, a point to be considered that we have as yet to do only with monuments engraved with this hieroglyphic character; simple documents, corresponding to the Babylonian clay tablets and our written papers, with which the writing originated, are wanting, for the tablets found at Boghaz Köi, including the native Hittite texts, without exception employ the Babylonian syllabary. It is worthy of note that the style of the older Aramæan inscriptions on Syrian soil meets us in those of the eighth century, while, on the other hand, the oldest inscription found on Canaanite soil—the stele of King Mesha, of Moab, the contemporary of Omri—is scratched upon the stone. If we are to recognise in the latter the influence of Babylonia and Assyria, it is clear that the Hittite custom continued to operate in a district once occupied by the Kheta. As we have already stated, the tablets discovered at Boghaz Köi will probably furnish us with evidence on which we may decide the disputed question as to the origin and date of these hieroglyphic inscriptions, which are usually regarded as products of the Hittite civilisation.



THE MOABITE STONE
This stele of Mesha, king of Moab, is the oldest inscription found on Canaanite soil. It is cut in the stone, while Hittite inscriptions are in high relief.

Granted that the Hittite culture exercised an influence which for a time matched that of the other bank of the Euphrates, this will have shown itself in many achievements of civilised life which are as yet unknown to us. We possess perhaps an important testimony of this in the *mina* of Carchemish, which was distinguished by the Assyrians from their national one. It is not, indeed, established whether that was a weight adopted from the Hittites. But if such was the case, this alone would indicate a far-reaching influence of the Hittite spirit upon trade and business transactions; and indeed even on the conditions of the tenure of the soil. From this it would result that not only a dominant section of the Syrian population represented the Hittite strain, but that in reality a population had developed which preserved its national characteristics, and under the changed conditions of life in their new home continued to develop independently. If an art, which existed there only for the powerful and ruling classes, and was fostered for them alone, had comparatively little to do with the subordinate sections of the people, the universal adoption and recognition even by the later Assyrian rulers of the Hittite weights and measures show that the population of Syria in all its classes must have been Hittite, or permeated with Hittite customs. This would, besides, tally in every respect with what we are as yet able to ascertain as to the religious conditions. We have not regarded the conquest by the Khatti as the first appearance of "Hittite" peoples in Syria, and we may assume that, both with them and after them, other kindred nations settled there. The conquest of Syria, evidence of which we begin to see in the Tell el-Amarna letters, was one undertaken by a great state, which had its seat and the central point of its civilisation and power in Asia Minor. It thus differed little from the Assyrian conquest two centuries later; just as this did not give Syria an Assyrian population, so that of the Kheta, or Khatti, did not make the country "Khattian" down to the plain of

the Orontes. The actual result was only a military occupation of the country and its impoverishment by officials. If, therefore, we may conclude that the population even of the ninth and later centuries B.C. contained an admixture of the earlier Hittite elements, we must equally see in it the result of occurrences which preceded and followed the conquest. Out of the countless waves of this great immigration that of the Khatti represents only one, possibly the most far-reaching in its effects, but not for that reason the most lasting. Similar migrations of homogeneous tribes which inundated the empire of the Khatti in its original home, and gave it a new population, must have also affected the Syrian conquests of the Khatti. So soon as a foreign power ceased to hold in subjection the separate countries which were ruled by their native princes or governors, the result immediately followed that these hitherto dependent countries constituted so many small "kingdoms" which waged war with each other. The result of the Khatti conquest was a "Hitticising" of the country in so far as the country was open to the advancing tribes.

Hittite Influence in Syria

The same conditions prevailed when the Aramæans a little later advanced from the south. The result of this contest between the two great movements which here crossed each other's path was a population mainly Aramæan in the south, a mixed population in the centre, and a predominantly Hittite one in the north. It was organised in separate petty states, which remained independent until conquered by Assyria, a power as strong as that of the Khatti.

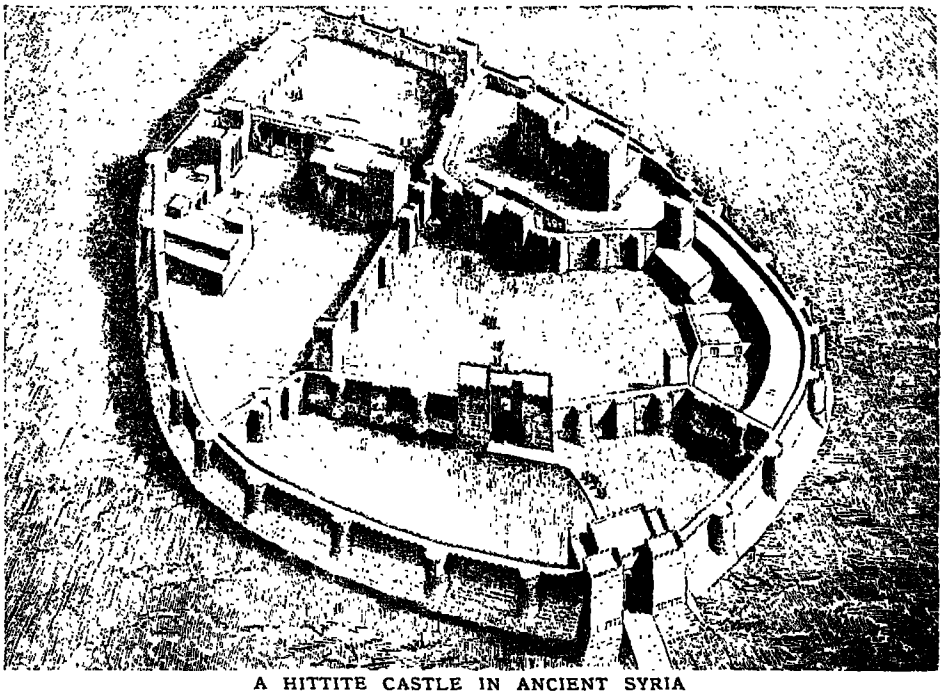
Such conditions could not develop any true Syro-Hittite culture. The state of things was too precarious, and revolutions followed too rapidly to allow anything peculiar to the Syrian soil to be formed which might be compared with the Babylonian civilisation. All, therefore, that we possess of the productions of "Hittite" art is very rude. Of course, an unimportant provincial town like Sam'al, or Senjirli, to which we owe the oldest sculptures, cannot be regarded as determining the extent of Hittite achievements on Syrian soil.

We may expect to find a genuine Syro-Hittite art in Carchemish, which remained for the longest period the most flourishing seat of the Hittites. Indeed, a large number of monuments have been discovered there, but not sufficient to enable us to pass a final judgment upon Hittite art. Those brought to Europe are for the most part fragments on which all that is preserved is the inscription; other sculptured slabs were not removed from the mound during the excavations on this site, and they are still to be seen above the soil. They include representations of two Hittite gods, the figure of a Hittite goddess, and the like. We can summarise briefly the productions of Aramæan skill. The only specimens, indeed, to be considered are the sculptures of the last period of Sam'al-Senjirli, the statue of the god Hadad, the statue of Panammu, and the reliefs of the palace erected by his son Bar-sur. Just as the execution of the writing in high relief imitates that of the Hittites, here again hardly anything original is to be found. If it were not that Aramaic inscriptions are cut on them they would be included with the rest as merely Hittite. We have little else that is Aramæan: nothing actually from a soil which was more purely Aramæan than the Sam'al of the eighth century. The Aramæans display but small capacity to produce independent results in culture and intellectual achievements. Just as the Arab lived on the powers of Byzantium and Persia, so they lived

Products of Aramæan Skill



HITTITE KING AND A WARRIOR
From the remains of Senjirli, Northern Syria



A HITTITE CASTLE IN ANCIENT SYRIA

A reconstruction, from remains at Senjirli, Northern Syria, of a brick castle of the Syro-Hittites.

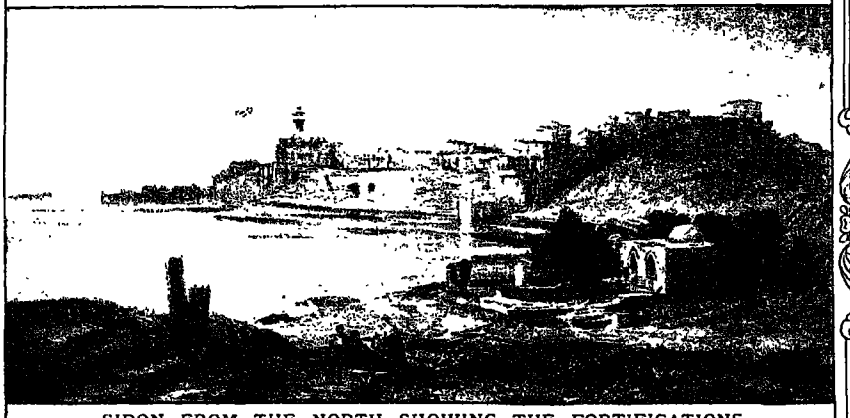
on those of the Babylonians, Assyrians and Hittites.

Senjirli, the only ruined place in Syria which has hitherto been thoroughly excavated, has given us information as to the architecture, since it has transmitted to us the form of a midgal, or castle. This, from being the centre and place of refuge of an originally open settlement, became later the nucleus of a walled city. The influence of Babylon is noticeable in the choice of brick as the building material. It would be premature to form from this one building any opinion of the construction of the rich and powerful Syrian towns, the different centres of civilisation: Carchemish or Hierapolis, Aleppo, Hamath, Damascus, etc.

It would be still more rash to attempt to formulate the Aramæan ideas of faith and religion. A few names of deities in later tradition comprise nearly all that could serve as a basis for such speculation. The Aramæan characteristics are most strongly marked in Southern Syria, owing to the comparatively weaker influence of the Hittites, which the old Canaanite life of the second Semitic migration had successfully resisted. The ideas of Canaanites and Aramæans may, indeed, be assumed with some probability to have been originally identical, and the question is mainly one of different names for similar religious conceptions. Thus, in view of the traditions of a time which had no longer any comprehension of the old stratification of the peoples and their different characteristics, we are hardly in a position to single out anything as peculiarly Aramæan. If, even at the period of the eighth century B.C., traces of the Canaanite language can be proved to have existed in the district of Senjirli, we must also regard the few names of gods in the inscriptions found there as a Canaanite, and therefore pre-Aramæan, inheritance which was not affected by the intermediate rule of the Hittites. At the same time, it is of course to be remembered that foreign influence must have made itself felt in great centres of culture sooner than in remote provincial towns. Thus the divine name El is clearly common to Canaanites and Aramæans. Rekab is originally Canaanite, and is found in Southern Judah. Only Hadad, whose cult is proved to have been the most important in Damascus, may be Aramæan; his Canaanite name was Ramman. or Rimmon, the god of weather and fertility.



VIEW OF MODERN SIDON SHOWING CONNECTION WITH MAINLAND



SIDON FROM THE NORTH SHOWING THE FORTIFICATIONS



THE ISLAND CITY LOOKING TOWARDS THE LEBANON MOUNTAINS

SIDON, THE ANCIENT SEAT OF PHŒNICIA'S RELIGIOUS CULT



PHŒNICIA AND CANAAN

THE strip of land which is bounded by the Syrian desert and the chain of Antilebanus on the east, and by the Mediterranean on the west, has never been the home of a great unified kingdom. Being chiefly mountainous and intersected by the two streams which rise in the centre and are of no importance for communication, the Orontes from south to north, and the Jordan from north to south, it was never able to advance far beyond the cantonal system natural to highlands, and was always hindered by the system of petty states. The sea, indeed, afforded a natural high-road of commerce for the towns on the coast; but these lacked the hinterland, which would have offered the requisite territory for a larger population bent on developing a higher civilisation. They were thus prompted from the first to extend their power beyond the sea, and the more so since they were hard pressed in the rear by a succession of new and still uncivilised nations. The country, in consequence of its situation between the two great civilised states on the Euphrates and the Nile, must have been a natural goal for the efforts at expansion made by both nations long before we have any record of it. The history of these regions varies according to the power, whether Babylonian-Assyrian or Egyptian, to which they were subject. The ever-recurring spectacle, which has continued from the Hellenistic period through the Middle Ages down to our own time, is due to the position of the country and its configuration, which prevents the formation of a large state.

The Need of Oversea Expansion

Accordingly in the millennia of the development and full expansion of the Sumerian and of the contemporary Egyptian civilisations a population was settled there which was probably of mixed origin. That there was a pre-Semitic element is certain. We cannot say that the pre-Semitic Palestinians were connected by kinship with the Sumerians. It is most improbable that the Sumerian race ever extended itself west of the Mesopotamian valley. And the pre-Semitic elements in Palestine are quite different from the pre-Semitic elements in Mesopotamia. There are elements in the Semitic cultures of both Palestine and Mesopotamia which must be put down to the pre-Semitic inhabitants of these lands, but whereas in Mesopotamia these elements are evidently of Sumerian origin, in Palestine they are to be ascribed to the older inhabitants of the Mediterranean basin, whose race is to be found in Spain, in Italy, in Greece, and probably also in the Egyptian delta and the Northern African littoral: the short, dark, dolichocephalic race, which is collectively known to us now as "Mediterranean." It is to this race that the distinctively "Canaanitish" elements in the Semitic culture of Palestine must be ascribed; in Palestine, as in Crete, sacred stones and groves were venerated, and modern British archæological labour has made it very probable that these elements of religion are in Crete of pre-Hellenic, in Palestine of pre-Semitic, origin. This is but a cursory reference to a revolutionary theory, which considerations of space forbid us to elaborate further here.

Nature of Pre-Semitic Influences

Eventually, the Semites, whom we find in the earliest ages of Egyptian history settled in the Sinaitic peninsula and possibly also in the highlands of Southern Palestine, pressed northwards, and supplanted in Palestine and Mesopotamia the older inhabitants. Henceforward Semitised Canaan, connected by kinship with the ruling people in Babylonia, was subject to its influence and acknowledged its sovereignty alternately with that of Egypt. Just as all subsequent Semitic migrations probably brought to Palestine a new stratum of population, so the first of them, the Semitic Babylonians, may have discharged there some portion of its tribes. Even if this stratum of the population is more tangible for us, since it is historical in Babylonia at least, and if we can

Semitic Migrations to Palestine

therefore see traces of it later in Phœnicia, in much that strikes us as Babylonian, yet we know nothing of any tribes which pushed on from the north toward Phœnicia; we are still without detailed accounts of the civilisation of Asia Minor at this early period.

The Canaanite Group

The real history of Canaan and Palestine begins for us with the immigration of the new inhabitants. These nations really developed themselves there, and on the soil of that land sustained the part they played in the world's history. Since during this time Canaan in its peculiar way was comparatively independent, we term this group, which alone has given a certain importance to the country, the Canaanite. We have assumed that this migration led also to the occupation of other countries—of Babylonia, and thus of the whole Euphrates valley—and not impossibly influenced early Egypt. In Canaan and Palestine we can distinguish two sections of this immigration—an older one, which, already settled at the time when our sources of information are more copious, had long been in possession of the towns, especially of the seaports; and a younger one, which at this very time was on the point of conquering the country. The former is called the Phœnician, after its chief representatives; the second, in conformity with the Bible and the Tell el-Amarna letters, the Hebraic group. While therefore we understand by the former almost all the tribes which immigrated first, and accordingly settled in the towns and on the sea coast, the latter comprises the section which the documents at our disposal distinguish as still migrating and conquering, and thus opposed to and at war with the former. The best known of these are the tribes which the Israelite national confederation comprised, the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites.

Israel's National Confederation

They spoke, on the whole, the same language; but the distinction between the two main groups is noticeable by differences of dialect. It is not improbable that the red-headed Amorites were not of true Semitic origin, but were Berbers, or Libyans, from Africa, possibly ultimately, like some of the Egyptians, of "proto-Semitic" affinities. They then represent a third element in the land—the Libyan or Kabyle—as distinct both from that of the Mediterranean and the Semitic.

Our present task is to treat the elder of the two Semitic groups, the settled group, according to our accounts. This contains, first and foremost, the inhabitants of the towns on the coast, the Phœnicians, as they were called by the Greeks. They immigrated into Canaan probably before the middle of the third millennium, B.C., and overran the country at first, until, pushed on by the masses following after them, they established themselves in the maritime district. The kindred tribes which pressed on after them are the Canaanites of the Bible, whom we then find, at the time of the Hebrews, in the towns of the interior, and of whom we hear nothing except their struggle with the "Hebrews."

The immigrating "Phœnicians" were naturally not a people under a uniform government and rule, but tribes which usually pressed forward independently, swept on by the general stream, pushing and being pushed, until the surviving fragment of them finally found in some place rest and settlements. There they distributed themselves among the various fortified towns, or the districts lying under their protection.

Phœnicians a Settled People

Thus they were not the founders of these towns, but took over what had been already achieved by the earlier population. Their destinies were those of settled nations. They entered into alliances with each other when their method of life brought them together; they separated when it kept them aloof. The Phœnicians proper are a settled people, and, as such, a product of the conditions which had forced them to settle permanently. Their individual groups did not migrate as compact units, and it was not until the new homes were reached that these combinations were formed.

We can distinguish some of these groups, taking them from north to south, which correspond in their main features to the important towns. The most northerly of the Phœnician states proper is Arvad. The towns lying to the north certainly belonged to it. Its exact site is known, and to the present day retains its name, Ruad. The town was situated on an island, as are Sidon and Tyre. As we go further towards the south, we come on Gebal, or Byblos, the modern Jebeil, built on the mainland, with the cult and temple of the "Ba'alat of Gebal." This town already existed before 2000 B.C., when it was

known to the Egyptians at the beginning of the twelfth dynasty as Kapuna, a name which it preserved always in Egyptian. South of this comes Beirut, a separate kingdom at the Tell el-Amarna period, afterwards usually joined to Gebal; it is never mentioned by the Assyrians. Then comes Sidon, also originally situated on an island. Its chief cult was that of Astarte, and it contained the acknowledged national sanctuary of the Phœnician tribes. Finally, the most southern state, Tyre, possessed the sanctuary of Melkart, Melek-kiryat, "King of the city," who was afterwards imported by the Tyrians into Greece as Melikertes of Corinth. More of the coast was also originally in the possession of kindred tribes; these, however, either did not, or could not, join the Phœnician tribal league. Even in the Tell el-Amarna period we find independent princes there, whom we must call, according to the Biblical designation, "Canaanites." But then these towns, so far as they did not belong to Tyre, like Akko, Dor, and Jaffa, were occupied by the Philistines, who were not of Semitic race at all, but European immigrants from the Ægean. Their connection with the Phœnician league was thus once for all frustrated. To these larger states belonged the separate small towns. These, in part originally occupied by portions of the tribes which conquered the chief towns, in part subdued in the natural course of affairs or by force, had been compelled to join them. Many of these may occasionally have had their "king," or some other form of self-government, though they never attained any importance.

Regime of Independent Princes

Of the four states of Arvad, Gebal, Sidon, and Tyre, not one ever extended its dominion beyond its own coast territory; thus their position was quite small, or even insignificant. The most influential of the four were Tyre and Sidon, and they were consequently always rivals. This rivalry led for a long period to the subjection of the one by the other—the kingdom of the "Sidonians," with its capital, Tyre. A union of all the Phœnicians, or even the subjugation of the hinterland, was never accomplished. There never was an empire of all Phœnicia.

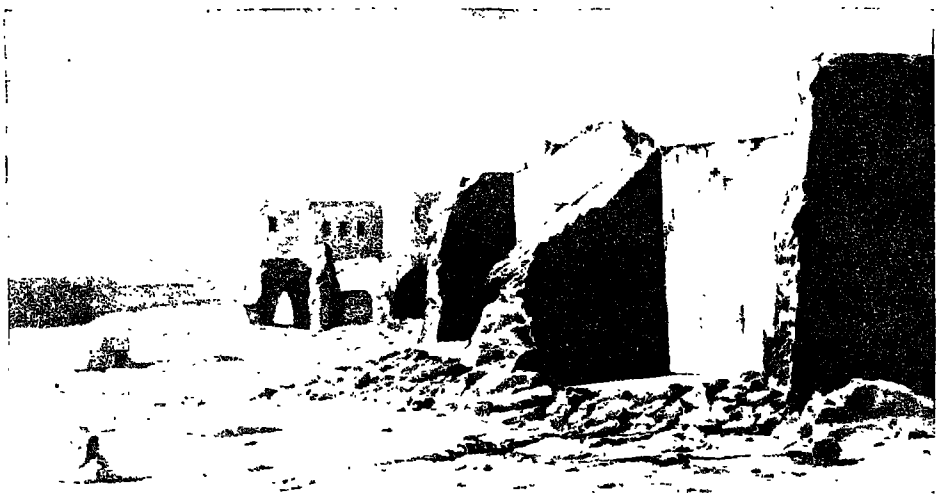
Only Sidon and Tyre attained any importance in the world's history, while the two northern states sank more and more into the background. We must not overestimate, however, the importance of the former; it was their reputation which made them prominent in comparison with the other two, rather than a conspicuously powerful position. They owe this reputation to the fact that precisely at the time when they appear on the horizon of the west—that is, when they came into touch with the Greeks—the Sidonian empire of Tyre was in existence, which was in reality somewhat superior to the others. Thus the name of the Sidonians and Tyrians is prominent after the ninth and eighth centuries. Two or three centuries previously there was not the slightest trace to be observed of it. In the Tell el-Amarna letters in the fifteenth century they are all equally petty, Sidon and Tyre perhaps more so than Gebal, and all alike threatened by the Amorites, who had then already occupied Arvad.

Eminence of Sidon and Tyre

Sidon must, however, have occupied a peculiar position. The "Phœnicians" were designated by the neighbouring peoples, as by the Israelites, by the collective name of Sidonians, and it is proved that they must have so called themselves, since the same appellation is found among the Greeks of the oldest period in Homer, and the kings of the united kingdom of Tyre and Sidon bore the title "King of the Sidonians." This does not imply merely the inhabitants of Sidon, but the entire people, so far as it was then a coherent whole. That designation shows that Sidon must have assumed a commanding position, which, in conformity with these conditions, can have been only that of a universally acknowledged federal sanctuary. This position is clearly demonstrated in the veneration which was shown to the sanctuary of Sidon, the famous temple of Astarte; it was for the Phœnicians somewhat the same as Delos or Dodona was for Greek races. This did not lead to any political supremacy any more than in Greece the common devotion of certain states to a certain deity meant the recognition by them all of any political supremacy of the state in whose territory the common sanctuary lay. On the contrary, the only case of a permanent subjugation of a considerable tract of the coast, which we shall have to notice, originated with Tyre.

The Famous Sanctuary of Sidon

The accounts of the earliest times are more than scanty. The traditions

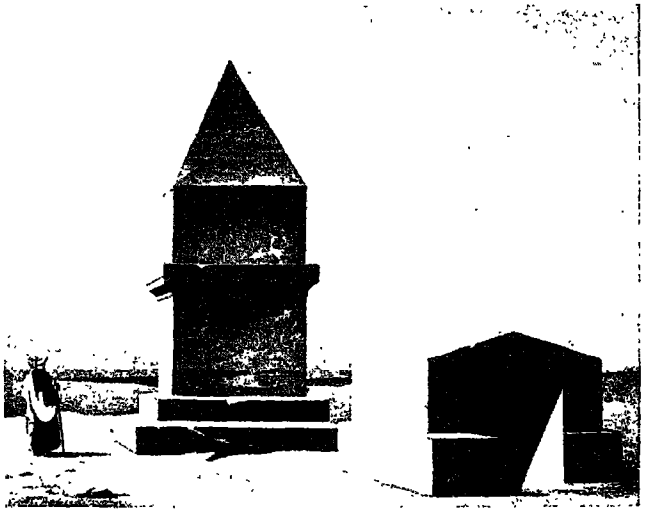


ALL THAT REMAINS TO-DAY OF ARVAD, ONE OF THE PHŒNICIAN STATES

The most northerly of the four Phœnician states was Arvad, now known as Ruad. It was situated on an island.

concerning Sargon of Agade and his western conquests at the beginning of the third millennium, though they have come down to us in documents of a late date, are probably trustworthy so far as they record his conquest of the Palestinian coast, and are evidence of Babylonian influence in that region. We have merely a few statements of the Sumerian patesi Gudea as to the intercourse of his country with the West. We require to realise the significance of this influence not less than that of the succeeding period, and must not judge it by the paucity of such records. Even then it is possible that ships put out to sea from the settlements which afterwards the Phœnicians occupied, and were the medium of intercourse with the West. The nameless inhabitants of this coast may even then have distributed the products of Babylonian civilisation to the rising peoples of the eastern Mediterranean.

A change in the situation was later produced by the immigration, which made the Phœnicians and their congeners lords of the land. It may have been this same immigration that brought Babylonia and Egypt also into the hands of Semitic "Canaanites," in Egypt called the "Hyksos." Thus during this period the bond of union with the great civilised country on the Euphrates had been drawn closer; on the other hand, intercourse was maintained with their kinsfolk in Egypt. It is thus intelligible how the influence of this connection meets us later in the civilising effects of the Tell el-Amarna period, and how the Palestinian chiefs, when subject to Egyptian rule, exchanged



PHŒNICIAN TOMB OF EGYPTIAN DESIGN

A Phœnician adaptation at Arvad of tombs at Memphis. It contained several stories, with chambers for the bodies. From a reconstruction by Ernest Renan.

with the Pharaoh letters written in cuneiform characters.

While the "Canaanite" rule in Babylonia was being ended by the Kassites, Egypt was in revolt against the barbarian Hyksos; and the revival of prosperity induced the Pharaohs to turn their attention to Palestine, which the Kassites, who met the opposition of the bands pressing forward from Asia Minor, had been obliged to leave to its fate. There now begins the period of the Egyptian rule which was founded by the kings of the eighteenth dynasty, notably Thothmes III., and lasted for a long time.

Under his successors, Amenophis III. and IV., we have in the Tell el-Amarna letters the most trustworthy documents as to the condition of Palestine under the Egyptian rule, and we can by their aid picture to ourselves the state of the country in the second millennium, the era into which the immigration of the second, or Hebrew, group of the Canaanite population falls. We possess some 300 of such letters, which were sent by princes of Syria and Palestine to the Pharaoh or his officials. All countries, so far as they acknowledged the Egyptian suzerainty, are represented in the collection. The most northern country, corresponding to the district of Aleppo, is Nukhashshi, which maintained a very independent attitude towards Egypt. There are letters from all the places there as far as the southern frontier of the country. All these letters are written in cuneiform, and composed in a language which may be described as Babylonian adapted to Phœnician, a lingua franca which employed the Babylonian vocabulary, but often modelled it on the laws of Phœnician, and constructed new forms, particularly in the conjugation of the verb, which is very distinct from the Babylonian.

We are now concerned chiefly with those states only—among the number represented in the letters—which lie to the west of Lebanon and further to the south in the territory of the subsequent kingdom of Israel. We will begin with the most important, the Phœnician. These states, like the whole land, were governed by their own native princes, under the sanction of the Pharaoh. No actual Egyptian administrators on the model of the Assyrian provinces were appointed. We may best call the established system an Egyptian "protectorate," as that will serve to give a picture of the local independence controlled by Egyptian residents and subject to state service which prevailed under the Pharaohs in the outlying lands of their empire.

The most northerly Phœnician town, Arvad, precisely at this time fell into the



PHŒNICIAN TOMBS AT ARVAD AFTER CHALDÆAN MODELS

Two chapel-tombs in the Phœnician cemetery at Arvad, with the Chaldæan round tower and cupola. Like the pictures on opposite page, the above was obtained by the official French mission to Phœnicia under Ernest Renan in 1862.

hands of a prince named Aziru, advancing from the hinterland. He is described as an Amorite. His rise determined the entire policy in Northern Phœnicia; for, being dissatisfied with Arvad, he advanced further toward the south, where the nearest state was Gebal—then the only one of any considerable extent—and conquered in the hinterland towns of the Beka'a, such as Tunip, perhaps Heliopolis-Baalbek, and, further to the north, Ni. He extended his territory northward as far as that of Nukhashshi. His career proves that we have to do with all the phenomena of a feudal state, and one without a strong superior lord. The Pharaoh indeed does not admit any obligation to secure tranquillity in the country. His vassals have the right of declaring war, and only when they declare themselves independent, or throw themselves into the arms of another great power, or are suspected of so doing, is there any excuse for taking active measures against them. Accordingly we find continual wars waged by one neighbouring prince against another, and each one tries to make the court consider his opponent disloyal. Suspicions thrown on the loyalty of others, and assurances of their own fidelity, with protests against the accusations of the others and requests for support against them—such matters compose the contents of the letters.



ASTARTE
The goddess of Sidon.

Aziru was a prince of tribes which first conquered the land, and so belonged to the later stratum of the great Canaanite immigration, and thus stood in natural opposition to the inhabitants already permanently settled. These latter we described as Phœnician, from their oldest and most powerful representatives; the former, as Hebrew, for, as in the Old Testament, "Hebrews" is the designation of the first tribes who immigrated, living in the open country and aspiring to the possession of the towns. That the Hebrews are the same as the tribes called in the letters of the Egyptian national archives "Khabiri" is doubtful, since the initial guttural is quite distinct in the two words, but is by no means impossible.

Aziru, advancing southward from Arvad, and conquering two or three small towns, among them Arka, ruled by princes of their own, which lay on his route, reduced to great straits the territory of Gebal, whence the prince, Rib-Adda, sent letter after letter to the Egyptian court asking for help. Sumur, or Simyra, a town on the coast north of Gebal and belonging to it, was captured, and Aziru invested Gebal itself without the Pharaoh's intervention. Rib-Adda went to Beirut to obtain assistance, and thus lost his throne to his brother, who did not relinquish it again. Aziru then advanced still further; he was indeed the ultimate cause of all the disorders in that country. At last, however, he was forced to appear at the court to answer for himself, and was kept under arrest. We possess a letter of condolence sent to him in Egypt by one of his loyal followers, which must have been intercepted by the Egyptians, since it was put among the records and preserved in the State archives. The Amorites, nevertheless, advanced still further. The oldest of the written documents of the Old Testament describes the original inhabitants of the Israelitish territory as Amorites.

Going southward from Gebal we come to Beirut, where Rib-Adda sought refuge with the king Ammunira, who seems to have been anxious not to quarrel either with Rib-Adda, who really had reposed trust in Egypt, or with his dangerous opponent. Zimrida, king of Sidon, gives little sign. We gather from the complaints of his neighbour, and thus his natural enemy, Abimilki or Abimelech of Tyre, that he made common cause with Aziru, and thus attempted to gain an advantage over his neighbour in Tyre. Things went very badly with the latter. He was besieged on his island and cut off from the mainland by Zimrida, who had secured the support of Aziru, so that he could not even draw water on the land. He tried to propitiate the Pharaoh by communicating all sorts of news from the country. Neither he nor Zimrida had any considerable territory, and there is no idea of the supremacy of the one or the other.

Further to the south, Akko had a prince of its own; it is often mentioned as a port for travellers to Egypt. Jaffa and Gaza, further on, were under one prince, and



VIEW FROM THE MAINLAND SHOWING THE ARTIFICIAL ISTHMUS



RUINS OF OLD SEA WALL: ALL THAT REMAINS OF ANCIENT TYRE



FROM THE MAINLAND SHOWING RUINS OF AQUEDUCT TO THE ISLAND

REMAINS OF THE ISLAND CITY AND KINGDOM OF ANCIENT TYRE

Askalon, between the two, under another We cannot decide whether these were already Philistines, immigrants from Crete; but their names do not look like those of Phœnicians and Canaanites, and the Greek tribe of the Danuna, or Danaans, are already mentioned as settled on the coast. The only one of the numerous princes of the hinterland that interests us is Abd-khiba, king of Jerusalem, not an hereditary prince, but one appointed by the Pharaoh. He is hard pressed by his neighbours Tagi, Milki-el, and the sons of Lapaia, and cannot find words to express the certainty that, if help is not brought to him, the country, which otherwise would be secured to the king, will inevitably fall into the hands of the Khabiri. A detailed description of the letters would take too long; a large number of well-known Biblical localities are specially mentioned as objects of these wars. The princes from a whole series of towns merely announce in short formal letters their readiness to submit to the royal commands and to put their troops at the disposal of the Egyptian general.

Abdkhiba King of Jerusalem

A remarkable document has been found in Tell Hesy, the ruined site of Lachish. Closely resembling the Tell el-Amarna letters in writing and appearance, it is a letter addressed to an Egyptian general, which announces the defection of two princes. The one of them is called Zimrida, like the Sidonian prince, and he is known to us, both by one of his letters from Tell el-Amarna and by his accounts of Abd-khiba, as king of Lachish. By a remarkable coincidence this isolated tablet was found in the excavations at Tell Hesy almost at the same time as the great discovery of archives in Egypt was made known. The discovery at Tell Hesy can be explained only on the ground that the letter of Zimrida had been intercepted.

The letters from Tell el-Amarna cover only a few years of the last period of Amenophis III. and of the beginning of the reign of his successor. All accounts lead us to conclude that the Egyptian power was not firmly established. It rested really more on the impotence and the discord of the innumerable petty princes than on the strength of Egypt. Rib-Adda, then, tries to traduce his rival Aziru, who is, he says, conspiring with the kings of Babylonia, Mitani, and the Kheta, and if he seizes the country, will hold it as a fief from them.

Rivalries of Petty Princes

In the disorders which ensued on the death of King Amenophis IV., Egyptian influence, especially in the north, was destroyed, and the land became dependent on the Kheta, whose advance we can ascertain even from the Tell el-Amarna letters. Shubbiluliuma their king, and his successors, Murshili and Muttalu, were bent upon the extension of their power over the whole of Northern Syria, and were only checked by the defeat of Khattushili by Ramses II. at Kadesh a century later. Babylonia could not extend her power to the west. She had in Assyria a perpetual opponent which diverted her attention. The kingdom of Mitani, which bulks so large in the Tell el-Amarna letters, was destroyed by Shubbiluliuma before the end of the reign of Amenophis IV. The Egyptian rule was therefore once more established in the thirteenth century B.C. by the repulse of the Kheta and the treaty made with them under Ramses II., who left a monument of his presence in Phœnicia in the shape of the stele of the Nahr el-Kelb. The picture presented by the land at this time thus presents the closest resemblance to that which was noticeable two centuries before, only that the bearers of other names played the parts of Rib-Adda, Aziru, Abd-khiba, etc. At that very time the tribes of Israel may have conquered their homes, and have combined into a tribal federation. In the north the Egyptian supremacy had once more been shaken off, and even in the south the princes turned to the Pharaoh only as a last resource, when they could not hold their position with their own forces. The eleventh century sees the conquests of the Philistines, immigrant from Crete and the Ægean, and the rise of the monarchies of Saul and David; the new millennium sees the kingdom of Damascus, when neither Egypt nor Assyria, which in the interval had come to the front, was powerful in Palestine. In the south merely banished princes like Hadad of Edom, or unsuccessful pretenders, like Jeroboam, sought an asylum, and sometimes saw their wishes realised by the arrival of an Egyptian army, as Jeroboam did.

Ramses the Great in Phœnicia

The four Phœnician states were still less affected by these circumstances than the countries in the interior, for the sea always gave them more independence, and the wealth which their trade procured

them lent them the strength to resist the Egyptian armies, or the means of securing their freedom by payments. Arvad had received a new population from the Amorite conquest, and we left Gebal when Aziru was on the point of subduing it. The Amorites by their further advance, as the subsequent dialect shows, apparently succeeded in winning this also. The two did not appreciably change their character in consequence; they remained maritime and commercial cities as before; but they were certainly detached from the old confederation of the Phœnicians or Sidonians. There is the additional fact that Egypt's power here in the north was less strong, so that these towns were forced to submit sooner



CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF THE RED-HEADED AMORITES OF CANAAN
The Phœnicians, Hebrews and Amorites were the principal immigrants into Canaan. It is not unlikely that the Amorites were not Semites, but Berbers or Libyans. From "The Struggle of the Nations," S.P.C.K.

than Tyre and Sidon to the powers pressing on from Syria. They will thus have been tributaries to the Kheta, or Hittites, at a time when Sidon and Tyre must have still remained loyal to the Pharaoh. When Tiglath-pileser was in Arvad, which had therefore acknowledged his suzerainty, the Pharaoh sent him presents, and thus maintained neighbourly relations with him as the lord of the southern country. We may assume a similar state of things quite soon afterwards between Egypt and Nebuchadnezzar I., when the latter, before his defeat by Ashur-resh-ishi, had occupied Palestine.

The eleventh century B.C., which shows the least traces of any encroachments on the part of Assyria and Egypt, was the period when large states might arise in Phœnicia without any hindrance. So the kingdoms of David and of Tyre and Sidon grew up. In the time of David and Solomon, Tyre had already assumed the leading place. Its princes styled themselves "kings of the Sidonians"; they dominated Sidon as well as the whole coast, so far as it still belonged to the confederation of the "Sidonians"—that is to say, all except the northern states. If the term "Empire of the Phœnicians" can ever be used, it is applicable at this period. We really do not know much beyond the little which the Bible tells us of the relations of Solomon to Hiram. We know that Hiram and his father Abi-baal did the most for the extension of their "kingdom." If a reading in Josephus is correctly restored, Hiram founded Kition in Cyprus, which means that he captured the town with its inhabitants, and installed a Tyrian governor there. Kition is, however, mentioned by the Egyptians, with other Cyprian cities, as early as the time of Ramses III. (1150 B.C.), who speaks of the countries of Salanies-ki, or Salamis, Katian, or Kition, Aimare, or Marion, Sali, or Soloi, and Ital, or Idalion, together. The *ki* at the end of the name of Salamis may be accounted for on the supposition that the Egyptian scribe was transliterating from a cuneiform original, and had inadvertently transliterated the city-sign *ki* after the name Salames. These names are all in very much their Greek form: were Aryan-speaking Greeks already settled in Cyprus as early as the twelfth century?

In the Tell el-Amarna period (1400 B.C.) Cyprus was the seat of a kingdom of Alashia, the king of which conducted a correspondence with Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV., and even then was supplying them with copper. He also wrote in "Babylonian," and used cuneiform characters. Nothing is certain as to his nationality, but that he was "Greek" is highly improbable, though he may have been "Minoan"; no Phœnician name appears among the few mentioned. Indeed, it does not seem as if a Phœnician population had by that time assumed a commanding position in the island. Its seizure by Hiram three hundred years later would, therefore, mark the first foundation of Phœnician influence there. As is usual in such cases, the captured town Kition was "refounded," as the Assyrian expression is, and received a new name, in this case Kartikhadasti, or "New Town," the same, therefore, as the "New Town," or Carthage, in Africa. The island of Cyprus, which now became subject to the kingdom of Tyre and Sidon, was thenceforth administered partly as a Tyrian province under governors, partly by tributary kings of the separate towns. This must have been the most important possession of the Tyro-Sidonian kingdom; we can hardly entertain the idea that any of the African colonies were dependent. The splendour of the new kingdom found expression in Oriental fashion by the erection of new and magnificent buildings on the island of Tyre.

Cyprus Before the Phœnicians

We are indebted to an abstract by Josephus from the Annals of Menander, the Greek-writing historian of the Phœnicians, from whom these accounts are also taken, for the record of the most valuable facts about the reigns of the subsequent kings; being extracted from the Tyrian archives they have a claim to be reproduced in spite of their vagueness. According to them, after Hiram his son Baal-azar reigned seven or seventeen years, about 970–953 B.C., and then his son Abd-ashtoreth for nine years. He was murdered by the "four sons of his nurse," one of whom, Methu-ashtoreth, became king and reigned twelve years. He was followed by his brother Asterymus for nine years; the latter was murdered by his brother Phelles, who held the power for eight months. Nothing is said as to the motive for the rebellion of the brothers, nor does it appear what revolution was signified by their accession to power.

From the Archives of Tyre

Phelles was overthrown by Ithobal, the "Priest of Ashtoreth," who reigned thirty-two years, about 900 B.C. Even in this instance it is not known how the internal conditions affected this change, especially how far any antagonism between the two capitals, Tyre and Sidon, may have contributed to it. Ithobal is also mentioned in the Bible; Jezebel, the wife of Ahab, was his daughter. Then followed his descendants, Baal-azar, six years, Metten, nine years, and Pygmalion, forty-seven years — until about 800 B.C. Josephus draws up his list so far after Menander, since Carthage is said to have been "founded" under Pygmalion, and he makes a point of settling this date at the place in question. In any case it is certain that the dynasty of Ithobal held the power for a long period. The story of Dido and the foundation of Carthage have been connected with the revolution in which Pygmalion killed the husband of his sister, the priest of Ashtoreth. Since there is no need to doubt the historical nucleus of the story, we may well assume that the high-priest, connected by marriage with the king and probably otherwise related, had attempted to seize the throne, but had been defeated in the attempt. Thus it was a struggle of the priesthood against the monarchy, an incident common in the East and observable at this same period in Israel and Judah.

Priesthood Against Monarchy

We can extract very little from the notices of Josephus, derived from Menander, as to the relations existing between Tyre and Sidon. With the rise to power of Abi-baal, Tyre becomes the ruling city, while Sidon, the seat of the universally acknowledged cult, and thus enjoying a religious prestige, is in reality the subject city. It is conjectured that in the two revolutions just mentioned this position was to some extent affected. Our accounts do not inform us whether the "Empire" still continued to exist under these circumstances, or whether a fresh separation of the two states resulted. At any rate, the Assyrian accounts from the period after Ithobal speak of the two towns as separate. Shalmaneser II., both in 842 and 839 B.C., mentions the Sidonians and the Tyrians (under Pygmalion

therefore) as paying tribute separately. As, then, Ithobal in the Bible is still termed "King of the Sidonians," a separation must have taken place in the interval between 900 and 800 B.C.

Adad-nirari III. speaks of Tyre and Sidon as two states; his expedition towards the west must have taken place soon after Pygmalion's death. Assyria, perhaps, had favoured and brought about a separation of the two states on the principle "divide et impera." Tradition places the "foundation of Carthage" about 845 B.C.—namely, at the time when Shalmaneser, after 854 B.C., waged war in the west with Damascus; in 842 B.C. Sidon, Tyre, and Jehu of Israel paid him tribute. On the basis of similar circumstances it may be supposed that the intrigues in Tyre between Pygmalion and his brother-in-law had been carried on with the support of Assyria. Sidon would thus have probably acquired its independence as regards Tyre through the support of Assyria, and would have lost it when help was not forthcoming; at least, that happened again in 701 B.C. At the time when Assyria could not interfere in the west the old conditions had been restored. When Tiglath-pileser again appeared here in 738 B.C., he recognised only a king of Tyre, and none of Sidon, which accordingly must have been once more subject to Tyrian supremacy.

Sidon Subject to Tyre

The territory of the empire was, however, restricted then by the Assyrian province created by Tiglath-pileser in 732 B.C., which, comprising several of the northern Phœnician towns, Simirra, Arka, and the district of Lebanon, had been entrusted to his son and acknowledged successor, Shalmaneser. Hiram II., then king, always paid his tribute and avoided any misunderstanding with Assyria. Metten II. must have succeeded him about the year 730 B.C. He let things go so far as a war with Assyria, but was soon brought to reason by an Assyrian army in the year 729 B.C., and had to dip deeply into his well-filled coffers in order to purchase peace.

Metten had not a long reign, and possibly his submission to Assyria led to his fall. In the year 727 B.C., that is, shortly after the death of Tiglath-pileser, Elulæus, as the account of Menander preserved by Josephus calls him, or Luli, as Sennacherib afterwards calls him, suspended the payment of tribute. Shalmaneser is said to have marched towards Tyre, but consented to conclude peace; this is equivalent to saying that Luli declared his readiness to resume payment of tribute. We then have a further, but not very clear, account by Sargon, who says briefly that "he had hauled the Yavna (Ionians) like fish out of the midst of the sea, and had thereby procured peace for Tyre and Kue, or Cilicia." This obviously refers to a repression by the Phœnicians under Assyrian leadership of the piratical attacks of the Greek Ionians, now in the heyday of their "young, light-hearted" mastery of the waves, and spreading colonies along all the shores of the Mediterranean.

Rise of Grecian Sea Power

When the West rose after the death of Sargon, Luli in Phœnicia and Hezekiah in the hinterland were the leaders round whom the insurgents rallied. But then, as usual, there was no organised resistance, and all the towns, with the exception of Tyre, surrendered to the Assyrians without more ado. Sennacherib enumerates on this occasion the kings of Phœnicia, and thus affords us a welcome insight into the existing conditions. There were Menathem of Shams-maron, an otherwise unknown and unimportant Phœnician town, Abd-le'at of Arvad, and Uru-melek of Gebal. All the towns of the kingdom of Tyre and Sidon were seized without difficulty. Sennacherib mentions Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bet-Zaiit, Sarepta, Makhalliba, Ushu, opposite the island of Tyre, Ekdippa, or Akhzib, and Akko. Tyre itself was unsuccessfully besieged, a fact about which Sennacherib naturally is silent: but we know of it from Menander, who tells us that even the Phœnician ships of Sennacherib were destroyed by the Tyrians. Luli himself fled to Cyprus, that is, to Kition, in order to wait there for a favourable opportunity of returning to Tyre, which still held out. He must, however, have died soon after, whether in Kition or after a return to Tyre, we do not know. Sennacherib is very reticent on these events. In his record of the year 700 B.C., the account of Luli's death is still missing, but occurs in the next record of 691 B.C. The most probable explanation would be that Luli came back quietly after the withdrawal of the Assyrians, and took steps to regain his lost territory.

Tyre Besieged by Assyrians

Sennacherib had meanwhile taken advantage of the enmity between Sidon and Tyre to secure his own influence. He set up Thubaal, or Ithobal II., as "King of the Sidonians" in Sidon, who received the whole maritime district of the empire of Sidon and Tyre, with the exception of the unconquered island of Tyre. This was of course tantamount to a declaration of war between the two cities or states, and Assyria secured the part of arbitrator. At first, indeed, Sennacherib was still occupied elsewhere, and he died while engaged on the task, so that he did not even chastise Jerusalem. Besides that, the advance of Tirhakah in Egypt brought a new opponent into the field, from whom Tyre and Sidon could find support.

Enmity Between Tyre and Sidon

The precise details of the events at this time are not clear. Contrary, however, to what might have been expected, we find Sidon rebelling against Assyria at the beginning of Esarhaddon's reign in 680 B.C. Abd-milkot, in all probability the successor of Ithobal II., who had been set on the throne in 701 B.C., was forced to abandon the town, and met his death two years later with his confederate Sanduarri. Sidon itself was completely destroyed. From Esarhaddon's account we gather that hitherto it had been situated on an island; this island is the part of the modern town which juts out into the sea, and thus at that time must have been separated from the mainland by a narrow strip of water. Esarhaddon ordered the town to be absolutely demolished, and a new city to be built as the capital of the newly constituted province of Sidon, according to the usual custom, in "another place"—that is, on the mainland opposite. This Assyrian town, of course, was called by the inhabitants Sidon, and became the nucleus of the later Sidon. But the destruction of the city was of grave moment for the Phœnicians, since their national sanctuary was obliterated and Sidon ceased to be the seat of the ruling religion. According to a tradition, which probably refers to this event, the gods were then carried off in safety to Tyre. Thus Tyre, from being the political centre, now became the religious centre of the Sidonians, while their old federal city was destroyed, and its name was borne by the capital of an Assyrian province, where sacrifices were offered to Ashur and not to Ashtoreth, or Eshmun. It was only under the Persian rule that Sidon, like Jerusalem, regained its independence. After that there were again kings of Sidon. But during these and later times there are proofs, both from names and in other ways, that the worship of the Assyrian gods obtained there. The new Sidon presented the same features as Samaria, a town of Babylonian "Cuthæan" inhabitants with their native cults. Just as Samaria was a rival to Jerusalem, so Sidon afterwards disputed with Tyre the precedence belonging to the highest antiquity; that is, according to the ideas of the time, it disputed which of the cities could claim the honour of sheltering the gods, to whom the land of the "Sidonians" belonged.

Sidon Falls to Assyria

After the territory of Sidon had become an Assyrian province, Phœnician history is limited to the kingdom of Tyre. The fact that such a kingdom existed, and that it still possessed territory to lose proves that in the meantime Luli, or a successor, operating from Tyre, must have recovered the territory on the mainland which belonged to the town. Whether Kition was lost in the interval or not is doubtful, for Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal mention a special king of Kartikhadasti, Dumusi. It can hardly, therefore, be assumed that the whole island had meanwhile come into the hands of Greeks, for Dumusi is not a Greek name. But all the other kings of Cyprus at this time were Greeks. Ten kings tendered their homage to Esarhaddon; besides the Semite Dumusi they are Aigisthos (in Assyrian "Ekishtusu") of Idalion, Pythagoras (Pilagura) of Chytroi, Keisos, or Kissos (Kesu), of Salamis, Etewandros (Etuandar) of Paphos, Heraios (Eresu) of Soli, Damasos (Damasu) of Kurion, Admetos (Admezu) of Tamassos, Onesagoras (Unasagusu) of Ledra, and Pytheas (Putsuzu) of Nure.

Sidon Lost to Phœnicia

At Tyre, King Ba'al, presumably Luli's successor, was at first loyal to Esarhaddon and actually accompanied him on his first Egyptian expedition. But then he allied himself with Tirhakah evidently in the hope of gaining by this the territory of Sidon. Esarhaddon, therefore, during the campaign in 673 B.C., sent a detachment of his army against Tyre; this force occupied Ushu on the

mainland, and constructed moles opposite the island, which cut off all communication with the land, while the harbour was blockaded from the sea. The island of Tyre itself held out until the news of Tirhakah's expulsion. Ba'al then tendered his submission, but was allowed to retain only his island. On the news of the return of Tirhakah he rejoined him at once, so that the siege by the Assyrians was hardly interrupted. When, in 688 B.C.—now under Ashurbanipal—Tirhakah was again driven out, he submitted as before and had finally to consent to see his "kingdom" limited to his own small island. But opposite it, on the mainland in Ushu, was the seat of the Assyrian governor of the province Tyre, which comprised the territory of Tyre. Thus there was even less left of Hiram's empire than of Solomon's. There, at any rate, in addition to Jerusalem, there were two or three country towns, but here a man could walk round the whole "empire" in half an hour; in fact, it was not possible to fetch water without the sanction of the Assyrian governor. This was a state of things which must have perpetually fostered the wish for an insurrection. Just as in Jerusalem, so here there was a party, which was always urging defection, and made the king, who for good or for evil was forced to incur the odium attaching to a loyal subject of Assyria, feel his petty crown uneasy and full of thorns. The promises of Shamash-shum-ukin certainly found some response in Tyre, and in the "forties" of the seventh century B.C. a rebellion in the province actually broke out; it was, however, easily suppressed by Ashurbanipal and ended with the severe chastisement of Ushu and Akko.

The Tiny "Empire" of Tyre

Thus, the aspirations to regain the old power were not realised, so long as the power of Assyria lasted. Then came the great downfall, and with it the attempt by Necho of Egypt to build up his power out of the ruins. At Tyre advantage was taken of this opportunity to gain a footing once more on the mainland. The attempt met with little success, and when Necho was vanquished it was seen that Nebuchadnezzar was not disposed to concede favourable terms to the conquered. Another revolt followed under Ithobal III., the next king of Tyre, with whose name we are already acquainted. According to the account given by Josephus, Tyre was besieged for thirteen years, from 598 to 585 B.C., without any result. No doubt, hopes were entertained of Egyptian help, but as vainly as at Jerusalem. But even this time there was no capture of the city, although it was confidently expected: a fact to which the well-known hymn in Ezekiel xxvii. gives expression; Tyre by its position could defy the siege tactics of the Assyrians and Babylonians. It was thus once more saved from the fate of Jerusalem, and the island retained its own government. Its commerce enabled the city to pay the tribute punctually.

Island Independence Maintained

The records of the ensuing period are as follow: Ba'al II. succeeded Ithobal, reigning ten years; then came five Judges, each for a few months only, and a king, Balatorus, between them. Clearly we must assume a period of disorders, and various attempts by pretenders to usurp the power. Finally, a petition was sent to Neriglissar that Merbaal, obviously a member of the royal family, who lived, like so many other princes' sons, as a hostage at the court of Babylon, should be appointed king: the request was granted. He reigned four years; after him, at a similar request, his brother Hiram III. was nominated king, and reigned for twenty years. In the fourteenth year of his reign Babylon fell, and Tyre had a new suzerain.

Cyrus of Persia abandoned the Assyrian policy of provincial government by officials; he left to the towns and states the management of their home affairs, and made them subject only to the supreme authority of the satraps. Accordingly, in cases where a confiscation had already begun, but all possibility of the restoration of a national constitution had not disappeared, he restored the old régime. The most familiar example is Jerusalem; another is Sidon. Even Tyre must have derived a certain degree of benefit from the new policy, since it was allowed to recover its territory on the mainland.

New Life for Tyre and Sidon

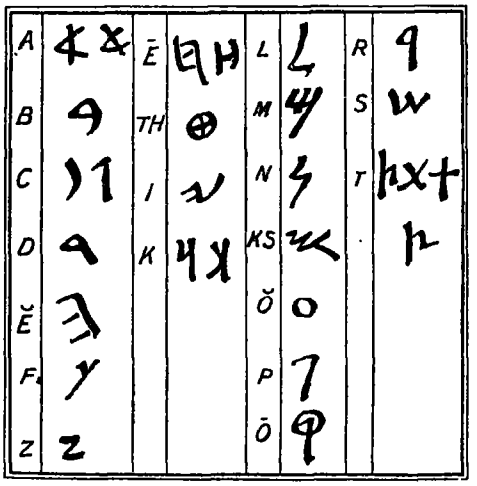
Thus there was once more the two states of Tyre and Sidon as close neighbours. The events of the intervening period had meanwhile obliterated the antagonism between "Sidonians" proper and North Phœnicians. The northern states, which had never ventured on a

revolt, had suffered less severely; Tyre and Sidon, which had been forced to pay so dear a price for their efforts at independence, were now like these, completely dependent on the Great King, although enjoying their own government. In addition to this, the differences between the component parts of the population had in the course of centuries been mitigated. Thus the similarity of their positions might well contribute toward their reappearance as a united people. Now, under the Persian rule, there existed once again the condition which we were able to assume only during a prehistoric age, one people from Arvad to Akko, which was regarded as united, and considered itself to a certain degree also as homogeneous. They are the "Phœnicians" in opposition to the old "Sidonians." The remaining history of Phœnicia occupies so brief a space that we may conveniently give it here, instead of deferring it in accordance with our chronological plan.

Phœnicia Under Persia

Now, as before, there were the four kingdoms of Arvad, Gebal, Sidon, and Tyre, as well as occasionally some smaller ones with which we have also already become acquainted. Gebal was less prominent. As the representative of the Northern Phœnicians, we find Arvad. This fact is supported by the otherwise not very trustworthy story about Tripolis, which was said to have been the federal metropolis of the three ruling states—Tyre, Sidon, and Arvad. Sidon and Tyre, as the nearest neighbours, and living on recollections of the past, continued their old rivalry. This opposition finds a sentimental expression in the dispute between the two as to the greater antiquity, which carried with it the honour of being the capital. Under the new conditions there is no longer any idea of a Phœnician "kingdom," even on the scale of Hiram's kingdom. The separate states were now only what it suited Persian policy to make them. Persia could have no interest in leaving them more freedom and unity than was necessary in order to gain wealthy tribute-payers. On the other hand, the efforts of the separate states were naturally directed towards the acquisition of the greatest possible degree of independence; and their self-government afforded them more opportunities of exercising an independent policy than would have been the case under the provincial administration. Still they had to coin money according to the Persian standard, with a figure of the Great King in his chariot on the coins, and often a little figure of an Egyptian king walking in humility after him—a visible reminder to the Phœnicians not to put their trust in Egypt, itself now a Persian province. The Persian supremacy, however, was not a very satisfactory guarantee that their territorial rights would be protected. They had to defend themselves against the attacks of neighbours in two ways—by warding them off with their own forces, or by gaining their cause at court. This latter procedure was costly, for intercession at court, as we know from the Tell el-Amarna time onward, entailed lavish presents even in Susa. Persian help was given in return, as Assyrian help had been given before, for the recovery of Cyprus, which was effected through the treachery of the Greek king Stasanor, in 497 B.C. A peculiar rôle, which was indistinctly conducive to their independent position, was assigned to the Phœnicians under the Persian supremacy as previously under the Assyrian. They had to furnish the fleets with which Persia enforced her oversea policy, and which the Persians themselves were as incapable as the Assyrians of constructing. Thus Phœnician ships formed a large part of the Persian armadas at Lade and Salamis.

End of Phœnician Kingdom



THE WORLD'S FIRST ALPHABET

To the Phœnician intellect is due the evolution of the first alphabet, illustrated above. Arabic equivalents are given on the left in the order of the Greek alphabet.

Sidon seems soon to have risen to its former prosperity. It made overtures to Athens and concluded treaties of amity with her. A large Sidonian colony was settled in the Piræus; some of the rare Phœnician inscriptions are known to us from this source. Sidon suffered a severe blow in the year 351 B.C., when it was chastised by Artaxerxes Ochus as a penalty for the part taken by it in the Egyptian revolt. By this event Tyre regained the ascendency. Shortly before it had been distinctly retrograding; indeed, that very Tyre which once had dominated Cyprus had actually become tributary to King Euagoras of Cyprus. We thus find Tyre, thirty years later, the only Phœnician town which offered resistance to Alexander, while Sidon, "from hatred of the Persians," gladly welcomed him.

There must have been peculiar circumstances attending this resistance of Tyre to Alexander the Great, who for the first time conquered and destroyed the city. Tyre did not imperil its existence from any loyalty to Persia. The reason is not far to seek. Sidon had from the outset gained over the new lord, and Tyre was destined to lose some of its independence. Alexander had indeed wished to offer the sacrifices in the temple of Melkarth. This request was refused; for by so doing he would have been declared king of Tyre. Was Tyre in any way deprived of its self-government, possibly in favour of Sidon? The course and the end of the siege are familiar. It left perhaps a permanent result, for the mole which Alexander ordered to be built is said to have connected Tyre for all time with the mainland, since the sea silted up more and more land on each side. From the new state of things Sidon in fact at first derived advantage. Some inscriptions of kings of Sidon, dating from the period of the early Ptolemies, inform us how at that time Tyre had taken the lead.

Alexander Destroys Tyre

With Alexander we have come to a time when ancient Nearer Asia has played out its part. After this it was subject to the dominion of Græco-Roman civilisation. The Phœnician states, at no time politically important, continued to exist on the old footing, prosecuting their commerce in the midst of petty jealousies. Their history runs precisely in the same grooves, so long as anything at all remained of the Ancient East.

The Phœnicians, or "Sidonians," were the Semitic people with whom the Greeks in their competition for the Mediterranean trade first came into close contact. They must have appropriated from them many achievements of Oriental culture. Since in their eyes the owners and the founders of towns were the same, the possessors of the sea-ports, which commanded the routes into the interior, seemed to them a people of an importance; which might flatter the conceit of the Phœnicians, it is true, but can hardly be substantiated in the light of history. We have become acquainted with Phœnicia as a narrow strip of coast, insufficient to allow a people to develop any constitutional greatness. This also excludes any possibility that a national civilisation can ever have been evolved here by the side of the civilisation of the other great states. The merchant facilitates the exchange of the productions of civilisation; in his home, as the focus of intercourse, much may also be produced which assumes a peculiar character as a result of the different forms of mental and industrial activity known there. But if a civilisation is to grow up with a natural development and is to reflect the character of people and country, it is necessary that this civilisation be indigenous, or at any rate, in harmony with racial feeling. And Phœnician culture bore no very national and characteristic impress. Its art was composed chiefly of Egyptian and Babylonian elements tastelessly mingled together; even the gods were represented as half Egyptian, half Assyrian. This art was transplanted to Cyprus, and mingled there with Greek elements, which resulted in an extraordinary mixture. Left to themselves, as at Carthage, the Punic race produced a miserable art, without character or distinction.

Culture of Phœnicia

In the case of the Phœnicians also, we must raise our often repeated lament that up to the present so little is known which can afford us any real insight into their life at the time of their true development. The mere absence of excavation may be in other instances to blame, but on Phœnician soil this prospect holds out little promise. It almost seems as if the continuously inhabited places, where Phœnician magnificence flourished, had retained less evidences of the antiquity

Phœnician Soil Unexcavated

with which we are now concerned than those of other centuries, where the piled-up heaps of débris have loyally preserved their treasures for the explorer's spade. No large building and no site of a town of the Phœnician time are known to us in their former condition; no lengthy inscription or other document speaks to us as yet in the words with which a Phœnician of the year 1000 B.C. composed it in his own language and style. The "invention"—or rather it should be called "evolution"—of alphabetic writing, which through the Greek alphabet has become the mother of all European writing, is generally regarded as the peculiar property of the Phœnician intellect. We might conceivably look in Babylonia for the home of an alphabetical writing, the phonetics and principles of which were used for a Semitic language. In fact a number of peculiarities in the alphabet show that it must have been influenced considerably by Babylonian philology. But that the alphabet is of Babylonian origin is not probable. Probably the alphabet first developed in Phœnicia, and passed thence on one side to Greece, on the other to the Aramæans and Mesopotamia. The real basis of the Phœnician alphabet would seem to be one of the many systems of linear signs that were current from early times in the Mediterranean basin: we find them in Egypt very often. It is quite conceivable that the Phœnicians had inherited some such system from their non-Semitic predecessors, and that though for a time they used the cuneiform script, at some period about 1000 B.C. the old "signary" came into general use for commercial purposes as being less cumbrous than the foreign system of wedge-writing. But naturally the use of cuneiform had its effect on the development of the alphabet. The Phœnicians were probably the inventors of alphabetic writing, just as the commercial towns of our era are the leaders of the intellectual and technical development of modern times.

Invention of the Alphabet

Purple of Phœnicia

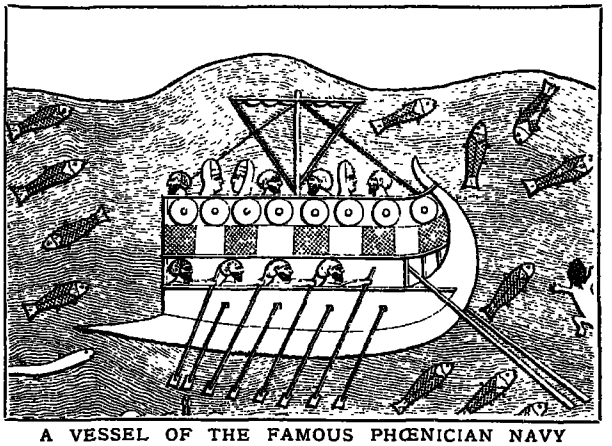
It is impossible to ascertain accurately the significance of the manufacture of purple by the Phœnicians. Tradition never differentiates between the inventor and the supplier; and it is uncertain what is the meaning of the Phœnician production of purple. We do not yet possess any notices of this valuable commodity from the times of Ancient Babylonia. The Assyrians allude to it under the same name as the Phœnicians, *argamannu* for scarlet, *takiltu* for dark purple; but whether the names and thus the idea are originally "Phœnician." must remain a moot point. A very definitely adverse verdict must be given with regard to the other invention attributed to them, that of glass; this attribution is a mere piece of later ignorance. Glass was an invention of the Egyptians, which passed from them to the Phœnicians, who probably made the glass found at Nineveh. Later on, the invention passed to Greece and Italy.

The celebrated Phœnician towns, Tyre and Sidon at the head, were indeed, according to our notions, absurdly small places. Tyre and Sidon on their islands were restricted to an incredibly narrow space, not larger than that of a good-sized public garden in the middle of our large cities. The size of the harbours in both these places of world-commerce quite confirms this view. An ordinary modern three-master would not be able to turn in them, even if it actually sailed in; the small basins with the narrow inlet were intended to receive only vessels which we should term boats. Yet these were the famous ships of Tyre, Sidon, and Tharshish, which navigated the Mediterranean in all directions.

The Tiny Navy of Phœnicia

It is satisfactorily proved that Phœnician trade nevertheless had the same importance for the civilised world of Nearer Asia as the present emporia in the west have for the commerce that includes our own world. We have demonstrated, as in Etruria from excavations, the traces of this trade in countries which it embraced. The evidences for it are based on direct observation, and therefore give us a trustworthy representation of the significance of these seaports for their civilised world. We find in Isaiah songs about Sidon—chapter xxiii., where originally Sidon was meant and only at a later period Tyre was understood by it—and in Ezekiel xxvii. one about Tyre. The sumptuous products which the trade of that time to the coasts of the Mediterranean and with Arabia are recorded to have supplied, always found a ready market; the inland dwellers of the Nearer East and the Semitic barbarian of the

hinterlands of those coasts willingly gave what they had for such marvels. We know that already in the time of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties in Egypt trade between the Nileland and Greece, as well as Phœnicia, was carried by sea in Phœnician bottoms; the Egyptians were no sailors, and the Greeks of that period seem to have been warriors rather than traders. Later on, when the "Mycenæan" culture of Greece proper, succeeding the civilisation of "Minoan" Crete, had in its turn been overthrown, and Greece returned temporarily to barbarism, the Phœnicians had taken advantage of the opening thus afforded for their commerce in the Ægean. There, however, their commercial predominance was of short duration. The Ionian Greeks began, after no long interval, to bestir themselves, and by the eighth century B.C. the Phœnicians seem already to have been ousted by the Greeks from the northern coasts of the Mediterranean.



A VESSEL OF THE FAMOUS PHŒNICIAN NAVY

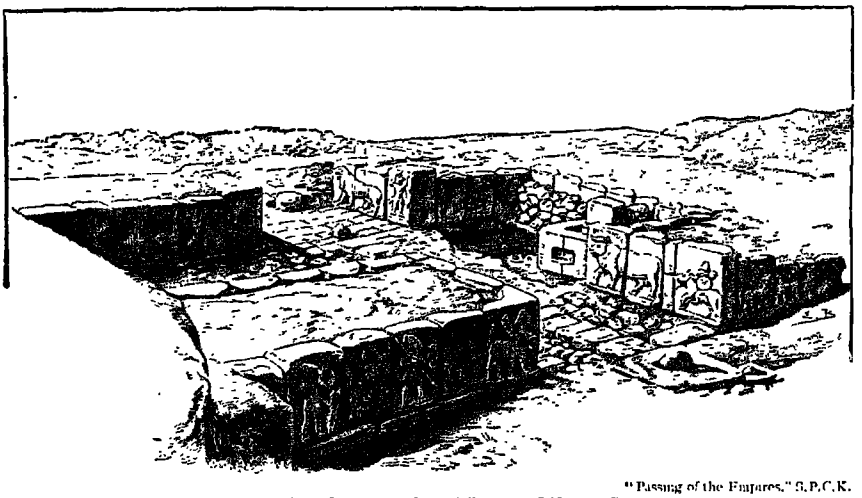
Phœnicia was essentially a maritime state, and her famous navies, composed of tiny vessels we should call boats, navigated the Mediterranean in all directions and were used by Egypt and other ancient nations.

Anything else that is recorded of their valiant exploits at sea is untrustworthy. Their ships may have penetrated as far as the Cassiterides in order to bring back tin. But in the first place we can never know what part the "West Phœnicians," the Pœni, or Carthaginians, had in this; and secondly, the regular trade-communications never went far beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. Many bold enterprises ascribed to them, such as the circumnavigation of Africa, starting from the Red Sea, which is said to have been undertaken at the instance of Necho, must have been carried out by Phœnician merchants. But the sphere where the Phœnicians commanded the trade was only a part of the Mediterranean, and in this connection we must always make an allowance for the share of the Carthaginians, who formed a distinct nation.

The few data that we have for our knowledge of Phœnician culture tell us but little. The country offered splendid material for magnificent buildings in the alabaster of Lebanon, which the Assyrians fetched from Nineveh. The Phœnicians, however, conforming to Egyptian architecture, employed granite and syenite. The numerous pillars found on Phœnician soil are of this material, which, it is clear, must have been laboriously procured from Egypt.

Almost all the productions of an early period—between 1500–1000 B.C.—which we have from Phœnicia, are purely Egyptian: so long then as Egypt was supreme, the Phœnicians appear merely to have adopted the technique of the ruling country. Some later products of the sculptor's art display, indeed, a "Phœnician" style; whether this, however, was a peculiarity of the Phœnicians, or whether it ought not rather to be described as Canaanite and placed on a level with the Aramæan, is one of those questions that are best left unanswered.

The dependence on Egypt during the early period, and the formation of an Egyptian style, are perhaps visible in the architecture, in the more lavish use of the pillar, which in the Euphrates country was rarely, if ever, found. The Assyrian kings after Tiglath-pileser IV. always mention that they had adorned their palaces with an edifice, which was called in the language of the Phœnicians Bit-khilani, "Khilani-house," after the model of a "Khatti-palace" (Phœnicia is included under the term Khatti, or Kheta, country). This Bit-khilani was a gateway decorated with pillars, which served as a place for all the public business of the king; it was the royal yamên, the "sublime porte." A representation of the temple of Baalat of Gebal on coins of the Roman Imperial era



"Passing of the Empires," S.P.C.K.

THE "SUBLIME PORTE" OF PHŒNICIA

Phœnician and Syrian palaces were adorned with a gateway, called a Bit-khilani, decorated with pillars, which served as a place for the king's public business. This shows the foundations of one at Senjirli.

shows a similar gateway. The culture of the Phœnician towns, so far as it was not the inheritance of a period still withdrawn from our knowledge and subject to the supremacy of Babylon, or did not consist in an imitation of Egyptian productions, can, after all that we have proved as to its political unimportance, lay no claim to an independent evolution. The hinterland, which came into less direct contact with the two predominating civilised countries, Egypt and Babylonia, was naturally still less subject to the influence of those civilisations, however little Egyptian life may have penetrated into the Phœnician towns. This is most clearly expressed in the religion. The conceptions of the Phœnicians as a group of the "Canaanite immigration" are distinguishable in no respect from those of the other Canaanites, as we know them from the Old Testament and other scattered accounts. Here, again, anything which can be put down to the previously existing institutions of an earlier "Semitic Babylonian" population is problematical, and for the present insufficiently proved. If we compare the Babylonian cults before and after the Canaanite immigration, we find that the worship of the stars—that is, the special reverence for the sun and moon, which we observed in the valley of the Euphrates—was less general in Canaan and Phœnicia. We can at least conjecture that this was a Sumerian inheritance in Babylonia, and was therefore unknown in Palestine originally. If we find in the place-names of Canaan such as Bet-Shemesh, "House of the Sun," traces of such a cult, its origin may be looked for in the Babylonian period, or it may be of Egyptian origin; at any rate, the sidereal bodies played no part as ruling powers comparable to that of Sin and Shamash in the sphere of Babylonian civilisation.

The characteristic of the Canaanite religion is a Dualism, which distinguished the two sexes, represented by the male Baal and the female Baalat. Of these the female divinity meets us mostly under the name of Ashtoreth, or Astarte, the Babylonian Ishtar. The male divinity, originally distinct in different tribes and nations, appears under special names. Ramman, Rimmon, or Haddad, who must have been peculiar to a tribal group, which preponderated in Mesopotamia and Babylonia, and, to judge by its early appearance was one of the first, is among the most celebrated. Dagon, who was much venerated on the Palestinian coast, was a foreign Philistine god, akin to the ἅλιος γέρων ("Old Man of the Sea") of the Greeks.

The chief deity of the Semitised Canaanites was "the lord" Baal, the male principle of nature. Each separate tribe retained his name for the original Baal-conception and established his worship when they seized a stronghold. The Baal of the wandering tribe thus became the lord of a settled place and country, the *genius loci*, lord of the city. Such Baalim are Melkarth in Tyre; the female principle

Ashtoreth in Sidon: the same, under the name of the female principle, Baalat, in Gebal; and all the countless Baals, which were worshipped in every stronghold if it formed a tribal centre. It lies in the nature of things that these separate Baalim, who bore different names according to their respective tribe and place, and whose importance grew or sank with that of their worshippers, developed special attributes so soon as they once assumed a personal character, and thus became separate divinities. The whole creative power of nature, which appears as the male principle, is seen in hot countries first in the fruit-bringing rain and in the storm accompanied with thunder and lightning. Ramman, therefore, was pre-eminently the storm-god. In a town without agriculture the natural side of the divine agency is neglected; in Tyre, Baal becomes a Melkart or Melek-kiryat, a "king of the town." But the evolution of the various conceptions of the divinities always recurs to the two original embodiments of the sexual principle. It is in this form that the true meaning of Semitic religious



CHARACTERISTIC PIECES OF PHŒNICIAN GLASS-WARE
The invention of glass was supposed to be one of the great achievements of the Phœnician civilisation, but it is now known to be due to Egypt; later it passed to Greece and Italy.

conceptions can be most clearly recognised.

"El," meaning God, seems to be a pure abstraction of the conception of the Deity; it meets us among the Canaanite, Aramæan, and Arabian peoples. The personal character of Baal originally diverged from it: no god of a tribe, or of any larger national group ever bore this name. If it occasionally appears also as a personal divinity—in Southern Arabia and Senjirli—that is evidently a later personification of the originally abstract idea. A similar explanation is necessary when an Elat is mentioned by the side of an El; this is nothing more than the conception of the female divinity, which was added to that of El on the analogy of Baal-Baalat.

The higher civilisation, with its literary training, tried to explain in its own fashion the cults as they had been evolved from existing and introduced elements in the different tribal and local sanctuaries during the historical progress of the peoples, and to form out of the different aspects of the original fundamental thought a pantheon, the members of which, according to their various characters, were explained to be the creators and rulers of the universe.

In the different states, which were equally possessors of a revered sanctuary, these cosmologies and theologies were distinct, since, naturally, each system was anxious to make its own sanctuary the central one. We have summarised what is as yet known of such matters in Babylonia. For Phœnicia a mere extract from such doctrines only is available, and that in a very garbled form, dating, too, from later times. It is the mythology of Gebal, or Byblos, which a certain Philo of Byblos composed under Nero, and, according to the custom of the time, published as a translation of the work of a very early priest, Sanchoniathon, who lived "before the Trojan War." It can, at most, furnish in isolated points explanations of the nature and growth of Phœnician religion, since in it the spurious wisdom of various centuries of culture are inextricably blended together.



THE PEOPLE OF JUDAH CARRIED AWAY INTO BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY BY NEBUCHADNEZZAR
From the painting by E. Bendemann in the Berlin National Gallery by permission of the Berlin Photographic Co.



THE HEBREW PEOPLES

THE MAKING OF THE TWO NATIONS

BY far the best known of all Oriental peoples are the tribes which form the last components of the second great Semitic migration of the Nearer East. These are the Hebrew tribes, whose home, the farthest toward the desert, would in itself indicate that they came as the last of the great "Canaanite" migration, driven on by the precursors of the next, the Aramæan. These are the tribes which combined themselves into the people of Israel, and their neighbours who dwelt still further toward the desert, the Edomites, Moabites, and Ammonites.

The Tell el-Amarna letters prove the advance of Hebrew tribes in the land as early as the fifteenth century B.C.; one nation in particular comes prominently forward, which expanded from the north—namely, the Amorites. These appear to the Israelites, in the writing which presents the oldest form of their tradition, as the inhabitants from whom they must wrest the land: when the Israelites marched in, the former had already become occupants instead of immigrants. We may thus regard the Israelites as the next stratum after the Amorites, and may place their immigration somewhat ater. The earliest mention of Israel is contained in an inscription of the Pharaoh Meneptah II., about 1200 B.C. Whether that is, however, the tribal federation which we understand by this name, or some forgotten tribe, of which no record is left in Biblical tradition except the name of the collection of tribes banding round it and its sanctuary, must remain at present an unsolved question.

The Coming of the Israelites

Within recent years much progress has been made in the true understanding and interpretation of the books of the Bible which have come down to us, and it has been demonstrated that the Biblical narrative is of a more composite character than had formerly been supposed, and embodies traditions of widely different origin and value. Historical criticism assumes that the Biblical narratives are to be treated as human documents, and are to be submitted to the same critical tests which are applicable to all other records of antiquity. It will, of course, on the other hand, be maintained that such methods are invalid when applied to the sacred narrative, and that any conclusions reached thereby must be rejected. From that point of view any historic account that deviates from the Biblical narrative will be repudiated.

Historic Value of the Bible

The historical, or, as they should rather be termed, narrative books of the Bible, in the form in which they are now extant, are the work of a late period. The peculiar nature of the use made in antiquity of separate documents allows us to dissect the books into their component parts, so that we are in a position to distinguish the different authorities with some confidence, and to weigh the evidence of one against another.

The result of this division of sources, which is most apparent in the Pentateuch, is as follows. Two ancient documentary writings, designated, according to the name used for God by their respective writers, as Elohist and Jehovist, had been combined in very early times. The writing of the Elohist is indeed the more ancient, because it alone still preserves recollections of the actual conditions of remote antiquity. For instance, it represents that the Land of Promise must be won from the Amorites; whereas the Jehovist usually speaks of Canaanites—that is, it applies to the older inhabitants a general

Elohist and Jehovist

designation taken from the name of the country. The Elohist retains in its traditions traces of a post-Israelite immigration of Edom, Moab, and Ammon; while the Jehovist, which judges from the standpoint of later times, regards these tribes as already settled in their homes at the time of the immigration of Israel. Both writings were probably intended as introductions for annals, each of which was brought down to the time of its author. Of the strictly historical parts of these "Annals" only inconsiderable fragments have been preserved for us, which deal especially with the later period of the kings, and are easily distinguishable by their scanty form: other portions have been replaced in the revisions of later times mainly by accounts of the Prophets, of which the nature is best represented by the stories of Elijah and Elisha. This "Prophetic Code" is based on the point of view prevalent in the period about 600 B.C., after the introduction of Deuteronomy, although it is still imbued with the spirit of the older period.

The Prophetic Code

The Deuteronomic code, on which the hierarchical constitution was based, was introduced by Josiah. Its contents are preserved for us in the legislative portions of Deuteronomy, the Fifth Book of Moses. This law acquired its true importance only during the exile in Babylonia, when the people, having become a religious body, saw in it the guide for all conduct. A priest, then, during the banishment, tested the whole history of Israel by these regulations, many of which exhibit the influence of the ancient laws of Babylonia. His direct work survives in the present form of the books, which extend from "Joshua" to "Kings." He has taken the older documents, but has extracted still more carefully the annalistic elements from them, and in addition has briefly expressed his own views as to the separate sections, especially the reigns, in conformity with the Deuteronomic legislation. His work is, therefore, a review of Israelite history in the light of the divine origin of this law. The "Deuteronomist" explains the history of the people by their neglect or observance of this "Law of Moses"; he is a writer with a declared purpose, and his own additions are not hard to distinguish. Their nature is most easily and clearly seen in the summarised verdicts on the reigns of the various kings, thus: "He walked in the ways of Jeroboam and did that which was displeasing to God," or vice versa. To him also is due the settlement of the chronological scheme of the Bible, which, historically, is not of vital importance, since it represents an artificial calculation of dates, based on late information obtained during the period of the exile.

The further development of the religious community, which is henceforth represented by Judaism, led to the building up of a hierarchical constitution in the most pronounced sense of the term. This constitution was committed to writing in the so-called Priestly Code, either a work of the exile, or a product of the attitude of mind then prevalent. The code describes the whole development of the people of Israel from the creation of the world, and was intended to serve as a brief introduction to the giving of the law on Mount Sinai, which contains the new law. This work, originally standing by itself and reckoned as a post-exile code, was afterwards incorporated into the work which the "Deuteronomist" had adapted from the earlier records. It is easily recognised by its language; to it belong the account of the Creation in the first chapter of Genesis and



JUDÆANS IN THE TIME OF SENNACHERIB

An Assyrian representation of men, women and children of Judah about 700 B.C. From a bas-relief of Sennacherib now in the British Museum.

more especially the dry lists of genealogies referring to the patriarchal age. There is reason for congratulation that the author of the Priestly Code did not go further than the giving of the law on Mount Sinai. If he had treated the rest of the history from his point of view it would have been barely possible to use any portion of the narrative for historical purposes; for, in contrast to the "Deuteronomist," he has made a clear field for himself, and has removed everything which did not agree with his own system. While the former gave us patchwork, and thus preserved many fragments of old tradition, the latter in an independent treatment has uniformly represented everything in accordance with his own view, and is thus of no help as an authority for history, or, as regards the early legends, for literary history. An example of this class of editing is presented by the Books of Chronicles, a long, post-exile account of Jewish history in the spirit of the Priestly Code. As their source of information, use has been made principally of the Books of Kings, although in a more detailed form than we possess them.

Ancient Editing of the Bible

As documents of secular history they are, apart from some isolated facts, of comparatively slight importance in the construction of an actual chronicle of the people of Israel. But even the older accounts, contained in the work of the "Deuteronomist," would not furnish any historical picture if we had not a standard in the results obtained by ethnology and other investigations of the history of the Ancient East, by which to separate the earlier traditions from the accretions of a later age. Moreover, the evidence of inscriptions, especially those of Assyria and Babylonia, often furnishes us with information by means of which it is possible to compare and supplement the Biblical accounts.

As might be expected, the ideas of Israel as to its origin and early history are, like those of every people, clothed in the form of hero-legends; the later hierarchical form of the tradition has subsequently given them a special colouring of its own. Historical records could not have existed until comparatively settled conditions had been established in the kingdom of Saul and then of David. All that goes back to the period anterior to historical records was naturally little more than a scanty local tradition. But even the oldest historical period was certain sooner or later to appear in the light of legend. Moreover, the priestly tradition preferred the legendary to the historical; and the reason is clear, since for its purpose facts were often less advantageous than their legendary counterparts. Thus it is that so little authenticated history of the earliest period of the kings has been preserved. Tradition begins its account of the history of Israel with the emigration from Egypt and the entry into the "Promised Land." Modern historians, however, are of one mind in thinking that any emigration of a considerable tribal federation, a march through the countries of kindred tribes living under the same conditions of social economy, would have necessarily ended in the rapid dissolution of that federation, since alliances would have been made with the tribes of the countries traversed or annexed. Unification can, in the first place, result only after settled homes have been obtained, and necessarily presupposes a previous sojourn in the country. The Israelite tribal federation—that is, the people of Israel—did not receive its organisation until it was already settled in the country. Its individual tribes, therefore, did not previously stand in closer relation to each other than to their neighbours the Edomites, the Moabites, and many others which had disappeared as tribal organisations; it was only the acquisition of fixed settlements of a certain uniformity that brought them nearer together and separated them more from the others. This evolution is the result of the interval between the Tell el-Amarna period and the first appearance of the "people of Israel."

Emigration from Egypt

It would be out of place in the present work to discuss at length the rival theories as to the Biblical account of the Exodus. It is generally acknowledged that bodies of Hebrew nomad tribes may well have pastured their flocks in the Wadi Tumilat, and in this way may have come into direct contact with Egypt, and have been subject to Egyptian authority. It is clear, however, from the reference to the people of Israel upon the slate of Meneptah, that other kindred tribes were already settled in Canaan at the time when Hebrew nomads were presumably in the Eastern Delta. In fact, the exodus must be regarded as an episode in the general

At the Time of the Exodus

migratory movement towards Canaan, later tradition having magnified its importance by representing the whole body of the later tribal divisions as having taken part in it. We have no means for determining accurately the date of the earliest inroads into Canaan or the length of the period during which the movement lasted; and any account of the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites must necessarily depend mainly upon conjecture. We can, however, picture to ourselves the conquest of the country on the model of well-known migrations—as, for instance, that of Britain by Jutes, Angles, and Saxons, and we may assume that the individual tribes, out of which the people of Israel was afterwards formed, conquered their homes, perhaps in combination with other vanished tribes, and were welded into a large federation in the country under the stress of circumstances. It is also probable that other tribal elements did not belong to them originally, but became attached to them only in later times. The true Israelite tribes had their homes "in the desert." Of the period when the tribes were not closely united, and a common cause of action was not yet generally, if at all, possible, we have reminiscences handed down by tradition, under the heading of the "Period of the Judges," which clearly exhibit tendencies to the formation of separate tribal principalities, and thus infer the distinct existence of the individual tribes. Such are the narratives of Jephtha in Gilead and of Gideon in Manasseh, the latter greatly disguised by additions. In both it can still be seen that we have to do with tribal traditions, and that no commonwealth of Israel is presupposed. It is only subsequent revision that has introduced at the end of the story the picture of a united Israel. The natural course of events leads to the result that the sheikh, the head of a tribe, who conquers a country, derives the chief advantages from this conquest and obtains more ample means of power, which exalt him above his fellow-tribesmen. Settled life in a town and the adjacent localities dissolves the tribal organisation based on equality of rights, and leads to lordship and monarchy; the voluntarily acknowledged sheikh becomes an absolute monarch. This development must have taken place more readily where the immigrants found such conditions already in existence, and where the conquest of a royal city actually implied that the conqueror adopted the institutions found therein. While, therefore, in the two examples of "judges" already referred to we can recognise the representatives of a country population, the next stage in the development, the tendency toward monarchy, is visible where an "Israelite" tribe is found in possession of a town. It was the tribal monarchy, which Abimelech founded for himself in Shechem. Notwithstanding that it soon ended, and left no permanent effects, it may be reckoned as typical of many similar phenomena of the time when the Israelite tribes obtained possession of the towns, and became acquainted with the unwelcome conditions that accompanied the coveted treasures of civilisation. This represents one form of the growth of the monarchy. It anticipates the natural development of tribes or clans into nations and states in so far as it effects a complete breach with its own tribe and thus strips itself of the aids by which it had just become prosperous and great. Such a tyranny, arising from no true development of the existing form of government, had no permanence. A monarchy, originating in the conditions of the further growth of the tribal life and its new needs, which was based on the members of the nation proper, alone had any lasting results.

Migration into Canaan

Judges of Israel

Growth of the Monarchy

We have only one piece of evidence as to any combined action of the Israelite tribal-federation, which would seem to be that mentioned by Meneptah—namely, the so-called Song of Deborah, one of the most ancient Hebrew poems that has come down to us. This composition, which, in consequence of mistakes in the tradition, is hardly yet intelligible in all its details, extols the triumph of the Israelite tribes in war. Almost all the Israelite tribes are named in it. The mention of Benjamin is, however, an interpolation, probably due to the need subsequently felt of seeing no tribe omitted from the list.

The advance of the Philistines in the twelfth century B.C. brought the Israelites under their power. Two alternatives were thus possible; either the newly immigrated tribes possessed the power to drive



JEPHTHAH, JUDGE OF ISRAEL, BEFORE THE SACRIFICE OF HIS DAUGHTER

The narrative of Jephthah in Gilead, from the "Period of the Judges," is taken to be evidence of the time before Israel became a commonwealth. This picture by Sir J. E. Millais is reproduced by permission of Lord Armstrong.

out the new rulers, or they would lose their nationality and become Philistine subjects. The first is what happened. It was the struggle against the new enemy that stimulated a closer unification and thus enabled the people to show a bolder front. War can be waged with permanent success only under a single command. A condition of ceaseless conflict must finally establish the power of a successful leader, who first, by the expulsion of the enemy and the reputation thereby acquired, gains a commanding position within his own tribe—that is, he becomes king—and then proceeds to set himself up as the liberator, and at the same time the lord, of the remaining tribes.

This explains the rôle of Saul, the leader of Benjamin, in the war against the Philistines. There is no clear proof that Benjamin belonged to the league of the northern "Ten Tribes"; on the contrary, the subsequent intimate connection of Benjamin with Judah on the overthrow of David's kingdom supports the view that this tribe was opposed to the northern tribes, which were already united. Here, in the country of the tribe, which was settled between Philistia proper and the territory of the Israelite tribes, a competent soldier might succeed in making himself lord of his own tribal country during a victorious war against the foreign domination, and then he might proceed to wrest from the Philistines the Israelite territory, which thus fell to him as to its natural lord. We must form for ourselves some such picture of the growth of the monarchy in Israel.

Saul has always remained in tradition a romantic personality. It is noteworthy that the story of David, the recorders of which had certainly no cause to cherish Saul's memory, never succeeded in obliterating it. We gather from the narrative that he kept his kingdom in hand so long as he lived, and that even David did not venture on any action against him. On the death of Saul, his kingdom of Israel lapsed to David; but even the admirers of the latter have been obliged to spare Saul's

memory. We know very little of him historically. One motif runs through all accounts of him—the struggle against the Philistines by which he founded his kingdom, which occupied all his life, and in which he met his death on the battle-field. A fragment of old tradition—1 Sam. xiv. 47, modified in its present form—has left us one more short account of his other wars: "He fought against all his enemies on every side, against Moab and against the children of Ammon, against Aram and against the king of Zobah, south of Damascus, and against the Philistines." Our accounts, so far as they are historical, tell us nothing of Saul's relations to David; as we shall presently see, they cannot have known anything of the original opposition between Judah and Israel.

Wars of Saul

By the side of the kingdom of Saul, in the country of the kindred tribes inhabiting the less civilised district further to the south, on the fringe of the desert, a separate kingdom had meanwhile been formed in the same way as that of Saul, only starting from a still lower stage of development. This was the kingdom of David, of which Judah appears in tradition as the chief tribe. To David, as to so many conspicuous figures in history, all kinds of stories—heroic legends, even popular jests, and the like—have been assigned, which were told of the man who represented the greatest power of the kingdom of Israel and Judah. His period appeared to posterity as a golden age, something in the way in which popular story has made Alfred the hero of English history. But along with this we have to distinguish another tradition of quite definite political tendency, the object of which is to describe David as the representative of an originally united people of Israel, to which Judah also belonged. This is the claim which, in modern phraseology, was put forward by David's historians and supporters in order to work in his interests and to win the people over to his house. Almost everything which we possess from Israelite sources was written from this point of view.

To this legend, modern research would seem to indicate, belongs almost everything which was intended to prove a union of Israel and Judah, and, above all, that which is narrated of the origin of David, of his youth, and his relations to Saul. But in the legend are incorporated sundry details which are in clear contradiction of it, and are far more likely to correspond to the actual facts. According to these his rise was closely connected with the growth of the "Tribe of Judah." As the

Rise of David



NABLOUS, THE ANCIENT SHECHEM, ONE OF THE OLDEST CITIES OF PALESTINE

Abimelech founded the first Israelite tribal monarchy in Shechem. It was afterwards the principal city and religious metropolis of the Samaritans, and was colonised by Shalmaneser and Esarhaddon with Babylonians.



THE YOUTHFUL DAVID PLAYING ON HIS HARP BEFORE KING SAUL
From the picture by Mr. Ernest Normand, by whose permission it is here reproduced.

connection of Benjamin with Israel and the creation of a "Kingdom of Israel" must be called the work of Saul, so the formation of a "tribe" and kingdom of Judah was the work of David.

In the course of Oriental history again and again some leader of a tribe or band assumes the title of king and finally succeeds in ruling a large realm. David, even according to the tradition, was leader of some such band in Ziklag, far away to the south in the desert, situated in Edomite territory. He thus held his own for a time as the lord of a stronghold, and gradually gathered round him a devoted band of followers, with whose help it was not difficult to subdue the less mobile tribes, which had no leader. Whether, as the tradition assumes, he recognised the suzerainty of a Philistine king —Achish of Gath—must remain uncertain; but it is possible that such was the case.

David's Band of Followers

The natural path of David's conquests led northward. He subjugated several tribes, which appear later as component parts of "Judah," and he became a prince whose power could no longer be ignored by the subjugation of the tribe of Caleb, with its centre at Hebron. The tradition preserves these conquests in the form of the story of Nabal (1 Sam. xxv.) but it is more clearly expressed in the fact that David's first royal residence was Hebron, the chief town of Caleb. Henceforward he was reckoned a king or a prince. Some reminiscence of this origin of his real power was preserved in an obscure passage —2 Sam. iii., 8—where Abner later speaks contemptuously of him as "the prince of Caleb." Abner means to say: "Am I a rival of such as thou, David, that thou shouldst think I wish, by marriage with a wife of Saul, to gain some claim to the crown?"

David's Royal City

Caleb was bordered on the north by the territory of the "Hebrew" tribe Judah. This had not hitherto been closely allied with Israel. David now subjugated it, and thus united it with Caleb and the other subject tribes. The most important town of this district was Jerusalem, situated

almost on the northern frontier towards Benjamin and Israel. We hear of it in the Tell el-Amarna letters as already the seat of a prince who governed these districts. Israelite tradition recognises that before it was conquered by David it did not belong to the "Hebrew" Judah but was still under kings of its own, who were "Canaanite"—that is to say, they had long been settled there. These "Jebusites" need not, however, for that reason have been much older than Judah itself. The mere fact that they were in possession of a town soon made them distinct from the inhabitants of the open country; and such, indeed, constitutes the difference between "Hebrews" and "Canaanites." According to the tradition David made Jerusalem his capital only after the subjugation of the whole of Israel. This is hardly probable, and the reason for making the statement is obvious—Jerusalem was to be reckoned the capital of the united kingdom. Originally, indeed, it had been intended for the capital of only the newly conquered territory, and David removed his court there, since it was the richest portion of his land, and nearer the frontier of the country which was then the next object of his conquest—namely, Israel, the kingdom of Saul.



DAVID, KING OF JUDAH
From the statue by Michael Angelo

David had hitherto kept on good terms with the Philistines; if we reflect on the political movements disclosed in the Tell el-Amarna letters, it is more probable that the Philistines and David were in league against their common and dreaded opponent than that David was in league with the king of the northern tribes. Later tradition had every ground to disguise this enmity to Saul, who was not forgotten in Northern Israel, and to substitute for it a friendship with the son of Saul. David was favoured by fortune. Saul fell in the war with the Philistines, and, according to the story, to the great sorrow of David. But it is equally possible that the hero David had contributed his share to Saul's overthrow.

The fate of the northern kingdom was thus sealed. The cause of the house of



A MODERN VIEW OF HEBRON, KING DAVID'S FIRST ROYAL TOWN
Hebron was the principal town of the tribe of Caleb, whom David subjugated, becoming their prince.

Saul, in spite of the brave defence by Abner, became more and more desperate. There is naturally no likelihood that the Israelite tribes voluntarily did homage to David, as tradition assumes: there was actually an attempt made to secure the sovereignty for Benjamin by the revolt of Sheba the sheikh of the Benjamite canton Bichri, who at last tried to hold his own in the north of Israel, in Abel-beth-Maachah (2 Sam. xx.). Since this revolt was incompatible with the traditional account of the voluntary acknowledgment of David, it was transferred to the later years of David's reign; but the fact that, in the struggle against Sheba, only Judah from its southern frontier as far as Jerusalem stood on David's side, speaks too significantly, in the judgment of modern criticism. It probably took place immediately upon Saul's death, when David threatened to seize the territory of Israel. He cannot have brooked delay in the matter, and a rapid success must have crowned his efforts. It was impossible for Abner to secure for Eshbaal, Saul's son, more than the district east of the Jordan. Israel properly so-called thus fell into the hands of David without any further resistance than that of Sheba. Abner held the land east of Jordan for Eshbaal, according to tradition, for some time longer. Then he was murdered in Hebron, when anxious to negotiate with David in order to surrender to him the land east of Jordan. The account assigns vengeance for Joab as the motive, and repudiates any complicity on the part of David. At all events he reaped the advantage. Eshbaal also was murdered.

David could thus occupy the land west of Jordan without difficulty, and so became king of Judah and Israel. He had thus conquered almost the whole of his kingdom. Descended from a foreign stock, and having subjugated the peoples which obeyed him, in the first place by force, he himself, according to the story, maintained his sovereignty only by the help of his army. It is easy to see why policy should elaborate a tradition ascribing to him a high Hebrew ancestry, analogous to the Hellenic pedigree of the royal house of Macedonia. Caleb seems to have been his home, and Judah the canton from which he sprang in a wider sense; for his capital he chose Jerusalem on account of its favourable position for his purpose, since it was situated exactly between the two great divisions of his kingdom.

According to the ideas of Oriental nations the real lord of a country was the god, the Baal, according to his Semitic name. The king reigned in his name, and by him was called to



KING DAVID PLAYING UPON HIS HARP
Reproduced from the picture by Domenichino now in the Louvre.

power, as the Babylonians and Assyrians were never weary of emphasising. If a conquered country was only made tributary, it retained its own government and its king, and remained the property of its god. If, on the other hand, it became a province, it was absorbed into the conquering state, and thus forfeited everything, and its god was deposed, just as much as its king. The god was carried away, and brought into the temple of the victorious god, where he now "stood

before his face"—that is, he served him, just as the vanquished king stood before his victor. The victorious god took possession of the land in his place; a temple was built for him there, and a cult established; in this way the new province was incorporated into the conquering state. That which had one god was one people; and every people possessed a god of their own. Thus, when David subdued new lands and added them to his territory, he completed the acquisition of his new possessions by installing the worship of God in the place of the old pagan cults. God was called Yahve or Jahve, for Jehovah, though familiar to us, is a false vocalisation of the Divine name, never in later times pronounced by the Jews, who assigned to the consonants of the name Yahve the vowels of Adonai, signifying "my lord," which, in a spirit of reverence, was read in place of the original name.

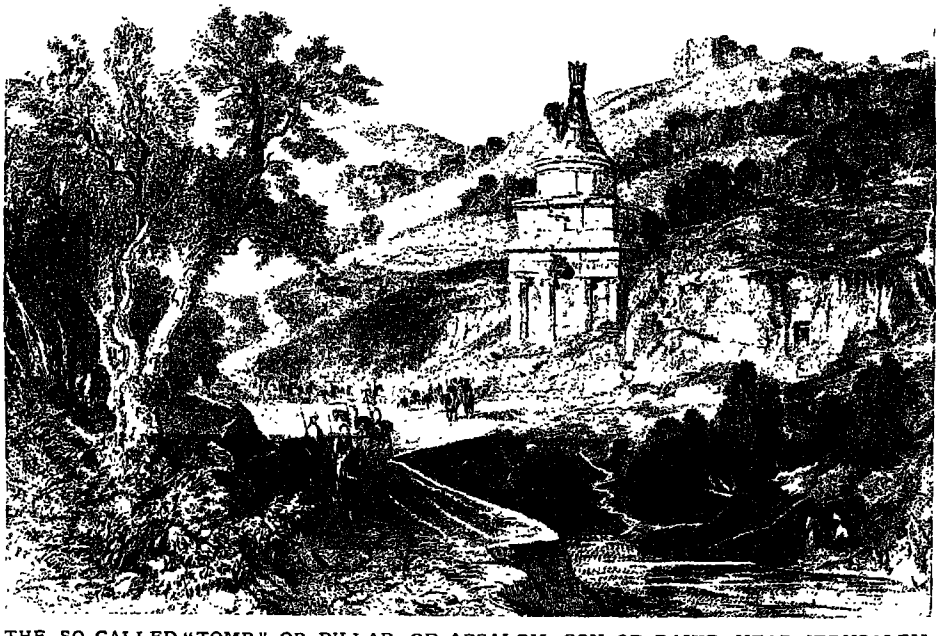
The god Serving other gods

Whether the gods previously worshipped by the several tribes were ejected in favour of Jehovah, or were identified now with the new religion, or there had already been a common cult, the supremacy of the house of David was intimately associated with the God of David, proclaimed as the God of the ancestral Hebrew stock. Later, at any rate, it was claimed as the unique and primeval characteristic distinguishing the religion that the God of Israel was not to be worshipped under or represented by any image or symbol. But the Bible narrative itself proves with sufficient clearness that the worship of local gods under other rites was irrepressible.

It is certainly a proof of the importance of David that the vigorous vitality of his policy was able to exert so marked an influence on the tradition of subsequent times. It is not wonderful that the people in later times lent a willing ear when the exploits of David's kingdom were appealed to. In fact, David's reign was the only one under which Israel as a united kingdom could have taken a position by the side of the other powers in Palestine and Syria. David's time thus appeared as the good old days when Israel was powerful; its dark side, and the resistance which was shown by the people, were soon forgotten.

Golden Days of David

The power of David extended far beyond the borders of Judah and Israel. He subjugated Edom; this union lasted longer than that with Israel. Israel first burst the bond, while Edom long remained



THE SO CALLED "TOMB" OR PILLAR, OF ABSALOM, SON OF DAVID, NEAR JERUSALEM



THE VISIT OF THE QUEEN OF SHEBA TO SOLOMON, FROM THE PAINTING BY LE SEUR

united with Judah. David further subdued Moab, which remained subject long after the severance of the kingdom; it belonged, however, naturally to Israel. He also fought with Ammon, but his wars led to no permanent conquest. He did not penetrate beyond Israelite territory in a northern direction, as later tradition would imply. On the north of Gilead the small Aramæan states of Soba and Geshur adjoin and run up into Israelite territory. With these he had both friendly and inimical relations without permanently subjugating them. Damascus, soon the rival of Israel, lay too far away, and had not yet acquired strength. During his reign the Philistines were finally restricted to their territory on the coast; they made no further serious attempt to advance against Israel.

Extent of David's Kingdom

The rebellion of Absalom must be placed quite at the end of David's life. Tradition does not give us a clear account of the matter. Yet one thing is apparent: David's sympathies were with the rebel; he was a mere helpless puppet in the hands of Joab and the military party. It is not said for whom Joab wished to secure the throne; probably even then for Adonijah. When Absalom fell, slain by Joab in defiance of David's command, David lamented for him. But Joab upbraided him insolently, and gave him plainly to understand that his sovereignty was at an end if he did not change his attitude. It is worthy of further remark, as regards the whole rebellion, that David, as formerly Eshbaal, the son of Saul, also sought and found an asylum in the country east of Jordan. There is a detailed description of the intrigues by which unwearying efforts were made to induce David, now completely worn out, to pronounce in favour of Solomon's accession to the throne. The factions at court are now clearly recorded. Solomon is the candidate of the priesthood, while a military party, represented by Joab, wishes to elevate Adonijah to the throne. The tradition in its simplicity makes no disguise of the means by which the priestly party conquered. The result is clear. Solomon succeeded in securing the throne for himself, and a pretext was soon found

Intrigues Against David

to remove out of his path his rival Adonijah with his partisan Joab, in spite of the immunity which had been promised them.

Solomon was placed on the throne by the priestly party. The party, therefore, upon which the new king relied, rather than on the devoted bodyguard of his father, had thus become the interpreter of the will of God, whom David had accepted as Lord over Israel. The tradition chose Solomon for its favourite hero, notwithstanding the fact that it had greater trouble in creating out of him a morally noble personality than out of David, who, in spite of his human failings, was acknowledged to possess the one sterling quality of having won by his own merits all that he possessed. David had proved himself superior to all the adventurers and robber chieftains who had fought with one another for the possession of the land. In order to form a just estimate of him we must judge him by the standard of Bedouin ethics—and Bedouins have the ethics of nomads.

Solomon on the Throne



Anderson

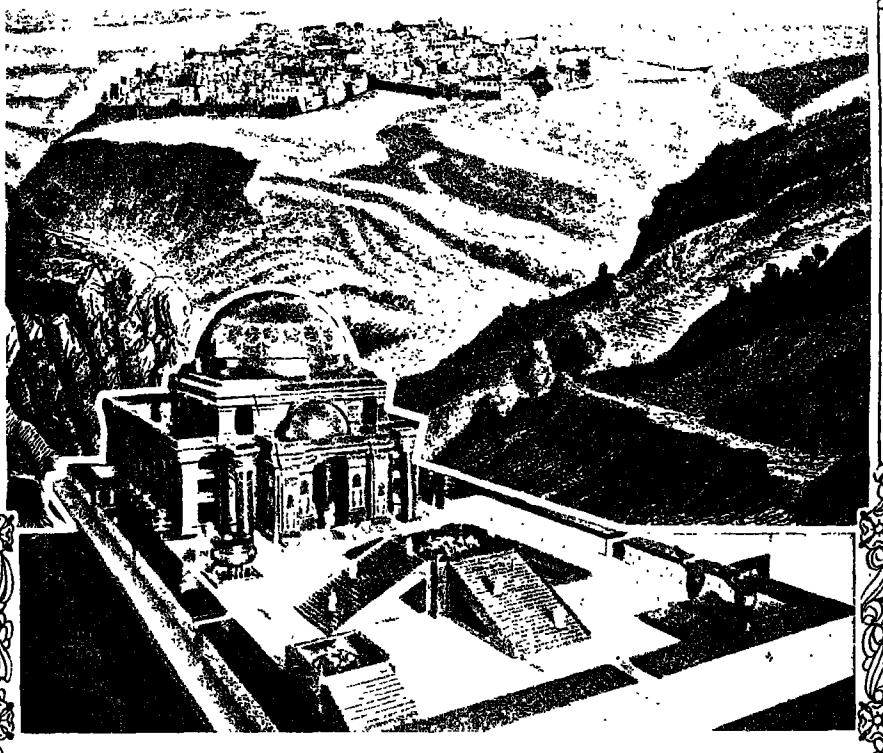
SOLOMON, LAST KING OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL
From the picture by Van Ghent in the Palazzo Barberini.

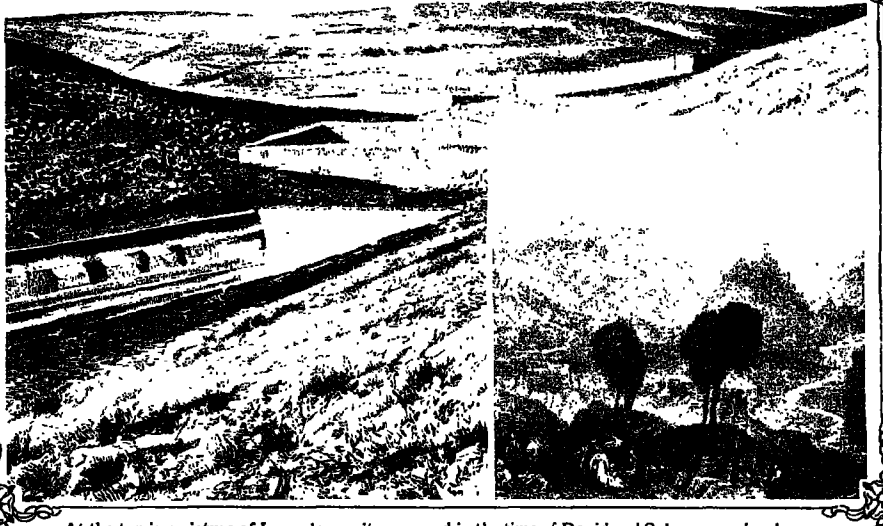
The older records tell us little about Solomon. The candidate of the priestly party was credited with the building of the Temple as his greatest achievement, in which we may see confirmation of his good understanding with his adherents. Otherwise we have only a few disconnected accounts of his reign. The records of an extension of his power as far as the Euphrates date from post-exile times, their object being to glorify the favourite hero of legend from whom the development started which culminated in Judaism. To the same source is to be assigned the legend of the "wisdom" of Solomon. There was little in his history which could be eulogised except his "wisdom," of which, indeed, he gave striking proof when he relied upon the priesthood instead of the army. His reign in other respects was of the usual Oriental type. He tried to display before men's eyes the external magnificence of a mighty king by raising immense buildings and keeping up an imposing court ceremonial. In order to defray the cost of his buildings, he is said to have ceded territory to Hiram of Tyre. In this, as well as in a notice of his maritime trading operations on the Red Sea, we realise the fact that the half-nomadic, fighting tribe with which David had conquered his territory had been driven back by the influence of the already more civilised northern tribes; civilisation, represented by Israel, had gained the superiority. The conquered civilisation here, as everywhere, eventually overcame the barbarian conqueror.

A single record of a small acquisition of territory by Solomon is valuable. He is said to have taken in marriage a daughter of the Pharaoh—this would naturally mean only a daughter of one of the women of the harem—and to have received as a dowry the city of Gezer, which had hitherto been independent. Light may be thrown on this notice by the conditions represented in the Tell-el-Amarna letters. Solomon may have openly written to the Pharaoh in the spirit of Rib-Adda, Abi-Milki, and Abd-khiba, his predecessors on the throne of Jerusalem, and may have enforced his claims on Gezer. He may have represented himself as the "loyal servant of his lord," and by diplomatic means have obtained the town from the prince of Gezer.

Solomon and the Pharaoh

It would follow from this that the whole previous development was actually accomplished under the suzerainty of Egypt, feeble though it was at times.





At the top is a picture of Jerusalem as it appeared in the time of David and Solomon, and underneath it a photograph of an American model of the temple built by Solomon. At the bottom are shown the three immense reservoirs constructed by kings of Judah, probably by Solomon, to supply Jerusalem with water. Inset is Mount Moriah, on which Solomon's temple was built.

VIEWS IN AND AROUND SOLOMON'S ROYAL CITY OF JERUSALEM

Such was the reign of the great and "wise" Solomon, of whose wisdom tradition has told all sorts of stories. But we notice also in the accounts the voice of the historian of the prophets, which dates from the period of hostility between the prophets and the ruling party; and we may see its classical expression in the hostility of Samuel to the monarchy. The blame for the disruption of the kingdom is, indeed, quite openly ascribed to the policy of Solomon's reign. As a matter of fact, the state of affairs appears to have been that the more developed districts in the north were subject to the rule of the less developed. Solomon had, therefore, absorbed the former. His ancestral domain must have derived benefit from the fact that it now came into closer touch with civilisation. This result may have been very agreeable to the ruling parties in Jerusalem, but less so to the subject parties in the north. There is the additional fact to be noted that even the disadvantages of civilisation now made themselves felt in Jerusalem. The barbarous but warlike Caleb was replaced by a Jerusalem which had been assimilated to the civilised north. But by this very fact the foundation of David's superiority over Israel was undermined. Judah no longer found support in the rude strength and rapacity of the Bedouins; it had become a civilised state, and now learned the weakening influence of culture. Thus when there was again a struggle upon equal terms, the south no longer prevailed. The northern tribes were superior in civilisation, and they conquered Judah. This finds its expression first in the separation, but soon in the domination of Judah by Israel.

THE KINGDOMS OF ISRAEL AND JUDAH

THE severance of Israel from Judah was not merely a struggle which the two halves of the kingdom waged with each other, as tradition represents. The Egyptian inscriptions show clearly enough that the conquest of Jerusalem by the Pharaoh Sheshonk was connected with it. What had been Rehoboam's attitude toward the latter, and what induced him to appear as a disloyal servant of Egypt, we do not know. But this much is clear—that the Pharaoh took most of the towns of Northern Israel from Rehoboam and gave them to Jeroboam; there is also a tradition of his residence in Egypt. The record of it is at variance with the legend, and must be regarded in the light of the Tell el-Amarna letters. Jeroboam succeeded in forwarding his plans at court better than Rehoboam; the Northern Israelite had more of the sinews of war, by which the disputes of the civilised world were fought out, than the king of Jerusalem, and these he placed at the disposal of his advocates at court.

Egypt Conquers Israel

We have no evidence which would enable us to decide whether Rehoboam trusted to some other source of help in his resistance to the Pharaoh, though it is conceivable that he calculated on Damascus, which was now coming into prominence. In any case Damascus, owing to the ceaseless struggles between the now separate halves of the kingdom, very soon became the supreme arbitrator in the affairs of Palestine, since Egypt after the last attack of Sheshonk does not seem to have interfered again decisively, and Assyria had not yet appeared upon the scene.

From the first the most powerful of the two states was Israel, which very soon showed its superiority. The Books of Kings do not contain detailed records of the war which was "always between Rehoboam and Jeroboam" (1 Kings xiv. 30). But they have preserved for us a very valuable notice. It proves that Jeroboam had done that which we might have expected of him from the first. He was bound to make the people aware that he did not agree with Judah, and it was to his interest to oppose the idea of the justification of David's power. He was induced, therefore, to attempt to abolish the religion of David and to revive in its place the ancient national sanctuaries. He was, for this reason, solicitous that the two ancient sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan should be once more brought into vogue. It must be borne in mind that the great festivals, which were celebrated in such places, did not acquire their main significance from their religious side as festivals, but that they exercised a far wider economic influence; they were the fairs which the whole nation held, under

Jeroboam Revives Baalim

the protection of the peace of the sanctuary. For this reason a king of Israel must have been still more anxious to keep visitors away from the sanctuary in Jerusalem, and to deprive the other capital of the advantages accruing from such traffic. Since in this way the greater part of the revenue of the splendid new temple was lost, the priests had every reason to regard Jeroboam as the type of an impious king.

According to our accounts, Jeroboam was followed by his son Nadab, who reigned only two years, roughly about 910 B.C. He is said to have been murdered during the siege of the Philistine Gibbethon by Baasha, of the tribe of Issachar. The new dynasty did not, therefore, last long; and the disturbances, which are typical of the kingdom of the Ten Tribes, did not delay their appearance. Baasha became king, and reigned, according to the accounts, from about 910 to 886 B.C. He greatly harassed Judah. In order to render any communications with Jerusalem impossible, he fortified a place, Rama, a little north of Jerusalem. Asa was thus compelled to throw himself into the arms of Damascus and to implore its protection and suzerainty. Bir-idri naturally welcomed the proposal. He invaded Northern Israel, and thus forced Baasha to evacuate the frontier of Judah. The fortress of Rama was again razed to the ground; but Judah had become a vassal of Damascus, and Baasha, too, had no alternative but to bow to him, as his predecessors had to Egypt. Baasha's son, Elah, is said also to have reigned for only two years, and to have been murdered by the commander of the army, Zimri, who, from Gibbethon, where the army lay, attacked him in his palace at Tirzah.

Judah a Vassal of Damascus

The tradition, therefore, assumes that the two first dynasties of Israel consisted of two kings each, the second king in each case being murdered after a reign of only two years, and in both murders the army, which lay before Gibbethon, had a part. Exception has been taken to this by the critics, and it has been suggested that the tradition may be incorrect. Zimri was unable to hold his own. The army did not support him, but took the side of Omri, the commander-in-chief, who advanced at the head of the "whole people"—a national army is still presupposed at this time—up to Tirzah, where Zimri sought his death in the flames of the king's palace. In the meantime Omri had not been acknowledged king without further difficulty, "for half of the people followed Tibni, the son of Ginath." This latter seems to have held his own for a considerable time as a rival king, until he was vanquished by Omri. Parties, therefore, existed in Israel; these may have corresponded to the different conditions of life existing in the population, which had advanced from the state of peasants to a higher civilisation. In the ceaseless disturbances which such feuds must have produced from time to time, vigorous measures could be taken only with the indispensable support of a strong monarchy, a trustworthy army. This was the policy which Omri and his house pursued, following the example of David. In home affairs the policy of encouraging traffic was adopted, and attempts were made to establish favourable relations with foreign countries, especially with Tyre; Omri's son, Ahab, married a Tyrian princess, Jezebel. Omri's position towards Damascus is not recorded; probably, however, he recognised its suzerainty, and secured his throne only by doing so. He again subjugated Moab, which, on the separation, had taken up an uncertain attitude towards Israel: and, doubtless, it was he also who brought Judah under his own suzerainty; this position is attested under Ahab. He made Samaria the capital of

Rule of the Army



S.P.C.K.

REHOBOAM, KING OF JUDAH

From an Egyptian cartouche. He was probably carried away to Egypt after Pharaoh Sheshonk took Jerusalem.

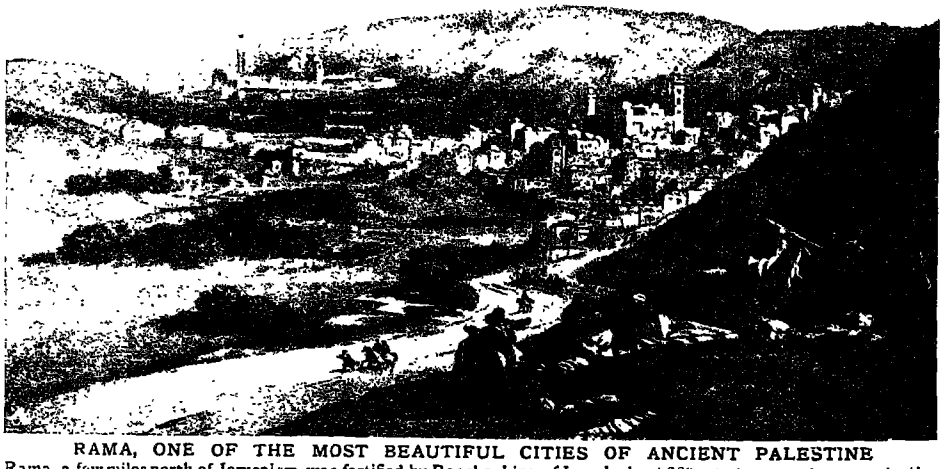
the empire in place of Tirzah. Omri's policy both at home and abroad was continued by his son Ahab. He was a vassal of Damascus, had a strong army under his orders, tried to promote intercourse with foreign countries, and therefore showed friendliness to all strangers. By this action he excited the opposition of the peasant population; tradition attests this fact in recording the zeal displayed by the prophets against the Baalim, the gods of the strangers. The natural opposition to the dominating classes by the agricultural population, which suffered under the development of trade and the encroachment of the military feudal system, found vent in the opposition of Elijah and Elisha. Judah was now subject to Ahab, and its king, Jehoshaphat, was compelled to take the field with him. The relations to Damascus are clearly seen in the first notice of Israelite history, which is chronologically certain. In the year 854 B.C. Shalmaneser II., at the battle of Karkar, saw in the army of Bir-idri of Damascus an actual contingent from Ahab of Israel, which the latter had furnished as vassal of Damascus; Judah, as subject to Israel, is naturally not named. The attacks of Assyria on Damascus would naturally have incited Ahab to shake off the yoke. But Shalmaneser was always repulsed by Bir-idri: and Ahab met his death in one of the fights, in which he tried to hold his own against Bir-idri, at Ramoth-Gilead. This seems to have taken place soon after the battle at Karkar, therefore about 853 B.C.

Ahab of Israel

His son, Ahaziah, was probably obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of Damascus, and equally so his brother Joram, who followed him on the throne, presumably only two years afterwards. He would thus have been forced to take the field with Bir-idri in the subsequent campaigns of Shalmaneser. But he also did not fail to make attempts to liberate himself, and is said to have been wounded in a battle which he had to fight near Ramoth-Gilead against Bir-idri, or, now, Hazael. While attempting to return home, in order to recover from his wounds, he fell a victim to the revolution of Jehu.

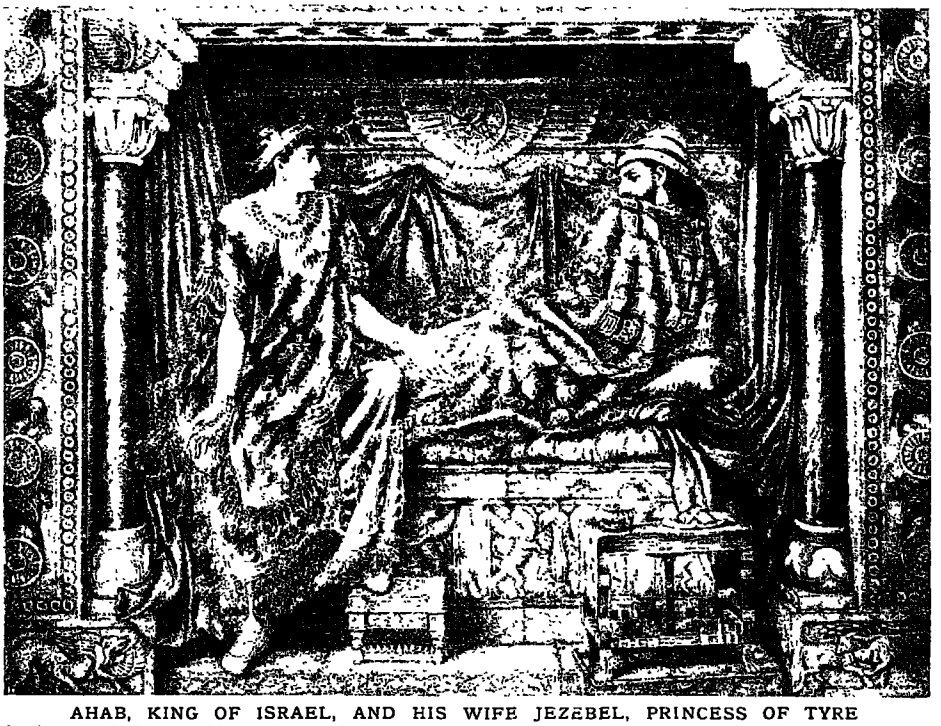
Judah was from the very first at a disadvantage compared with the northern kingdom. The latter owed its freedom to the intervention or the approval of the Pharaoh, and Rehoboam had to suffer severely from Sheshonk's chastisement and the enforced contributions. It is a proof of the permanence of David's measures that Edom remained loyal to Judah, notwithstanding that an attempt had been made by a descendant of the old royal house—Hadad, according to the tradition—presumably under Solomon

Judah and Egypt



RAMA, ONE OF THE MOST BEAUTIFUL CITIES OF ANCIENT PALESTINE

Rama, a few miles north of Jerusalem, was fortified by Baasha, king of Israel, about 900 B.C., to prevent communication with Jerusalem from the north. It lies in a fertile plain, and is now remarkable for its olive groves and fruit gardens.



AHAB, KING OF ISRAEL, AND HIS WIFE JEZEBEL, PRINCESS OF TYRE
Omri established favourable relations with foreign countries, and his son Ahab married a Tyrian princess. From the picture by T. M. Rooke in the possession of Mr. M. Russell Cotes, by whose permission it is reproduced.

(I Kings xi.), to gain its independence by the support of Egypt.

Neither Rehoboam nor his son Abijah can have had long reigns. Asa, the successor of the latter, realised the supremacy of Israel under Baasha, and was forced to solicit the suzerainty of Damascus in order to protect himself from the former.

Judah Subject to Israel

The "Deuteronomist" in the Books of Kings commends him: the priesthood must therefore have flourished under him. Jehoshaphat also is said to have been a pious man. Judah was now no longer directly dependent on Damascus, but was subject to the suzerainty of Israel; for Jehoshaphat took the field with Ahab, both when he fought at Karkar for Damascus and when he fought against his feudal lord in Gilead. It is further recorded that he also made an attempt to resume the navigation of the Red Sea inaugurated by Solomon.

His son Joram meets us also as a loyal supporter of the northern kingdom under Ahaziah and his brother Joram. It is clear that he was completely under the influence of his wife Athaliah. This fact proves that the house of Omri understood how to secure their power, which they had founded through the instrumentality of a strong army, by other means as well. Athaliah was the daughter of Ahab, and sister of Joram of Israel. The part which she played proves that in reality the influence of the house of Omri was already absolute in Judah. But they never realised their object of restoring the empire of David by the amalgamation of the two dynasties, this time starting from Israel and under Israel's supremacy.

Edom shook off its yoke under Joram. An attempt to reconquer it seems to have turned out very disastrously for the king of Judah. He was followed by his own and Athaliah's son, Ahaziah,

Rebellion of Jehu's Party

for whom his mother had contrived to secure the succession. The house of Omri seems almost to have reached its goal when the opposite party aimed their blow and exterminated the proud dynasty. Ahaziah accompanied his feudal overlord and uncle, Joram of Israel, to battle in Gilead, where both fell victims to Jehu's rebellion.

Jehu, the head of the rebellion, was, like Omri, a military commander. He

won over the army while he was in the field at Gilead and Joram had gone home to recover from his wounds. The army now turned the scale; as often happens, that which had been the support of a strong monarchy became its most dangerous enemy. The cause of the rebellion is stated to have been the murder of Joram and his vassal Ahaziah of Judah. The blow was clearly enough aimed at the whole house of Omri and its partisans, that is, the son of the princess of the house of Omri in Judah. But the energetic Athaliah in Judah was able to hold her own by means of the army, the constant support of her house. It is well known that she ordered all the male descendants of her deceased husband to be murdered. This seems at first sight an incomprehensible act of cruelty, but it finds its motive in the simple fact that the murdered Ahaziah had been her only son; while Joram's other sons were by different wives. On the death of her son the sovereignty would thus legally have fallen to one of the other sons, who had no blood of Omri in his veins. Nothing was left for her but to follow the tactics of her rival if she did not wish to abandon the policy of her house. Thus the complete success of the rebellion was frustrated by her bold action. It was only in Israel that the house of Omri was exterminated and Jehu became king. But what were the deeper-lying causes of the rebellion? The prophets had been favourably disposed to the dynasty of Omri. They expressed the views and wishes of the people, especially of the people of the south with their inferior economic development, as opposed to the policy of Omri and his descendants, who had brought Judah also under their sway. It was the resistance of the nomads and peasants to the development of a civilisation which was prejudicial to them. It was the revolt, too, of the spirit of nationality, whose ideal expression, after David, was centred in the national worship of the God of Israel, against the policy of the ruling dynasty, which favoured connections with foreign countries, and appeared as a worshipper of strange Baalim. It is plainly evident in the course of the insurrection that this resistance, if not originating with Judah, was at any rate strongly supported by it. Its leaders are expressly said to have been a tribe, Rechab, which lived in the south of Judah on the fringe of the desert, in the simple conditions of agriculturists who had not yet altogether abandoned the ideas of a nomadic life, and who are said to have been believers in Israel's God. If we also take into account the support of the Hebrew prophets, expressly proved by the legend of Elisha

Athaliah Queen of Judah

Revolt of National Spirit



A MODERN VIEW OF SAMARIA, THE CAPITAL OF THE ISRAELITE KINGDOM



MICAIAH BEFORE AHAB, KING OF ISRAEL, AND JEHOSHAPHAT, KING OF JUDAH

Judah was subjugated by Ahab, and Jehoshaphat the king was compelled, against his own will and policy, to take the field with him. This picture shows the prophet Micaiah warning Ahab before the battle of Ramoth-Gilead.

to have been given to Jehu, we see what claims had been put forward by the revolutionists. We have not here to do with a mere military revolt, but with the shock of two opposing classes of the population.

It is one thing to offer promises to discontented followers, and another thing to execute them. From the moment when Jehu became king, he had perforce to follow in the main the same line of policy as his predecessors. His scheme had miscarried in Judah owing to Athaliah's intervention. The kingdom of David, for which the co-religionists of David, who supported him, had fought, could not be restored; Jehu was restricted to Israel. He was compelled, therefore, to renounce the religion of the southern kingdom, which he had adopted so far to serve his ends, since he, as king of Israel, now stood in natural opposition to the religion of Judah, which was in the hands of Athaliah. He therefore renounced the religion of David, and served henceforward the old gods of his people, although he had started his revolution in the name of the God of Israel.

External circumstances also soon compelled him to abandon the idea of nationality, which must have helped to bring him to the throne. He was forced, in order to secure his sovereignty, to obtain the acknowledgment of the great powers, and he clearly from the first took into account the existing political conditions. His rebellion must be placed in the year 843, or perhaps 842 B.C. In this year Shalmaneser appeared on his expedition against Hazael before Damascus. He mentions Jehu as a tributary king. The latter had therefore lost no time in obtaining support from the new power instead of Damascus, which had hitherto been supreme. This step was perhaps taken in conformity with the immediate wish of the national party; in reality, it was bound to end at the point to which the policy of the house of Omri was directed. After Shalmaneser had once more vainly tried—839 B.C.—to subdue Hazael, he abandoned his attempts at conquest in the west. Jehu was now in a difficulty, for Hazael naturally proceeded to attack him. Whether Jehu continued to pay tribute as before to Assyria, we are not informed; but he did not submit to Hazael. He offered resistance to him, and lost in the struggle the territory east of Jordan. Judah, which had eluded him owing to Athaliah, does not appear, even

after her fall, to have again been subject to him.

Jehu's reign, therefore, which ought to have seen the restoration of David's kingdom, implies a downfall of Israel from the height previously attained, especially under the house of Omri. It receded also under his son Jehoahaz.

Downfall of Israel

Israel was more and more oppressed by Hazael, since Assyrian help was not forthcoming: we are told in 2 Kings xiii. 3, that Israel was completely in his power. Then "the Lord gave Israel a saviour." The account does not mention this "saviour" by name: it was Assyria. About 800 B.C. Adad-nirari subdued Mari of Damascus. Even his son and successor, Joash, continued in the position of a vassal of Assyria, and was thus enabled to recover from Damascus certain lost territory, presumably east of Jordan. Judah itself was probably conquered once more; Amaziah of Judah vainly tried to shake off the yoke. Jeroboam II., in whose period occurs the expedition of Shalmaneser III. against Damascus in 773 B.C., was equally successful through Assyrian help; it is recorded of him that he reconquered the districts of Northern Israel. During his reign, which is said to have been long, Israel enjoyed for the last time a period of comparative peace.

Soon after his death the new rise of Damascus under Rezon, and the encroachments of Tiglath-pileser, which were connected with it, herald a period of continuous revolutions down to the end of the kingdom. If Israel had fallen from its former position under Jehu, we are now witnesses of its death agony. Zachariah, son of Jeroboam II., was the first of the series of kings who were deposed by violence in rapid succession. He is said to have been slain by a certain Shallum, after a reign of only six months. This latter could hold his own only for one month against Menahem, son of Gadi (2 Kings xv. 14). The date of Menahem is accurately fixed by the notice of Tiglath-pileser IV., that he paid tribute to him in the year 738 B.C. Thus he acknowledged the Assyrian supremacy, evidently under compulsion, for Tiglath-pileser took from him the northern part of his territory. Menahem must have died soon afterwards, probably in 737 B.C. His son, Pekahiah, is said to have reigned two years, 736 and 735 B.C. He seems to have remained loyal to Assyria, for he was overthrown by Pekah, the son of Remaliah, whose revolt was supported by Damascus. After the appearance of Tiglath-pileser, the cry of the two opposite parties was once more "Damascus or Assyria." Pekah, as vassal of Rezon, marched with him in 735 or 734 B.C. against Ahaz, who in Jerusalem was consistently loyal to Assyria. The attempt to defeat him was unsuccessful. In the following year Tiglath-pileser appeared and invested Damascus. Pekah lost his northern territory, or, as Tiglath-pileser expresses it, only Samaria was left. This gave the Assyrian party in Samaria the upper hand; they overthrew Pekah, and proclaimed Hoshea king, and his election was ratified by Tiglath-pileser. Soon afterwards Damascus fell, and became a province of Assyria in 731 B.C.

Assyrian Supremacy Acknowledged

The state of affairs was thus completely changed. Now Assyria proceeded to take every opportunity of systematically draining the resources of the subject people, that is, of creating out of them Assyrian provinces. Ever since 738 B.C. the territory of Israel had touched the province of Simirra, which had been created there; and a considerable part of Israelite territory was now assigned to this province. Damascus, too, was now Assyrian. The annexation of Samaria was necessarily the next step. There were only two possible ways of retaining their self-government, and these were either to pay the tribute or to obtain help from another power. The tribute was too exorbitant to be permanently endured, and the king, through inability to pay, was usually soon driven to suspend the payments—that is, to declare his revolt. Help from outside was now sought in Egypt, which had never ceased to cast her eyes on Palestine.

Israel an Assyrian Province

It was not, indeed, long before Hoshea was compelled to suspend his payments of tribute, trusting to Egyptian aid. The prophet Hosea, whose activity coincides with the period subsequent to the fall of Damascus, describes to us the conditions of vacillation between Egypt and Assyria. In the year 724 B.C. an Assyrian army advanced in order to annex Samaria. The town is said to have resisted for three years; it finally fell when Shalmaneser IV. had just died and Sargon had mounted the throne in 722 B.C. King Hoshea was carried



THE DEATH OF AHAB AFTER THE BATTLE OF RAMOTH-GILEAD
From the picture by T. M. Rooke, in the possession of Mr. M. Russell Cotes, by whose permission it is reproduced.

away into captivity, and with him the larger portion of the inhabitants, 27,290 souls in all, as Sargon accurately records. They were settled in Mesopotamia, in the vicinity of Harran, and on the Khabur and in the Median Highlands. The loss of the population was replaced in the usual fashion by settlers from other parts of the empire; Babylonian citizens from Cuthah in particular were settled in Samaria.

The capital of Israel had thus become an Assyro-Babylonian city. Samaria, henceforward the seat of an Assyrian governor, may be compared with the Sidon of Esarhaddon. The inhabitants were afterward actually termed Cuthæans, from the predominance of the Cuthæan element in the population.

It is generally believed that this "carrying away of the Ten Tribes" signifies a dissolution of the people of Israel, which is regarded as having formed a part of Judah, and as having shared the same views. Starting from this standpoint, certain writers have attempted to trace remnants of the "Ten Tribes" in every imaginable place on earth, being influenced by the account which represents the two peoples of Israel and Judah as one nation. The 27,290 souls whom Sargon enumerates were not, however, "the people of Israel";

they were only the larger portion of the population of Samaria and of its immediate vicinity which alone at the last formed the "kingdom" of Israel, since the northern districts had been captured still earlier. But, apart from this, there was in the territory of the Ten Tribes an absence of the bond which afterwards kept the Jews together in Babylonia; that is, a common cult, to say nothing of a more highly developed religious conception and a closely organised priesthood. Since the severance, the God of Israel had ceased to be the centre of a national worship, and any traces of such worship, which had been retained in the north from the time of David, were quite insignificant. Tradition has not preserved the names of the gods of Bethel, Dan, and the other national sanctuaries. In reality the Ten Tribes were not differentiated, as regards their religious conceptions, in the slightest degree from the other nations dwelling round about them. They were not, therefore, "Jews." The want of a national bond caused even those who remained in their old homes to retain but little recollection of the "kingdom of Israel."

Captivity of the "Ten Tribes"

The province of Samaria, two years after its conquest, in combination with its companions in misfortune, Damascus and Simirra, or Northern Phœnicia, and in concert with Hamath, made a renewed attempt to shake off the Assyrian yoke. But Iaubidi of Hamath was defeated by Sargon. Thus all hope of Syrian independence was destroyed. Samaria after this remained an Assyrian province. It repeatedly received new strata of population, for instance in the reign of Ashurbanipal after the subjugation of the Babylonian revolt of the Cuthæans. At a later period, as Judaism grew stronger, it became the home of the sect of the Samaritans, of which the last remains disappeared only in modern times.

The Power of the Priesthood

During the revolution of Jehu, Athaliah had succeeded in holding her own by means of the army. If Jehu was thus forced to fail in his promises to his helpers, still the revolution, notwithstanding this momentary reverse, meant in the end the victory of the party that still followed the God of David, which was unfriendly to the foreign dynasty of Omri and its policy. The priesthood in Judah, which had gained strength since Solomon, was clearly the real soul of the resistance. It is obvious that, so long as there was any opposition, people and priesthood formed one composite party. It was only after the victory that the conflicting interests of the two parties were felt, as is usual in revolutions. Athaliah is said to have held her own for six years longer. Then the priestly party succeeded in overthrowing her and in wreaking vengeance upon her; they had won over the "Pretorian guard," the support of Athaliah. The only surviving son of Joram, who, when his brothers were murdered, had been sheltered as a child in the Temple, was raised to the throne. It matters little whether he was really the last scion of David's house or was put forward in this character; the important point was that he had been "educated by the high-priest," and placed by him upon the throne.

A schism was now formed between priesthood and people. The two no longer stood as the ruled and oppressed class in opposition to the monarchy, for the sovereignty was now actually in the hands of the priests. These, together with the king, who was dependent on them, were now held responsible by the people for all grievances. If, therefore, the spokesmen of the people had hitherto been opponents of the monarchy, they were now equally opposed to the governing priesthood. But, in accordance with the stage of culture which Judah had attained, truth and justice were represented by an appeal to God.

The Priests versus the People

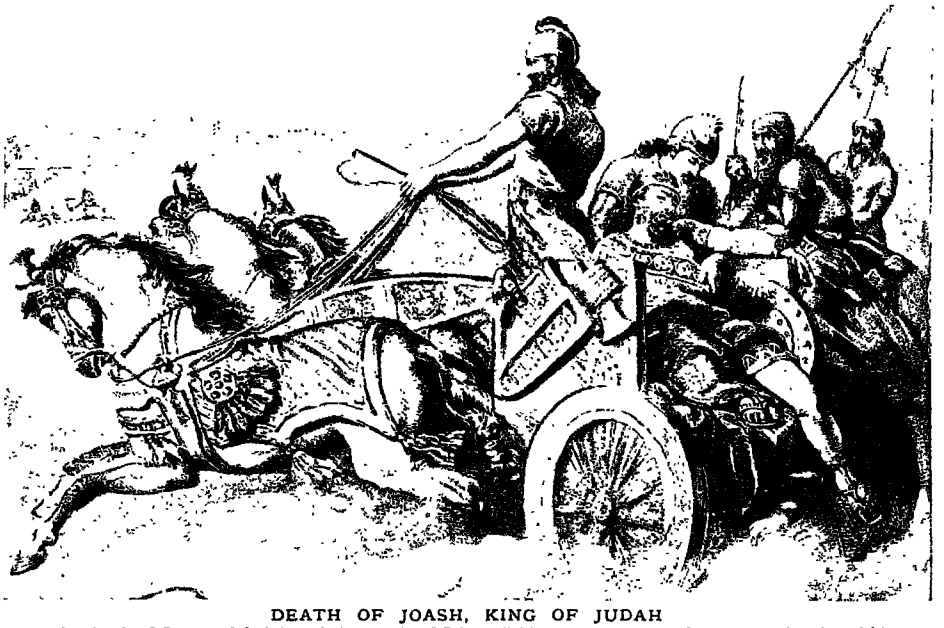
Thus, if any one of the people accused the priests of crimes or mistakes in home or foreign policy, he appealed to God as the representative of justice and right. These spokesmen were the prophets. From the time of the governing priesthood dates the feud between prophets and priests, between the God of the prophets and that of the priests, who was not distinguishable from the Baalim, against whom both had before been united. This then was the origin of the Prophetic Order, properly so called, such as we see it in its chief representatives, Amos and Hosea.

Not much else is known of the state of Judah under Joash. When Jehu, in 842 B.C., paid tribute to Assyria, Judah is not mentioned, probably for the reason that Shalmaneser's influence did not reach

so far to the south. It must, however, very soon afterwards have become subject once more to Jehoahaz and Joash, for Amaziah made fruitless attempts to shake off the yoke; Israel, through Assyria's help, was still the stronger. Joash fell a victim to a palace revolt. Since the conspiracy started with officials, we may perhaps conclude that it formed an attempt to check the supremacy of the priesthood. His son and successor, Amaziah, was equally subject to priestly influence. He made unsuccessful attempts to reconquer Edom, and was unfortunate in the war by which he intended to make himself independent of Israel. We do not know how far he had reckoned on aid from Damascus. In any case, Joash of Israel, the vassal of Assyria, proved the stronger, and defeated him at Beth-Shemesh. Amaziah himself was taken prisoner, and was able to purchase his freedom only by the payment of a heavy ransom. He was also compelled to raze to the ground a part of the fortifications of Jerusalem. He, too, fell a victim to a conspiracy, and was murdered at Lachish; we cannot, however, clearly understand the circumstances which attended his death.

His son Azariah is said to have continued the wars with Edom, but no permanent successes were achieved. Edom asserted its independence after it had once secured its freedom. Since Azariah was a leper, the government was principally carried on by his son Jotham. No events of importance are recorded of the independent reign of the latter from about 752 to 736 B.C. Since in 738 B.C. Judah is not mentioned among the states tributary to Tiglath-pileser, we may assume that it was still dependent on Israel.

Ahaz, the son of Jotham, who succeeded to the crown about the same time as Pekah secured the throne in Samaria, used this opportunity to liberate himself from Israel by acknowledging the Assyrian supremacy. The immediate result was the siege of Jerusalem by Rezon and Pekah in 735, or at latest 734 B.C. Ahaz had not miscalculated when he built his hopes on Tiglath-pileser; the latter appeared in 734 and 733 B.C., and he put an end to the splendour of Damascus. But in his other calculations Ahaz had deceived himself. He had clearly hoped to receive from Tiglath-pileser the northern kingdom as a reward for his loyalty, and in this way to restore once more the kingdom of David. But Tiglath-pileser considered it more prudent to secure for himself the power of turning the scale



DEATH OF JOASH, KING OF JUDAH

After the death of Joram of Judah and the revolt of Jehu, all his sons except Joash were murdered, and his wife Athaliah ruled as regent for several years. Joash was secreted in the Temple and raised to the throne on the assassination of his mother. He attempted to become independent of Israel, but fell a victim to a palace revolt.

at any time by means of the old disunion, and he consequently installed Hoshea. The internal policy of Ahaz was equally directed toward his goal, the possession of Israel. He turned against the now too powerful priesthood. In so doing he was forced to seek the support of the people, and to promise them redress for the extortions of the priests and the officials. He had to adopt a friendly attitude towards foreigners, a policy which drew upon him the hatred of the priestly caste, but could no longer damage him in the eyes of the people, since they had ceased to trust to the leadership of the priests.

Ahaz and the Priesthood

A prophet thus furthered the cause of Ahaz when he reproached the powerful priests with grasping and excess, and spoke in the northern kingdom of Judah as the representative of right and equity, thus seeking to create a feeling in favour of the conquest of Israel by Ahaz. This prophet was Amos. His activity coincides with the period when the question was to be decided, whether a treaty should be made with Assyria or Damascus.

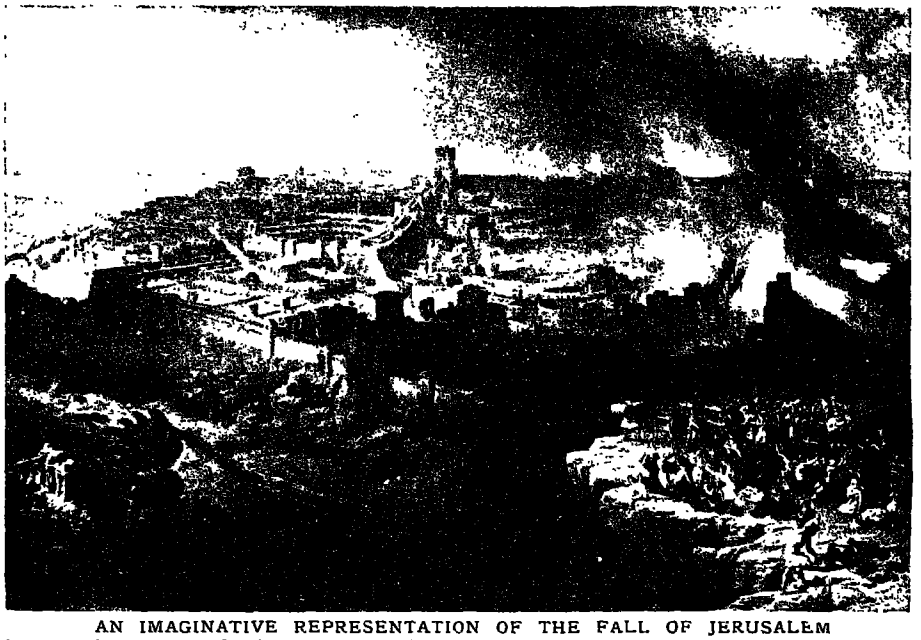
All hopes of the reunion of the kingdom must have been abandoned for ever when Samaria was captured by Sargon. Ahaz seems to have died shortly afterwards, probably in 720 B.C. His son Hezekiah found a state of things very different from the former conditions. Damascus had fallen, and a suzerainty of Israel was no more to be dreaded. Thus at first only one course was left open to him—to pay tribute and to wait until a great power equal in strength to Assyria came to his help. There was no lack of offers: at the very outset of his reign envoys appeared from Merodach-baladan, in order to incite him to revolt from Sargon. But Babylonia had too long kept aloof from the western scene of operations: and Hezekiah appears to have accepted Isaiah's warning, while the envoys found a more willing audience in Philistia. Some years afterwards, however, in 713 B.C., he shared in the revolt of Ashdod. The revolt was suppressed; but Hezekiah emerged without great loss, since once again he made timely submission. With the overthrow of Merodach-baladan, in 710 B.C., his hopes became fainter. But when Sargon, in 705 B.C., met a violent death, the whole West thought that the hour was come when the hated yoke of Assyria might be thrown off. The hymn of triumph over the tyrant's death, which has come down to us in the prophecy of Isaiah (Isa. xiv. 4–20), represents the feeling of the time. But the joy was short lived. In 701 B.C. Sennacherib advanced, and on the withdrawal of the army, Hezekiah, happy at having escaped vengeance through the outbreak of the Babylonian rebellion, was compelled once more to submit.

Babylon Interferes in Israel

Thus, Hezekiah had won nothing by his revolt, but had lost the greater portion of his territory; for all the towns, which Sennacherib had taken by force, were divided among his neighbours. When, therefore, Egypt, under Tirhakah, undertook a new expedition and attempted to win Palestine for itself, there were willing ears in Jerusalem. Moreover, it seems as if after Hezekiah's death the young Manasseh was already king. Sennacherib advanced against Egypt, and now in Jerusalem men trembled at the appearance of the Assyrians before the gates. But Isaiah's words were fulfilled. Sennacherib's army was destroyed, and he himself soon afterwards met his death in his own country. Jerusalem had once again escaped the fate which menaced her. Ahaz had trusted to Assyria and had tried to break the power of the sacerdotal party; this, in its hostility to the monarchy, sought support from Egypt.

Sennacherib Before Jerusalem

Thus, it was a natural consequence that the sacerdotal party almost always advocated relations with the latter, while the kings, estimating more correctly the actual conditions, held to Assyria and afterwards to Babylonia. Hezekiah wavered between the two. Prudence advised him not to break with Assyria, and an honest counsellor like Isaiah solemnly warned him against it. But after he had once been driven to rebel, and had twice, contrary to his own expectation, escaped the vengeance of Assyria, the priestly caste had the situation in their own hands. He could no longer withdraw himself from their influence, and was obliged to concede their most far-reaching demands. He finally granted their request that he should acknowledge the Temple of Jerusalem as the only true place for the worship of God, and should abolish the



AN IMAGINATIVE REPRESENTATION OF THE FALL OF JERUSALEM

In the sixth century B.C. Judah was subject to Babylon, but owing to the impossibility of paying the tribute exacted revolt was inevitable. Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, captured and destroyed the city in 586 B.C.

sanctuaries in the country. By this the influence of the priestly caste at Jerusalem was immensely increased. There were now no rivals left who would diminish their power. They became the only recognised interpreters of the will of God, and the foundation stone of the hierarchy was thus laid. God was now thought of as a Spirit dwelling in the Temple of Jerusalem on Mount Zion—according to the conception of the priesthood, which was enforced only after further long struggles. God for Isaiah still lived "on the mountains." Hezekiah may have been influenced also by the loss of territory, to which he had been forced to submit in 701 B.C. If a large number of his towns had been given to neighbouring states, little more was left to him than Jerusalem, and he, therefore, had material reasons for centralising the worship of God in Jerusalem.

Rise of the Hierarchy

During his reign further fights with the Philistines are recorded (2 Kings xviii. 8). An episode in them is also referred to in the cuneiform inscriptions. Padi of Ekron had not joined the rebellion in 701 B.C. Taken prisoner by the Judaic party in his town, he was handed over to Hezekiah, but was reinstated by Sennacherib, after the latter had conquered Ekron and had secured the surrender of Padi by Hezekiah.

Hezekiah died, at the latest computation, shortly after Sennacherib, and therefore about 680 B.C. Soon afterwards, under Esarhaddon, Manasseh is mentioned as king of Judah. The unfavourable judgment passed on him by the "Deuteronomist" shows that he was opposed to the priestly party. His continued acknowledgment of the Assyrian supremacy is in keeping with this. He is called a persecutor of the prophets, who were at this period partisans of the priestly caste, not men like Amos and Isaiah. When Shamash-shum-ukin tried to win over the west, hopes must have been entertained in Judah also. It is possible that the prophetic denunciation of Nineveh, which bears Nahum's name, and gave expression to the wishes of the party which was inciting revolt, dates from this time. Manasseh did not offer actual resistance, even if the notice of the chronicle is trustworthy that he was taken a prisoner to Babylon; if such was the case it was probably to undergo a trial, conducted before Ashurbanipal, in which he was fortunate enough to justify himself or to receive pardon. Manasseh reigned long, and, as we may infer, happily, in spite of the hatred of the priestly class. His son Amon was murdered, after a reign of only two years, in 642 B.C., evidently at

Manasseh King of Judah

the instigation of the priesthood, since he followed the policy of his father. "But the people of the land slew all them that had conspired against King Amon"; a proof that the people differed from the sacerdotal party in their ideas with regard to these "persecutors of the prophets." A boy of eight years was raised to the throne—a repetition of the policy followed with Joash. The government under this boy, Josiah, brought the party of the priests within site of their goal; under him the hierarchy was constitutionally established by the introduction of "Deuteronomy" as the legal code. This code, which comprises the greater part of the fifth book of the Pentateuch in the form in which it has come down to us, is said to have been promulgated in the year 623 B.C.; the spirit that animates it is best seen in the provision that the punishment for "false prophets" shall be death. False prophets were men who opposed the ruling sacerdotal party; the enactment meant death for political opponents.

A Boy on the Throne

Josiah is said to have made attempts to enlarge his territory; among other acts he destroyed the sanctuary in Bethel. This is conceivable at the time when the empire of Assyria was drawing near its end. When Necho advanced into Palestine Josiah fell in battle against him at Migdol. The later account, such as the chronicle gives, has attempted to trace some faults in this ideal king of the "Deuteronomist" in order to explain his end. His government appears to have pleased the priesthood more than the people, which now, just as it had slain the murderers of Amon, raised to the throne Jehoahaz, the son of Josiah, who was by no means acceptable to the priesthood (2 Kings xxiii. 30). This latter is said, after three months, to have been deposed and kept in captivity by Necho, who meanwhile had moved into his headquarters at Ribla in the Beka'a. He seems, therefore, not to have tendered his submission at the right moment, or we may see in his deposition the influence of the priests, who always stood by Egypt. In Jehoahaz's place his brother Eliakim, who now assumed the name of Jehoiakim, was raised to the throne by Necho about 608 or 607 B.C. He was from the first compelled to raise the taxes considerably in order to pay the sums exacted by Necho.

The Priests Against the King

When Necho, in 605 B.C., was driven back to Egypt by Nebuchadnezzar, Jehoiakim submitted to the new lord and is said to have remained loyal to him for three years,



THE BLIND ZEDEKIAH, LAST KING OF JUDAH, BEFORE NEBUCHADNEZZAR OF BABYLON
Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem in 580 B.C., and punished Zedekiah, the rebel king, with whom the kingdom ceased to exist, by putting out his eyes, slaying his sons and taking him away captive to Babylon with the people of Judah.

from about 605 to 603. He then rebelled, in vain expectation of help from Egypt, and in spite of the advice of Jeremiah that he should hold fast to the Chaldæan monarchy. A Chaldæan army did not long delay its appearance. Jehoiakim had, however, died in the meantime, and thus the fate intended for him befell his son, Jehoiachin, who was forced to surrender after a three months' siege in 597 B.C. Jerusalem once more retained its independence, for Nebuchadnezzar had consideration for the strong Chaldæan party. A large number of the chief men were even then carried off into exile, among them the prophet Ezekiel, whose speeches form a commentary upon the succeeding events at home. Nebuchadnezzar appointed as king a third son of Josiah, Mattaniah, who now took the name of Zedekiah. But, as Jehoiakim, by the excessive amount of tribute, had been forced into rebellion, so in the end Zedekiah, in spite of all resistance, and the dissuasion of Jeremiah, was compelled to yield to the pressure of his "patriots" and priests. He had hopes also from the new Pharaoh, Hophra. The hopes were vain. Nebuchadnezzar captured and destroyed Jerusalem in 586 B.C. Zedekiah was cruelly punished by the loss of his eyes, his sons were slain, and a large part of the population was carried away. Judah became a Babylonian province, and the people of Judah ceased to exist.

JUDAISM AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

JUDAH and Israel, regarded from the standpoint of political history, were insignificant states, of no greater importance for the history of the Ancient East than the local history of the Highlands of Scotland for the empire of Great Britain. This remarkable people has attained its importance for mankind not through its political history, but through the religion which had its sanctuary and its birthplace in Jerusalem. We cannot, however, entirely accept the view which sees in the Jewish religion, with its further developments, a creation of the Jewish spirit. Precisely as Christianity did not grow in its strength and in its spiritual ideas in Judah itself, but on the soil of the whole Hellenistic world, so Judaism was not evolved in Judah, but could have attained its development and its expansion only on the soil of the wide civilisation of the Ancient East. The details of this subject are as obscure or even more obscure than the beginnings of Christianity. This much is, however, clear—it was in Babylonia that Judaism first became that which it was and still is; and it could never have reached this stage unless it had come into close contact with the highest civilisation of Western Asia.

Babylonian Growth of Judaism

Nevertheless, the people of Judah contributed their share to its development, and were its first embodiment. If, therefore, historical investigators cannot accept the story of the "Chosen People," yet this story, in virtue of its wide acceptance, has still a claim to careful consideration, as also the nation which was its embodiment. In contrast to the traditions which we have for the rest of the East, we notice in the history of Israel strong accentuation of religious ideas and of all that is connected with them. As popular ideas on this subject rest mainly on the Biblical narrative it is interesting, as well as instructive, to sketch them briefly for ourselves in the light of the universal laws of human progress.

It is probable that Israel and Judah had originally little to do with each other; the proof of unity, the common worship of one God, can have been given them only by the man who united them—that is, by David. The God who represents the thought of fraternal association with Judah is Yahve, or Jehovah; even in the conception of historical times He was still identified as the God of the old home of David, the south of Judah. Jehovah was recognised in Israel only as the God of the victorious David for a sign of his dominion. He had never previously been the God universally worshipped by the northern tribes. The rapidly ensuing division of the kingdom induced the kings of Israel to deny Him. Israel, therefore, had little to do with the development of Judaism. As historical students we must therefore modify the conception, according to which Judah would appear to be far more nearly akin to Israel than, for instance, Edom, Moab, and Ammon; and undue regard must not be paid to the picture of a homogeneous nation under David and Solomon. This view can be best expressed in the phrase, which may sound paradoxical but yet aptly characterises the true relationship of the two peoples: "The Israelites were not Jews."

Distinction Between Judah and Israel

Thus the investigation of the development of the idea of God and the Hebrew religion is, from the first, restricted to Judah, as the original, and before long the only, home of the worship of God. We may omit certain attempts to encroach on the territory of Israel, the motive for which was always the realisation of a political supremacy. In the view of pure historical investigation, it is urged that the worship of God, whom David worshipped in his home and afterwards as prince of Caleb in Hebron—which can, however, hardly have been the original seat of the religion—was introduced into the newly-acquired parts of the kingdom as the area of conquest widened; it was thus a sign of sovereignty. There were, however, pagan deities still worshipped in different parts of Judah, as elsewhere; but these Baalim had really no more than a local significance.

The God of David

The very fact of its being introduced into other places shows that the religion was not originally confined to Jerusalem, though it had indeed been first introduced there. But it followed quite as a matter of course that the splendid sanctuary in Jerusalem, which was situated in the focus of traffic, should have eclipsed the other seats of worship in the country round. Moreover, the part must be considered which the priesthood in Jerusalem began to play after Solomon's reign: it thus gained a superiority over its colleagues in the other sanctuaries, which corresponded to the superiority of the capital over the provincial towns. The real representation and development of the Hebrew religion, or the worship of the only true God, so far as it was of political significance, rested with the priesthood of Jerusalem. After Solomon the priests possessed the ascendency in Jerusalem and knew how to keep the kings amenable to their wishes. This state of affairs received a rude shock through the domination of the house of Omri. The religion of David had not been the national religion in Israel since Jeroboam. Israel now encroached upon Judah, and Omri and his successors, who had taken care to connect the kingdom of Judah with their family, thus became dangerous to the religion as the standard of a sacerdotal domination. But this very danger united their natural antagonists in Judah. The priesthood of Jerusalem had, as the ruling party, already become antagonistic to the other priesthoods in the country, and above all to the people itself, for their natural aims could never be those of the people. But so soon as there was a common enemy, all sections of the people, provided that the parties were not so sharply separated that the people as a whole had little vigour left, would soon regard the question from a common standpoint. This popular standpoint was, in the present case, the opposition to the foreign dominion of the house of Omri, which was destined to make Judah, formerly the ruling state, dependent on Israel, while the priesthood acted in opposition to the strange gods which the dynasty of Omri worshipped. We must also consider the fact that Judah was now threatened with the same fate which Israel had formerly incurred—namely, that, when defeated, it would have been forced to accept the gods of Israel, just as Israel had once received the God of David. Schooled by necessity, the priests of Jerusalem bethought themselves of a truer worship of their God than the leading of a luxurious life. We therefore find all worshippers of the supreme God, the priesthood and the rough worshippers from the desert—the Rechabites—united against the foreign domination; and in Judah, as well as in Israel, prophets denounced in the name of Jehovah the abuses of the kingdom. Elijah and Elisha are such figures. Their followers were able to win over Jehu in the



ISAIAH THE STATESMAN-PROPHET
From a frieze by Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel

Prophets Denounce Abuses

northern empire, and with him the army, to its side; and the rebellion of Jehu was organised in the name of God for the restoration of the empire of David. But it failed, as we have seen, in the very place where it originated.

Why Jehu Failed

The restoration of David's empire came to nothing, and the encroachment of the religion upon the territory of Israel miscarried, Jehu being compelled to abandon the attempt.

The absolute power of the priesthood begins with Joash. Once more we see the feud between the people and the priesthood, which now more and more became the ruling party; at the same time the priesthood abandoned the true God, the one God to whom men appealed as the protector of their rights, in favour of Baal worship—that is to say, they sacrificed everything to forms of ritual, since these were the source of large revenues, which the people had to pay. The good resolutions formed during the period of opposition were forgotten. Henceforth, therefore, the prophets strenuously attacked the priests, although in the rebellion of Jehu both had gone hand in hand.



THE PROPHET JEREMIAH
From a Michael Angelo frieze in the Sistine Chapel.

We see this most clearly defined in Amos, the first prophet of whom copious utterances are extant. His date is fixed by the allusion to Assyria, of which little could have been known there before 738 B.C. Amos prophesied under Ahaz and in his favour, since he tried to create a feeling in the northern kingdom in favour of the re-establishment of David's empire. Once more, therefore, the name of God was used as the rallying-cry of a policy which sought to unite Judah and Israel. Amos would hear nothing of the God of the priesthood; he was a man of the people, and he reproached the ruling classes with their sins in burning and passionate words which the reformers of the Middle Ages gladly employed.

The same thing holds good of Hosea, whose mission falls not much later, although certainly after the annexation of Damascus by Tiglath-pileser—that is, after 731 B.C.—since he does not refer to the state which up to that time had played so important a part in Palestinian affairs. He does not indeed inveigh against the ruling classes with the bitterness of Amos, although he sees the cause of the calamity in their sins. This is partly due to the fact that Amos, as he distinctly averred, was no "professional prophet"—that is to say, not one of those men who, being quasi-dervishes, devoted their lives to religious meditation and public oratory, but a herdsman and countryman, who had been induced by the prevailing distress to proclaim his message throughout the land. He therefore laid more stress on the cause of the miseries, which he had experienced in his own person.

Isaiah, the next prophet, stands on a higher plain. He was a well-educated man; he lived at Jerusalem near the king's person, was familiar with all the knowledge of that day, well versed in literature — his songs show that he was acquainted with Babylonian literature—and he surveyed the whole political movement of the time. In brief, he was a statesman who had reached the highest pinnacle of his age. For this very reason he belongs to neither of the ruling parties, whether priestly or royal, although doubtless he was a member of one of them by birth. He stood above them. His political insight forced him to take his place as counsellor by the king's side, and to warn him against rash enterprises. But when the storm of disasters once burst upon the country, he exhorts the nation to hold out; and the result proved that he rightly estimated the political situation. He opposed the arrogant claims of the priestly party, and thus laid stress on the miseries of the people;

Isaiah the Statesman

but he was not a true man of the people, since he was not in any sense a partisan.

The next period contains no prophet of importance; for Nahum's denunciation of Nineveh, if we are indeed to place him under Manasseh, and one or two utterances which pass under Isaiah's name and may also belong to this age, concern only foreign policy. It is expressly stated in 2 Kings xxi. 16, that Manasseh took stringent measures against the opposition; but we may assume that the passage refers to prophets who spoke in favour of the priesthood, which had been deprived of its influence, and not to men of the people preaching in the spirit of Amos. On the contrary, the people were probably well satisfied with the rule of Manasseh.

Jeremiah the Last Prophet

A striking personality appears at the close of the history of Judah in Jeremiah. We may compare his attitude on foreign policy with that of Isaiah. He was, however, a pronounced supporter of the Chaldæan party, a point which cannot be asserted of Isaiah as regards Assyria. History has shown that he was undoubtedly right when he uttered warnings against a breach with Nebuchadnezzar. He was antagonistic to the priestly party, with its Egyptian traditions, and had in consequence to suffer during the siege; whether justly so, from the point of view of his opponents, we will not attempt to discuss. It would be in keeping with the views of his day if he had maintained relations with the Chaldæans; the treatment which he received after the conquest of Jerusalem makes us suspect some such conduct on his part. A completely different spirit from that of the earlier prophets is revealed in the utterances of Jeremiah. Amos and Hosea are demagogues, and even Isaiah, with the eye of a statesman standing above the parties, has a clear opinion as to the true causes of the national calamity, which cannot be relieved by joining either Egypt or Assyria. All three wish to probe deeper, and expect the evil to be cured only when the national life is more healthy. They express this belief in the spirit of their age by an appeal to the will of God, but in a formula which really suits the connection of events: "Do that which is right, according to the will of God, and you will be healed." In Jeremiah, on the other hand, we find, in contrast to this practical standpoint, a prevalence of the religious, non-worldly spirit, which has found its most distinct expression in the tenet of Christianity: "Seek first the kingdom of God, and all this will come to you of itself." It is a confusion between cause and effect that has made Jeremiah as a thinker inferior to his predecessors, but has also made him the favourite prophet of a religious development which seeks its salvation in another world. The ideal world of seclusion, which offers escape from the world of flesh, finds its expression in the prophecy of Jeremiah.

Non-worldly Spirit of Jeremiah

The introduction of Deuteronomy as the legal code implied the victory of the hierarchical party; it was the codification of priestly rule. Such legislation, which was too diametrically opposed to the demands of the real life of the people, was of course certain to meet with many hindrances in practice, and contributed largely to the destruction of the state; moreover, its original promoters, the priests, forced the king to revolt from Babylonia. But this code could have come into prominence only at a time when the people no longer formed a nation but rather a religious sect, which was ready to recognise it as their guiding principle. That which in the turmoil of national life must have led to the ruin of the people could, in the security afforded by the protection of a powerful state, be further developed, and, through the feeling of homogeneity with which it filled those who professed it, might become a factor in their economic progress. The component parts of the people of Judah, which had been led away into captivity in Babylonia, were precisely those which were anti-Chaldæan: that is to say, the priestly party, those who were active supporters of Deuteronomy. The rest, indeed, had remained behind in the country. In this way we may explain the fact that the Jewish community, in contrast to so many others which had been transplanted by Assyrians or Babylonians, held together and preserved a distinct individuality. They were from the first a religious community, and as such they were further developed, since by their new environment they were thrown more together and brought into intimate relation one with the other. "Judaism" was developed in Babylon, a closely united religious body in the midst of a

The Deuteronomic Code

great, heterogeneous, and, as they regarded it, foreign population.

On the other hand, it was quite inevitable that Judaism should have adopted much of the Babylonian culture in the atmosphere of which it lived. Precisely as a Jew living in a modern country shares in its intellectual and economic growth, and is affected by its influence, so it was the case in Babylonia. Our material still remains incomplete for ascertaining in any detail how far the sphere of Jewish religious thought had been influenced by that of Babylonia. Certain evidence that we do possess makes it very apparent that we cannot estimate this influence too highly; some day, probably, many of the institutions of Judaism which seem to be "Jewish" will be shown to be Babylonian in the sense that much of the Mosaic code of legislation is now proved, by the discovery of Hammurabi's Code of Laws, to have been directly derived from Babylonia. What, again, is more characteristic of the spirit of this civilised Judaism, humiliated in a manner so strongly contrasted with its pride, than the penitential psalms, in which it implores forgiveness from its God? They were composed during the exile, and were copies of similar productions of the Babylonian intellect.

Debts to Babylon

Just as Judaism at a later age eagerly took part in Hellenistic culture, and then in the Arabian, mediæval, and modern intellectual movements, so it tried at this time to turn to its own use the treasures of Babylonian wisdom. A striking instance of this is afforded by the author of the Book of Kings, who wrote during the exile. He found in Babylon a perfected system of records and a laboriously exact chronology. The chronological scheme, for which he found in his own documents an insufficient basis, was elaborated on the Babylonian model, and was thus the result of calculations prepared by the aid of Babylonian science. The Jew who lived in Babylon appropriated the stores of Babylonian knowledge; he even studied the cuneiform documents, and searched them for information about his own people. The same spirit, which meets us in the explanation of Biblical accounts by the later Jewish commentators, was also characteristic of the Jews of the exile in elaborating the history of their ancestors. They employed chronological calculations, prepared in the same spirit as those of the Christian chronographers, Julius Africanus, Eusebius, etc. But we meet at the same time the characteristic spirit of Judaism, which makes itself so prominent in Josephus. There is always the recurring effort to prove Judah to be the Chosen People, both from history and from the accounts of other nations. Modern authorities are persuaded that not only the Jewish religion, but all the traditions of Judaism were developed in Babylonia during the exile.

History Written in Exile

From this time forward there was never a people of Judah. We possess few historical facts as to the time of the exile; but, from what we have already ascertained, it follows that we must picture to ourselves the rôle of Judaism during this period as having been the same as in later times. Even then it must have begun to expand, otherwise we can hardly explain its development in the following centuries; for such an expansion would hardly have been possible except for the intellectual stimulus provided by the new environment in Babylon. On the other hand, the closely compacted community, spiritually united through the rigid organisation given it by the priesthood which was deported to Babylonia, naturally saw its home in Jerusalem and the true seat of the Most High in the temple on Mount Zion. In this connection we notice the survival of the idea of the old national God, who could dwell only in the land of his own people, and who, since the time of Hezekiah, had chosen Jerusalem itself for His dwelling-place.

With the captivity began also the intense longing for a return. Since this was out of the question under a Chaldæan supremacy, the Jews of Babylon waited longingly for the saviour who was destined to bring them freedom from the hated yoke. In the second part of Isaiah are expressed the hopes, so often disappointed, with which men followed the vicissitudes of Babylonian history. The liberator came at last, and there were real grounds for rejoicing that the dominion of Bel and Nebo was broken. Cyrus occupied Babylon, and Judaism was now quite certain of its champion.

Champion of Judaism



ARMENIA BEFORE THE ARMENIANS

OF the highlands in which the Euphrates and Tigris have their source, and which rise to the north of Mesopotamia and its outlying mountains, we know little at the time when Babylonia still dominated the whole Euphrates country and Assyria did not exist as an independent kingdom. But the state of things which meets us in later times, when the country received its culture from Assyria, and the latter was forced to subdue the mountain tribes unless it wished to become their prey, must have already existed in the preceding ages. Indeed, if we must assume that the territory of the later Median empire had been the seat of an organised administration even in the earlier Babylonian epoch, we may surmise that Armenia also had then become united in a certain degree, and had already abandoned its primitive tribal organisation under the influence of Babylonian civilisation. Armenia probably stood at that time in far closer relation to the Babylonian sphere of culture than Urartu later to Assyria, and was apparently on a higher stage of civilisation than two thousand years afterwards. We do not know what nations or what races then inhabited the mountains on which the Babylonian represents the ark of Khasisadra, his Noah, to have rested. But we may conjecture that the prosperity of Mesopotamian civilisation in its widest extent dates from a very early period, and that the last millennium, with which we are better acquainted, already marks a great decadence as compared with the height to which it attained in earlier times.

Armenia and Babylon

The first definite information as to the history of these countries is derived from the inscriptions of the kings of Assyria, from Tiglath-pileser I. onward. Shalmaneser I. had already made an advance into the country between the Euphrates and Tigris towards the highlands, and by planting Assyrian colonies there had formed a secure frontier for Mesopotamia. We may regard the nations which he subjugated there as " Hittites," as this whole advance was but a continuation of the expulsion of the Mitani. The struggle was, therefore, between Assyrian and Hittite nationalities.

The country to the east of this—that is, the region south of Lake Van—was called by the Assyrians the Nairi country. Tiglath-pileser had conducted three expeditions against it, making Mesopotamia his starting point, and advanced as far as the sources of the Tigris, where he carved his effigy and engraved an inscription at the natural tunnel near the source of the present Sebene-Su. The southern portion of the Nairi country, bounded on the south by the Tigris, was called Kirkhi. Khubushkia adjoins it on the east. We may include its inhabitants in the eastern Medo-Elamite group of nations, and may conjecture that the Hittites did not encroach on the district south of Lake Urumiya. The assumption that their migration as a whole took place from Europe is supported by their settlement to the south and west of Lake Van. A group advanced also to the east of the lake. The petty state of Musasir, which we find mentioned from the eighth to the ninth century, seems to have had a population of the " Urartean " Hittite group.

So far as we can trace the history of the countries now under consideration, they meet us first in a condition such as we might expect after a recent migration of uncivilised tribes. There were no large states ; if any such had previously existed, they had been destroyed by these or earlier immigrations. In the period after Tiglath-pileser I. the tribes which had advanced into these districts from the north naturally expanded, and destroyed the advantages, in any case not very important, which the Assyrians had gained. The districts which Shalmaneser I. had colonised were again seized by the advancing barbarian tribes. Ashurbanipal was therefore obliged to secure for Assyria this district, which was roughly bounded in the south by a line drawn from Amid to Malatia, and

Assyrian Colonies in Armenia

to reinforce the old Assyrian colonies. In the ninth century Shalmaneser II., when he advanced on Armenia, and, starting from the Nairi country, which had been subjugated by Ashurbanipal, marched towards the north, struck the territory of King Arame of Urartu, whose dominion comprised mainly the district north of Lake Van. He was attacked by Assyria on the west and south-east of the lake, on the southern frontier of his country, somewhere on the Arsanias in the year 857 B.C.

For some time very little is heard of Urartu, until, in 883 B.C., towards the end of Shalmaneser's reign, a new expedition to that country is mentioned, in which Siduri, king of Urartu, after crossing the Arsanias, is said to have been defeated. Two inscriptions of this Siduri have been found at the foot of the fortress of Van which record the erection of buildings by him. He styles himself in them Sarduri, son of Lutipri, king of Nairi. The inscriptions are composed in Assyrian, and even the titles of the king are copied from the contemporary Assyrian formulæ. Neither he nor any one of his successors styles himself king of Urartu — that was perhaps merely the designation adopted by the Assyrians from the name of the mother country. We may conclude from this state of things that the sovereignty of this Sarduri (I.) followed a revolution in Urartu. Since the royal title is not given to his father, and, on the other hand, another king is recorded to have preceded him in Urartu, his reign may imply the rise of a new tribe among the large number of newly immigrated peoples which were still living in Urartu under their tribal constitution. Sarduri is the ancestor of the royal family, under which an important empire was developed, the most recent of all the empires of Hittite origin In it for the last time Hittites opposed the Assyrian empire with success.

Kingdom of Urartu

The seat of this empire of Urartu was the district along Lake Van. With the exception of the southern shore, it stretched in an easterly direction as far as Musasir, the small state south-west of Lake Urumiya, and in a north-easterly direction right up to Lake Gok-cha, and was therefore watered by the Araxes. We can trace from Sarduri onward the succession of its kings, chiefly from their own inscriptions, up to the Aryan immigration. Urartu, the natural opponent of Assyria, thus came into contact with Babylonian culture. Assyrian influence strikes us at once in the character in which the kings of Urartu had their inscriptions written. While Sarduri I. had them written in Assyrian, his successors employed the vernacular, but in an alphabet which had been adapted, not from the Babylonian, but from the Assyrian form of writing. They were imitators of the Assyrians even in their titles. We know little of the new royal family or of its place of origin. We find in after times Tuspa, or Turuspa, in the district of Biaina, the modern Van, the capital of the empire. It does not appear to have been the original home of the royal family. A somewhat mutilated inscription seems to record that Biaina had a king of its own even under Ispuinis; in any case, we may regard him as an under-king or feudal lord of a district. We may conclude that the empire was formed by the subjugation of separate chiefs and princes, and that the kings were supported in the process by a strong dynastic, central power. By the annexation of the district of Biaina they came into possession of Tuspa. This district cannot have been subdued for the first time by Ispuinis. Sarduri I. had already built at Van.

Imitation of Assyria

The successor of Sarduri was Ispuinis, a contemporary of Shamshi-Adad, whose general, Mutarris-Ashur, encountered him on an expedition to Nairi. Thence the new empire was extended further towards the south—that is, into the regions which the Assyrians had traversed or seized. Ispuinis adopted his son Menuas as co-regent. Owing to this fact, most of the inscriptions of this time bear the names of both these rulers. As an example we may cite the inscription in the pass of Kelishin, a sort of boundary stone set up in the district taken from Assyria, recording the acquisition of the Biaina district and of Tuspa, which henceforth served as the capital. The successor of Menuas was Argistis I., who did most for the extension of the empire. He was contemporary with Shalmaneser III. and Ashur-dan in Assyria, and the numerous campaigns against Urartu under the former, in combination with the condition of the country at a later time, show that Assyria was obliged to act on the defensive against the attacks

Extensions into Assyria

of Argistis. Records of victories by Argistis were recorded in eight large panels upon the rocks of the fortress at Van—the longest Urartean inscription which we possess. They contain a report of successes against Assyria, and of a conquest of those regions which the Assyrians designated as the Nairi country.

Urartu Supports the Rebels

There is a further mention of places as far distant as Melitene—that is, of districts which had already stood in the fixed relation of vassals to Assyria. During the period anterior to Tiglath-pileser IV., Sarduri II., the son of Argistis, who encroached further towards Syria, was the support of all the states in the east and west which attempted to revolt from Assyria. While he extended his influence as far as Arpad, he drove Urartu out of Syria and finally attacked that country itself. Even if this denotes an actual decline of the political power of Urartu and of all the kindred nations which leant upon it, yet, regarded from an ethnological standpoint, the result of the Urartean advance must be noted as an expansion of the kindred tribes and a retrogression of the Semitic population in the countries farthest to the north. The districts between the Upper Tigris and the Euphrates, which Shalmaneser I. had occupied with Assyrian colonists, were once more lost, and their Assyrian population was dispersed, until under Esarhaddon we find that a final attempt was made to reoccupy them with Assyrians.

In Sargon's reign, his successor, Rusas I., attempted a new attempt on Assyria, where the revolution and the change of kings in 722 B.C. seemed to furnish him with a favourable opportunity. But he, too, failed, and in despair he committed suicide in 714 B.C. The power of Urartu was broken by his overthrow. At the same time, under Argistis II., an attack was made from the north by Aryans.

Urartu's Power Broken

The reports of Assyrian governors on the northern frontier in the period between 710 and 705 B.C. announce that heavy defeats were inflicted on Urartu by the Aryan tribes. These wild incomers lived for a time on the borders of Urartu and within its territory until, pushed forward by their neighbours on the east, the Ashkuza, and by other tribes which were pressing on, they moved further westward and overran the whole of Asia Minor. This took place between 670 and 660 B.C. under one of the successors of Argistis II.; that is to say, under Rusas II., Erimenas, or Rusas III.

Only one episode in the period of Rusas III., the contemporary of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal, is recorded in detail. In the year 674 B.C. Esarhaddon records an expedition which he undertook against the country of Shupria in order to subdue a chief, without doubt of Urartean stock. The latter, calculating already on the confusion caused by the advance of the Cimmerians, had attempted in the universal disorder to found an independent state of his own. He was aided by fugitives both from Assyria and Urartu, whom he assiduously attracted to his country. All the demands of Esarhaddon and of Rusas that he should surrender their subjects were rejected, so that Esarhaddon finally found himself compelled to take measures against him. Once more the fortresses of the country were occupied by Assyrian colonists, in order to form an Assyrian province. We must no longer regard these colonists as forming an actual Assyrian population, but rather as consisting of foreigners who were transplanted thither from other conquered districts. A very few years afterwards, in 668 or 667 B.C., the same chief—or another of the same country—in conjunction with the Cimmerians, attempted a sudden attack on the new province, but was killed in doing so. It is noteworthy throughout the whole affair how Assyria and Urartu were for once brought together by a common peril.

Urartu Joins Assyria

The last king of Urartu was probably Sarduri III., who voluntarily submitted to Ashurbanipal in order to obtain assistance from him against the Aryan tribes.

We do not know whether before this an Aryan chief had raised himself to the throne of the Urartean empire, or whether the empire was only ended by the Medes. If we reflect, however, on the development of the power of the Ashkuza in the interval, we can hardly assume that these allies of Assyria had not already established themselves firmly in this region. The whole population began to blend with the Aryan immigrants, and the Armenian people thus came into existence.

HUGO WINCKLER
LEONARD W. KING



ANCIENT ASIA MINOR

ITS HISTORY BEFORE THE PERSIAN CONQUEST

THE great peninsula projecting from the Asiatic continent towards the west has been called Asia Minor (ἡ μικρὰ Ἀσία) since ancient times. It is divided from Syria and Mesopotamia on the south and the south-east by the Taurus range and its north-western continuation, the Anti-taurus. On the north-east the range of the Paryadres, which follows the south shore of the Black Sea, and on the east the whole Armenian highlands along the upper course of the Euphrates, separate it from the Caucasus region. On the north the boundary is the Black Sea, on the west the Ægean. For the most part, Asia Minor consists of a large elevated plateau, stretching from the Taurus Mountains to the mountains running along the southern coast of the Black Sea. Only in the west there extend fertile, well-watered plains between the deeply-indented seaboard, full of bays and harbours, and the various ranges on the coast, which form, as it were, the passage to the tableland.

Features of the Country

In the north the coast of Asia Minor approaches within a few miles of Europe, from which it is separated only by the narrow straits of the Bosphorus and the Hellespont, while further southward the numerous islands of every size form a sort of bridge across to Hellas. In fact, from one point of view, the Ægean coast and islands of Asia Minor really form part of Hellas, from which they nowise differ in geographical features or in population. Thus Asia Minor forms a connecting-link between Asia and Europe, and is influenced by both in its historical development; but as geographically it does not form a perfect unit, it has never attained political or national independence.

We meet here from the very first a large number of different tribes. The Mæonians and Lydians dwelt in the country watered by the Hermus; they were bounded on the south first by the Carians and then by the Lycians. In the gorges and valleys of the western Taurus and its spurs lived the Milyæ, Solymi, and especially the Pisidians and Isaurians. The Cilicians possessed the main range of these mountains with the southern ridges, while Cappadocians and Lycaonians had occupied the tableland northward of the Taurus.

The Asia Minor Peoples

Notwithstanding our extremely scanty knowledge of the earliest times, we can notice some shifting of population in this medley of peoples. Thus the name of the Cappadocians and Cappadocia occurs first in the Persian era; before that time these regions as far as the Taurus were held by Tibareni and Moschi, whom we rediscover later as small tribes in the mountains on the coast of Pontus, and still earlier the Kheta, or Hittites, had descended hence into Northern Syria. But, taken all in all, these nations always inhabited the same territory and stand out in sharp contrast to the Thracian and Greek tribes, who are known to have been immigrants. They must therefore be reckoned as autochthonous. The close relationship between the tribes is proved most conclusively by similarity in language. In the whole district inhabited by them there are very numerous names of places ending in "ssos" and "nda"—Termessos, Sagalassos; Œnoanda, Laranda—and many names of persons agreeing in roots and endings.

Formerly attempts were made to assign the nations in Asia Minor partly to the Semitic and partly to the Aryan stock, but the conviction has gradually gained ground that in dealing with the inhabitants of Asia Minor we have to deal with a distinct race. The peoples of Inner Asia Minor were probably distinct in race and language from the inhabitants of the west and south coasts, who were no doubt of the dolichocephalic

Non-Semitic and Non-Aryan

"Mediterranean" type of Sergi, like the earliest Greeks, Italians, and Egyptians, while the peoples of the inner highlands seem to have been brachycephalic, like the modern Kurds. As these "autochthonous" inhabitants were peculiar in race, so also their religious ideas bear a characteristic stamp of their own.

Characteristic of many tribes in Asia Minor is the worship of the great Mother of the Gods, Ma, or Ammas, a nature goddess, who has her seat on the mountain-tops and takes many titles from them, such as Dindymene Idaia, Sipylene, Cybele; from her proceed all growth and decay in nature, as well as all civilisation. She is the protectress of city walls and gates, and wears, therefore, the mural crown. In her honour feasts were celebrated with wild revelry, with dance and crashing music, and in her service priests gashed their bodies, and maidens prostituted themselves. In the great centres of the worship of the Mother of the Gods there were numerous priests and an equal number of sacred slaves.



THE MOTHER GODDESS OF ASIA MINOR
The worship of Ma, the Mother of the Gods, was characteristic of many of the tribes of ancient Asia Minor. This picture is from a rock-hewn relief in Cappadocia.

Peculiar also to this entire district are the colossal rock-hewn reliefs, which agree in style, as well as in the fact that the figures thereon represented wear mostly the same costume—namely, a high-peaked cap, short tunic, and high-pointed boots. They are found spread over a region extending from the north slopes of the Taurus and the Pisidian lakes to the Halys on the one side and as far as the Ægean Sea on the other side. The figure carved in the living rock near Smyrna, representing a warrior with spear and bow, was famous even in antiquity, and was ascribed to Sesostris [see page 1719]. At the present day in Boghaz-Köi and the neighbouring Öyuk, on the right bank of the Halys, directly south of Sinope, and east of Ancyra, in a district called Pteria in antiquity, the remains of old city walls and the foundations of large palaces have been discovered, clearly the centre of an ancient civilisation [see page 1725]. In Boghaz-Köi, outside the walls, an almost rectangular courtyard was cut in the rocks, the walls of which are covered with reliefs. In one place a long procession of men is on the march; in another place our attention is fixed on a group of seven gods, who stand not on the ground, but on beasts or the tops of mountains, or, in one case, on the necks of two men. The costume which we described above belongs to these figures, too; but, unfortunately, up till now the hieroglyphic signs accompanying the figures have not been deciphered. It has long been recognised that these monuments, both in style and in the manner of inscription, are very closely connected with those which have been discovered in North Syria; and we are now justified in regarding them as relics of a Hittite domination.

In contrast to Hittite peoples, which may be called the peoples of Asia Minor in the proper sense, since as far as our knowledge goes they were always settled there, we find in the north-west and on the entire west coast such tribes as evidently were not indigenous to Asia Minor. To these belong, in the first place, the Aryan Thracian tribes, who crossed from their European mother-country over the Bosphorus and Hellespont and pressed on from the regions which skirt these straits gradually eastward. This immigration did not certainly take place at any one time; in the course of a long period new bands kept coming into Asia Minor from Thrace, driven either by the scarcity of food, resulting from

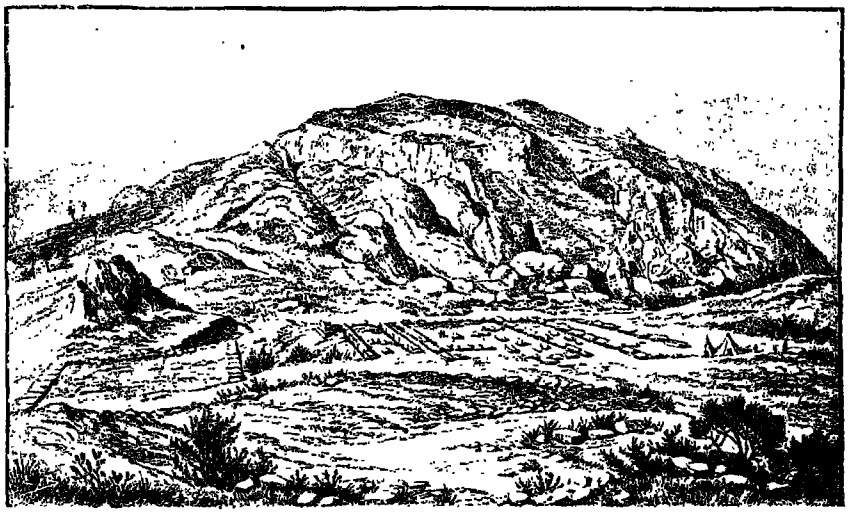
over-population, or by the onward pressure of tribes from the north and west.

The Thracians, Phrygians, and Mysians seem to have been racially Slavs. The name of the Phrygian supreme god Bagaios—also called Papas, or "father"—is nothing but the Slav *bogu*, "god." The Thracian Zalmoxis or Zamolxis, mentioned by Herodotus, is an earth-god whose name is the same as the Slav word *semlya*, "earth," which again occurs in the name of the Thracian goddess Semelé. Men, the moon-god, is Aryan enough also, and so, no doubt, is Osogo, another Phrygian deity.

The worship of Sabazius was universal among the Thracians of Europe and Asia Minor. He is familiar to us in the Greek form of Dionysus, a divinity who rules all animate nature. He was represented as awake in summer and asleep in winter: and, accordingly, the awakening of life in spring was celebrated with orgiastic feasts, while the death of Nature was deplored with wild grief. Many ill-directed speculations have credited this deity with Semitic characteristics, and he is supposed often to have been of Phœnician origin. As a matter of fact, however, there is nothing whatever that is Semitic about Dionysus; and it is very evident that he was an Aryan deity of Nature, of Nature's gift of grapes and wine, and of the divine drunkenness which results from its consumption.

We may also venture to point out that the method of burial in large earthen mounds, or barrows, seems to have been customary on both shores of the Propontis. From the exploration of such barrows the astonishing fact has been brought to light that their construction is identical. They consist of several layers—beds of ashes and burnt earth, containing earthen vessels, animal bones and sherds alternating with thick strata of earth and broken stone. This method of interment agrees with that which Herodotus describes as Thracian.

The later Trojans, who inhabited the country along the Propontis on the north slopes of the Ida range, belong to this Phrygo-Thracian group. If the different layers or towns discovered by Schliemann at Troy really belong to one and the same population, they must have immigrated at a very early epoch, probably as early as 3000 B.C. But it is more probable that the Trojans of the first six cities of Troy were of the ancient "Mediterranean" stock of the Ægean, like the Minoan Cretans. The Trojans, though they hardly appear elsewhere in history, are familiar to everyone through the Homeric poems, in which their long war with the Greeks and the final destruction of their city are told. Even if the fact itself cannot be disputed that a splendid capital was destroyed by Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, and his followers, yet it is an



"Passing of the Empires," S.P.C.K.

A CENTRE OF CIVILISATION IN ANCIENT ASIA MINOR

Remains of the city of Pteria, in Cappadocia. The ruins of the city walls and palace foundations can be clearly seen.

isolated event, which can hardly be brought into a strict historical connection; except in so far as the Egyptian records show us that during the "Mycenæan" period the tribes of the Ægean were in a state of great restlessness, and that tribes of Mysians, Lycians, and Achaians even crossed the sea to attack Egypt.

Siege of Troy

The legend of the siege of Troy may well enshrine some real expedition of this kind undertaken by a Mycenæan confederacy against the people of Troy.

According as the main body of the Greek emigrants came from Northern, Central, or Southern Greece, the more northern or the more southern regions of the coast of Asia Minor were their goal. Gradually, after centuries of struggles, the land was won from the aboriginal inhabitants. At last flourishing and powerful communities were formed out of what were certainly small settlements at first.

The process of colonisation probably had begun even in the Mycenæan period. The name Yevanna has been supposed to be given on the Egyptian monuments to some auxiliaries of the Kheta (the Egyptian name for the Hittites); and it has been concluded that this name is identical with that of the Ionians. But there is no proof that real Greeks existed in Greece in the thirteenth century B.C., so that we should hardly expect to find Ionians mentioned then: but Ionian art shows so strongly a survival of Mycenæan tradition that we may well place the Ionian immigration at the end of that period, about the eleventh century B.C. The chief goal of the emigrants from Northern Greece was the island of Lesbos, from which the Teuthranian and Lydian coast was colonised. Pitane, Elaia, Grynion, Myrina, Kyme, Aigai, Temnos, and Smyrna on the southern, and Magnesia on the northern, foot of Mount Sipylos are Greek towns.

Immigrants from Greece

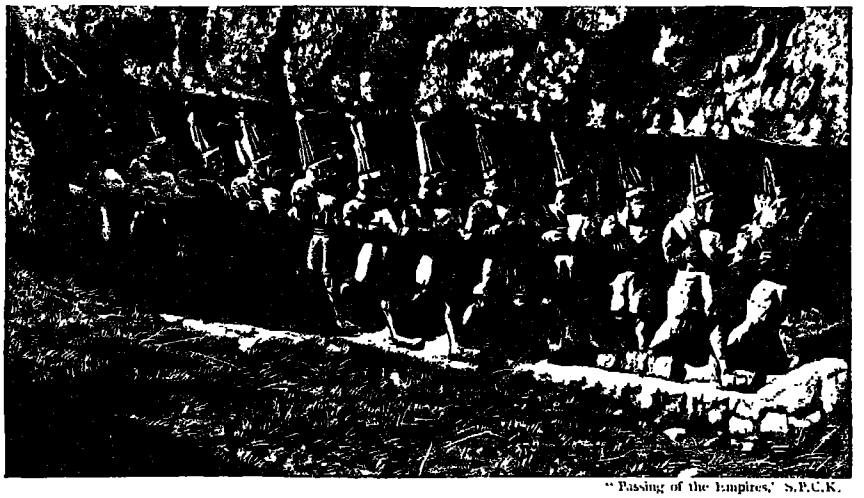
The inhabitants of all this district regarded themselves as belonging to one stock, and called themselves Æolians. Different races from Central Greece occupied the Lydian and Carian coast from the mouth of the Hermus to the peninsula of Miletus, and here the name "Ionians" was fixed upon the Greek settlers, who entered into a close alliance, and became a united state with its religious centre at Panionion, where Poseidon was worshipped. The most advanced post towards the west was Magnesia on the Mæander. Later in point of time was the settlement of the Dorians, who pressed forward from Crete and the Southern Cyclades, which they had previously occupied, to the two great island outposts of Asia Minor, Cos and Rhodes, and then to the widely jutting promontories of the mainland itself, Cnidos and Halicarnassus. The league of these Dorian towns had its religious centre in the sanctuary of the Triopian Apollo.

The oldest historical information as to Asia Minor is to be found in the Egyptian monuments, and dates back to the time of the twelfth dynasty, about 2000 B.C., when we find the first mention of the Kheta, or Hittites. Then we hear of an invasion of Mesopotamia by the Khatti, who are the same people. They took Babylon in the reign of Samsuditana, and probably it was by their agency that the dynasty of Hammurabi came to an end. This was, however, merely a raid. In Egyptian monuments of the eighteenth dynasty we find various mentions of the coasts and peoples of Asia Minor. Then, in the Tell el-Amarna period, about 1400 B.C., we discover in the country afterwards called Commagene or Cappadocia the Kheta, who pressed victoriously southward and planted themselves firmly in North Syria. Ramses II., king of Egypt, waged a long and bitterly contested war against them, and in the end the kingdom of the Kheta won recognition as a sovereign power. But this kingdom, which held its own against the Pharaohs, and extended northward and southward into the upper valley of the Orontes, soon broke up into many small states, several of which were traceable in North Syria as late as the eighth century, and were subjugated only by the Assyrians. When the Kheta fought against Ramses II. they were allied with the "Princes of all Lands," who marched to their aid with troops: thus we come to hear of the nations of the Lukki, Dardeni, Masa, Ariunna, Pidasa, and Kalakisha, of whom we may take the Lukki to be Lycians; the Dardeni, Dardani; Ariunna, Oroanda; the Kalakisha, probably Cilicians; the Masa, Mysians; and the Pidasa, either Pisidians or Leleges—whose capital was Pedasa. Under the Pharaoh Meneptah, soon

Egyptian History of Asia Minor

after 1250 B.C., there appeared on the west frontier of Pharaoh's kingdom, together with the Libyans, certain "nations from the countries of the Sea," and these were annihilated in a bloody battle there. Besides the Lukki, who are already known to us, the Akaiwasha or Achaians, the Turusha or Tyrrhenes of Asia Minor or Tylissians of Crete (?), the Shardana or Sardinians from the island of Sardinia (?), and Shakalesha, or Sagalassians, took part in this expedition. It is to be noted that Professor Petrie's theory, according to which these tribes were not Greeks or Heliens but Kabyles from the north coast of Africa, is not generally accepted. Under Ramses III., about 1200 B.C., the like incidents recurred. Partly in large, open rowing-boats by sea, partly in ox-waggons overland through Syria, came an expedition of the Pulesti, Zakkara, Shakalesha, Danona, and Uashasha, who were likewise annihilated on land and sea. Of the two last-mentioned groups, the Akaiwasha, Danona, and possibly the Shardana, were not natives of Asia Minor; of the others, the Lukki, Lycians, and the Shakalesha certainly were such, and so, possibly, were the Turusha, while the Pulesti, who are the Philistines of the Bible, the Uashasha, and the Zakkara were probably Cretans.

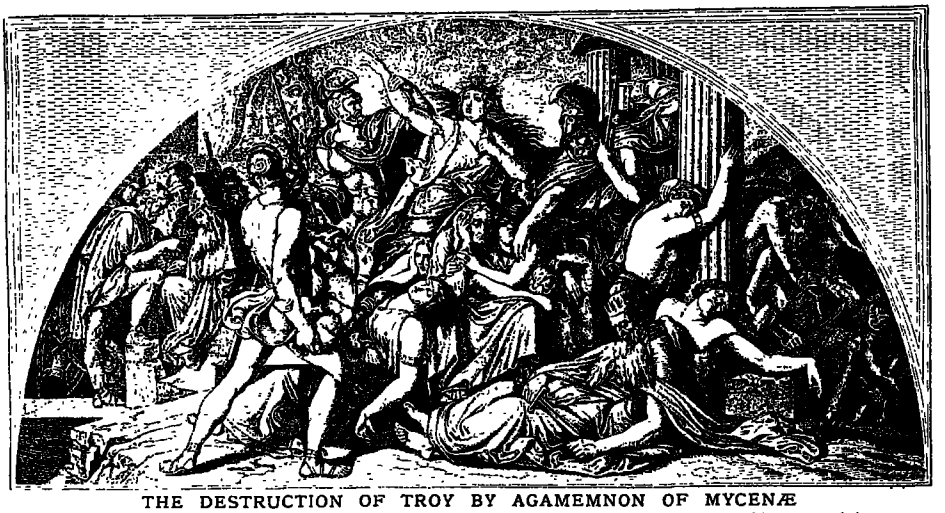
All tradition points to the Cretan origin of the Philistines, whose first settlement in Palestine probably occurred at this time; while the name of the Uashasha was probably preserved in the name of the city of Axos, and that of the Zakkara quite possibly still survives in that of the modern village of Zakro. The peculiar terminations, -sha and -na, of many of their names are no bar to these identifications; they have been satisfactorily explained as ethnic terminations, -äzi and -ñna in Lycian. It is thus evident that most of these names, whether belonging to peoples of Asia Minor or not, came to the Egyptians through the medium of a language of Asia Minor which was known to them, probably Hittite. The felt helmet, adorned with feathers, which was worn by some of them—a dress which Herodotus ascribes to the Lycians—proves not only their intimate connection with each other, but also their connection with the peoples of South-west Asia Minor.



"Passing of the Empires," S.P.C.K.

THE RUDE ART OF THE EARLY PEOPLES OF ASIA MINOR
A rock-hewn relief in a ravine in Pteria, showing a procession of priests and votaries.

The enterprise of the Hittites in making conquests outside the borders of the peninsula and founding a kingdom there, gave the example to the people of Asia Minor. All the kingdoms which were established on this model were restricted to the more or less limited confines of the peninsula itself. It was only Mithradates the Great who united with his ancestral kingdom a great part of the north coast of the Black Sea. The attacks made by the "maritime nations," the Lukki and their allies, on Egypt were almost typical of the whole south-west coast of Asia Minor, where Carians, Pisidians, and Cilicians were for centuries notorious for piracy and privateering, even though we hear nothing further of the



THE DESTRUCTION OF TROY BY AGAMEMNON OF MYCENÆ

Though the Trojans are familiar through the Homeric poems they do not play an important part in history, and the account of the siege of Troy is a legend based on a Mycenæan tribal expedition. From the picture by Pierre Cornelius at Munich.

great allied expeditions against Egypt, which the threatened land resisted effectively only by calling out all its forces.

In earlier times no country on the peninsula of Asia Minor played so prominent a part as Lydia, though it is true that in the legends Phrygia and her kings also enjoyed a certain prominence. In Phrygia a Midas and a Gordius reigned alternately, agriculture was early practised, and ants are said to have carried grains of wheat into the mouth of the child Midas, and thus to have foretold his future wealth; and, consequently, his wealth is represented as the fruit of tillage. This close connection of the Phrygian kings with agriculture finds its expression in the story that the deity of the country, Lityerses, who competes with the reapers and scourges the idlers, is given to Midas as a son; Midas is said also to have discovered the flutes used in the worship of the Mother of Gods, whose introduction into Phrygia is referred back to him, since the Phrygians, like all Thracians, particularly loved and eagerly practised music. But real historical knowledge of them is absolutely non-existent. It is only after the rise of the Lydian kingdom that the sources begin to well up more copiously and more clearly; then first we stand on more or less certain historical ground.

Midas of Phrygia

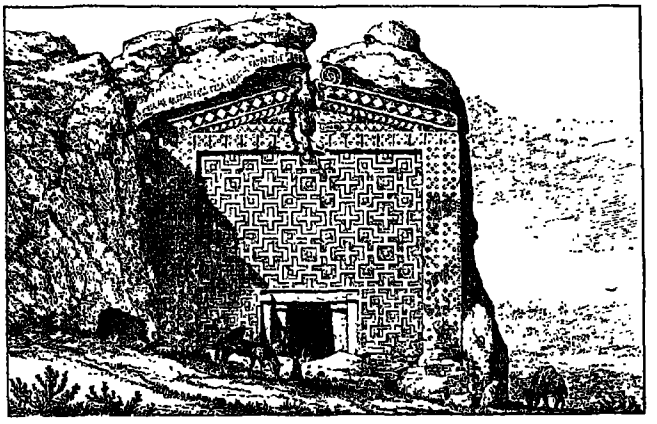
Like the Phrygians, the ruling race, at any rate in Lydia, was of Thracian, and so of Aryan origin. The first royal house ruling over Lydia, the Atyadæ, is quite mythical. Then follow kings of the race of the Heraclidæ, and of these we know little more than that they are supposed to have reigned 505 years. During the century immediately preceding their fall the names of five or six kings have come down to us—that is, Alyattes, Kadys, Ardys, Meles, Myrsos, and Kandaules. The last name meant in Lydian, or Mæonian, "Dog-strangler."

More important than these names and the stories of the murder of the one and of the succession of the other, is the fact that Lydia at this time, as also later, was a feudal state, and that under the sovereigns numerous lords ruled in the country, who were the owners of the soil to whom the country population stood in the position of serfs. And since it is expressly told us that one of these lords was conceded immunity from taxation for his district as a reward for his co-operation in raising Ardys to the throne, we may reasonably conclude from this that the other lords had to pay tribute. Besides this, they had not all the same rank; one of them stood next to the king and was also regent in case of the death or disability of the king, and usually held an office like that of the Frankish mayor of the palace, while some others composed a sort of court under the official title of "Friends of the King."

Lydia a Feudal State

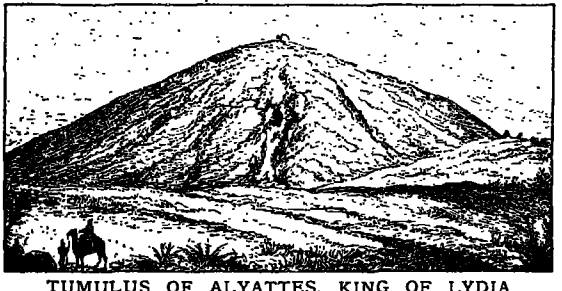
In the highly-coloured romances of Lydian history which have come down to us through the Greeks, traders often appear, together with innkeepers; and

the Lydians are spoken of as the first people who coined money and who were retail merchants and pedlars. Since they were cut off from the coast by the Greek towns, their trade was an overland trade. From Sardis the wares of the East reached the sea, passing through the hands of the Greeks. An important industry grew up in Lydia at an early date. Skilfully-wrought fabrics and brilliantly-coloured garments were made on the looms of the weavers and in the dyers' shops, and all sorts of ornaments were found in the workshops of the goldsmiths and silversmiths. In Sardis, and even in the other towns, which were of small importance as compared with the capital, there resided a trading and manufacturing population about whose political rights we have no special information. They could be summoned by the king, under exceptional circumstances, to a popular assembly and be asked for their opinion.



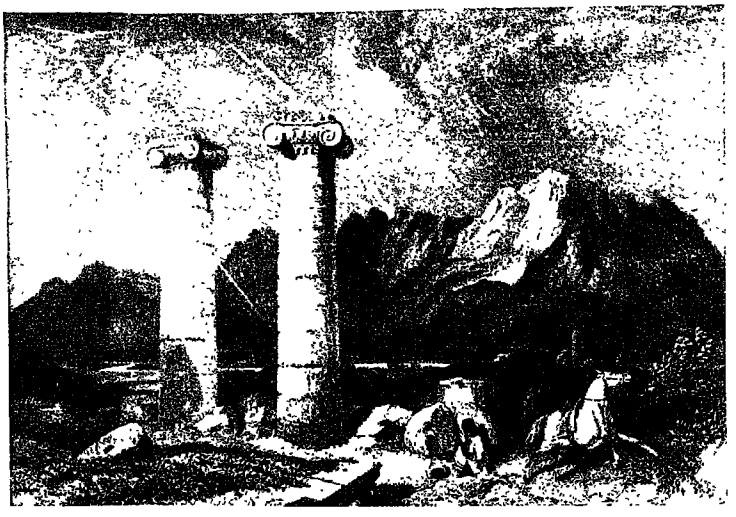
THE SUPPOSED TOMB OF MIDAS, KING OF PHRYGIA
A striking monument associated with the name of a king whose history is largely mythical. The "tomb" is cut in the solid rock and is about 25 feet high.

It is worthy of notice that King Ardys is renowned for the care he devoted to the army. He is said to have raised his cavalry forces to 30,000 men, and in later times the Lydian cavalry proved formidable to their foes. A new era in the history of Lydia opens with Gyges.



TUMULUS OF ALYATTES, KING OF LYDIA
Illustrating the ancient method of burial in large mounds made up of layers of ashes, earth, and stone. Alyattes was one of the greatest kings of Lydia, and freed Asia Minor from the Cimmerians.

According to the legends handed down from antiquity, Gyges was originally either a royal spearman, like Artaxerxes, the first Sassanid, or a shepherd, like King David; this thoroughly corresponds to the ideas of the Eastern nations, who like to raise the ancestors of the kingly families from the dust to the highest human power. In reality he sprang from the lordly race of the Mermnadæ, a powerful family in the country. His father, Daskylos, lived in voluntary exile at Sinope. Thence Gyges, at the age of eighteen, was recalled to the court at Sardis, and soon, as the recognised favourite of the king, was nominated his mayor of the palace. By a court revolution, in which the last Kandaules met his death, Gyges won the hand of the royal widow, and with it the crown, and defended it successfully in battle in 687 B.C. With Gyges begins a new policy of the Lydian kings—a policy of conquests, of which the Greek coast towns were the ultimate object. While the towns of Æolis, with the exception of Mitylene, were agricultural towns and had attained no importance, the Ionian towns, thanks to the fertility of their territory, the excellence of their position, and the activity of their citizens, had developed into important centres of trade and industry. Through their close trade connection with the Phœnicians and the Lydians, who, as we have seen, were in control of the overland trade with the East, they became emporiums for Oriental wares, which they sent on further west, together with the products of their own labour. Gyges now attacked these Ionian towns. While Miletus and Smyrna warded off his attack, and the spearmen of Smyrna actually overcame the Lydian cavalry, Colophon, which was renowned for its great riches, was subdued. Even the

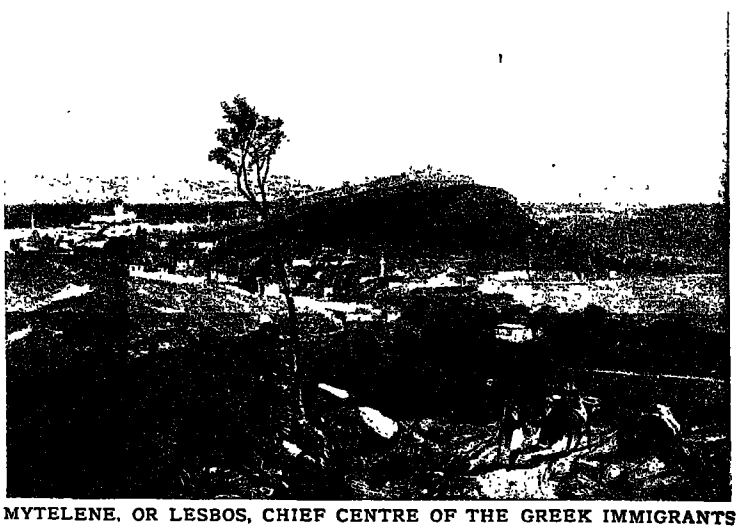


RUINS OF SARDIS, THE CAPITAL OF ANCIENT LYDIA
In early times no country played so prominent a part in Asia Minor as the kingdom of Lydia.

Troad came under Lydian domination. Gyges showed his successors the way, but he did not himself proceed to further attempts in this direction.

When the great tide of Scythian invasion swept from Asia over the great Russian plain, it bore down upon the northern shores of the Black Sea, where the people known as the Cimmerians dwelt. These people were closely allied to the Thracians. To Thrace naturally they turned their steps, flying from the terrible Scythian invaders. Their kinsmen in Thrace made common cause with them. The allied forces crossed to Asia, as many Thracian tribes had previously done, and the descendants of these Thracian Tribes in Asia Minor joined them and shared their conquests. In Bithynia and in the Troad these Asiatic Thracians had settled. The united forces of Cimmerians and Thracians marched on Phrygia. King Midas, who is mentioned by the Assyrians as King Mita, dreading their approach, killed himself, the legend says, by drinking bull's blood. Sinope was next assailed. In a little time the territories conquered marched with the territories of the Assyrian king, who had advanced his frontiers to the Halys. On the banks of the Halys was fought the great battle which turned back the tide of Cimmerian invasion from the borders of Assyria. In this contest against the "Gimirrai," as the Assyrians called them, King Esarhaddon won a complete victory and secured the safety of his dominions from the barbarian onset in 679 B.C. The invaders, repulsed from the east, then turned on Lydia. Gyges in terror implored the aid of the Assyrians. The aid was promised on condition that Gyges would do homage to the Assyrian monarch and acknowledge his suzerainty. The Cimmerians and Thracians were repulsed, the Assyrians having abstained from lending any other aid

Cimmerian Invasion of Lydia

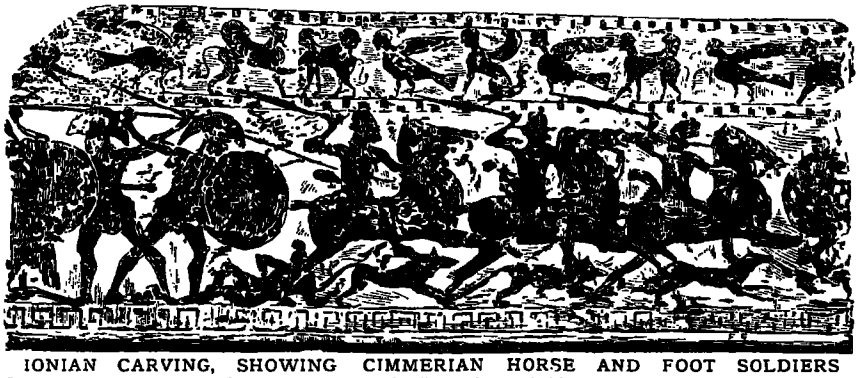


MYTELENE, OR LESBOS, CHIEF CENTRE OF THE GREEK IMMIGRANTS

than their prayers, so Gyges repudiated the suzerainty in 660 B.C. He was then abandoned to his fate by his former allies. Psammetichus of Egypt, to whom he had sent help to throw off the yoke of Assyria, could not assist him. The storm soon burst upon his kingdom. This time the barbarians met with little opposition. Gyges fell in battle. His capital, Sardis, surrendered. The hordes of invaders were let loose upon the Greek settlements. Ionia was overrun, Magnesia was destroyed, and the temple of Artemis at Ephesus was burnt, while towns on all sides were given up to plunder and devastation. "It was a raid and not a subjugation of the towns," says Herodotus, and his words are true in so far as they apply to the conduct of the invaders after the conquest of Lydia; but the Lydian war itself was in no way a raid, but a regular struggle between organised powers. Besides, the occupation of the northern and eastern territories of Lydia was permanent. King followed king, no doubt, on the Lydian throne. To Gyges succeeded his son Ardys; to him in turn his son Sadyattes. But the Cimmerians held firm hold of their conquests through these two reigns. It was only during the reign of Alyattes, the successor of Sadyattes, that Lydia finally expelled the Cimmerians.

Cimmerians Overrun Lydia

Alyattes freed Lydia and all Asia Minor from the bondage which the barbarians had imposed. Whether the Cimmerians wandered back to their old homes or sank into servitude in Lydia or were allowed to blend with the inhabitants no one can now say. But with the liberation of Lydia by Alyattes their career as a conquering nation closes, and as such history knows them no more. Nor was this great work the only service which Lydia owed to Alyattes. The son and the grandson of Gyges, Ardys and Sadyattes, had now and then turned their arms against the Ionian towns, and in turn had besieged Miletus in vain. But Alyattes went to war in grim earnest. For years a struggle went on between the sea city and the military kingdom, until at last, wearied of the strife, both parties willingly made peace and sealed it with a treaty of alliance. The Lydians now destroyed Smyrna and held the coast at three important points. Eastward the course of Alyattes was barred. Assyrian influence reached up to the Halys until the Medes and Babylonians divided between them the great empire of Nineveh, which had fallen asunder.



IONIAN CARVING, SHOWING CIMMERIAN HORSE AND FOOT SOLDIERS
In the seventh century B.C. Cimmerians overran Lydia, and occupied it for two reigns, until Alyattes freed all Asia Minor from their bondage. This is reproduced from "The Passing of the Empires," S.P.C.K.

Eastern Asia Minor then fell to the Medes. Their power grew, and, under Cyaxares, threatened Lydia. War broke out and lasted for many years. Peace came in a very remarkable manner. On May 28th, 585 B.C., while a battle was actually raging there took place a total eclipse of the sun, which Thales of Miletus had foretold. Struck with religious alarm, both sides sued for peace. The rulers of Babylon and Cilicia were appealed to as mediators. The son of Cyaxares and the daughter of Alyattes were united in marriage, and all danger from the Medes was now averted from Lydia. Freed from all anxiety on the eastern borders, Alyattes was able to devote his attention in part to the internal organisation of his kingdom and to preparation for wars of aggression, which seemed to him inevitable wars of

A Peace Due to an Eclipse

self-defence, for between the Ionian cities and the Lydian kingdom durable peace was, he believed, impossible. Accordingly Alyattes made up his mind to determine once and for all which power would be supreme in Asia Minor. In the result Lydia emerged victorious and Alyattes was able to hand on to his son the sceptre of a great and flourishing kingdom. Under Crœsus, who succeeded Alyattes, Lydia reached the most splendid and powerful position. He conquered Ephesus, imposed tribute upon the remaining Greek cities which had not been subjugated by his predecessors, incorporated Phrygia, after the death of the last king, Gordius, into his kingdom, and exercised the supremacy over Bithynia. All too soon misfortunes burst on him. In the year 553 the Persian, Cyrus, revolted against the Median king, Astyages, and made himself Great King in his place. Partly to avenge the fall of his brother-in-law, partly to prevent the dangers threatening him from Persian ambition, Crœsus negotiated an alliance with Nabonidus, king of Babylon, and the Pharaoh Amasis. He invaded Cappadocia with a strong army, but was compelled by Cyrus to retreat across the Halys, completely defeated in the valley of the Hermus and besieged in the acropolis of Sardis. This last place of refuge was taken by treachery, and Crœsus fell into the hands of the victor in 546 B.C., henceforward to occupy the post of Mentor at his court. Thus Lydia became Persian.

Crœsus, King of Lydia

The greater number of Greek cities in Asia Minor had been first brought under the Lydian supremacy by Crœsus, but in spite of their being dependent and tributary, they had been kindly treated by the king, who was a friend to the Greeks. Miletus still enjoyed benefits of the treaty of friendship and alliance concluded with Alyattes. Taken all in all, this was a time of great prosperity. The Ionian cities now begin to send out colonies and found factories. Miletus founded Abydos and Cyzicus on the Hellespont, stages for the journeys to the Black Sea, on the shores of which Milesian colonies soon sprang up everywhere. The grain of the South Russian coast and the hinterland, and the costly skins of wild beasts, the timber and precious metals from the southern coasts of the Black Sea—of all these precious commodities the Milesians knew how to obtain control in order to establish a prosperous trade.

The Greek Cities

By the side of Miletus the other towns sink into insignificance. Yet Phokaia is worthy of mention, because in the founding of Lampsacus it was actuated by the importance of the passage of the Bosphorus for trade. Towards the south also brisk trade relations with Egypt existed at this time. King Amasis actually conceded the town of Naukratis as an emporium to the Greeks, and allowed them to live there with their own civic rights. This activity in trade was paralleled by a lively activity in the intellectual sphere. Marble was here first worked artistically and the foundation laid for the great development of Greek sculpture. Bronze was first artistically worked again in Samos, and it was in Ionia that the first Greek vases of the early Renascence, after the downfall of Mycenæan culture, were painted. Lyric poetry was perfected, and here arose the first philosophers, who systematised the result of their speculations. But there was a dark side also to this bright picture. The artistic development and the great wealth of the Ionians led to the practice of an unbridled luxury, which was a by-word among the continental Greeks, who tell us of the haughty Ionians, trailing their long and gorgeous robes on the ground as they walked, and priding themselves on their long hair, which they wore braided up on their heads with gold, like women. And the Ionians were as quarrelsome as they were proud. The many struggles and wars between separate cities had their counterpart in long and violent party struggles in the communities. The original form of government, a monarchy, had been changed to an oligarchy, composed of the nobility. The citizens, becoming conscious of their power through industry and prosperity, began to struggle for political equality and for a share in the municipal government. These struggles did not, indeed, always lead to the establishment of a democracy, and often an individual forced his way into power. Such men, whom we come across in many cities of Asia Minor, were called by the Greeks Tyrants.

Ionian Art and Culture

The same spectacle was repeated when the Persian danger threatened. The

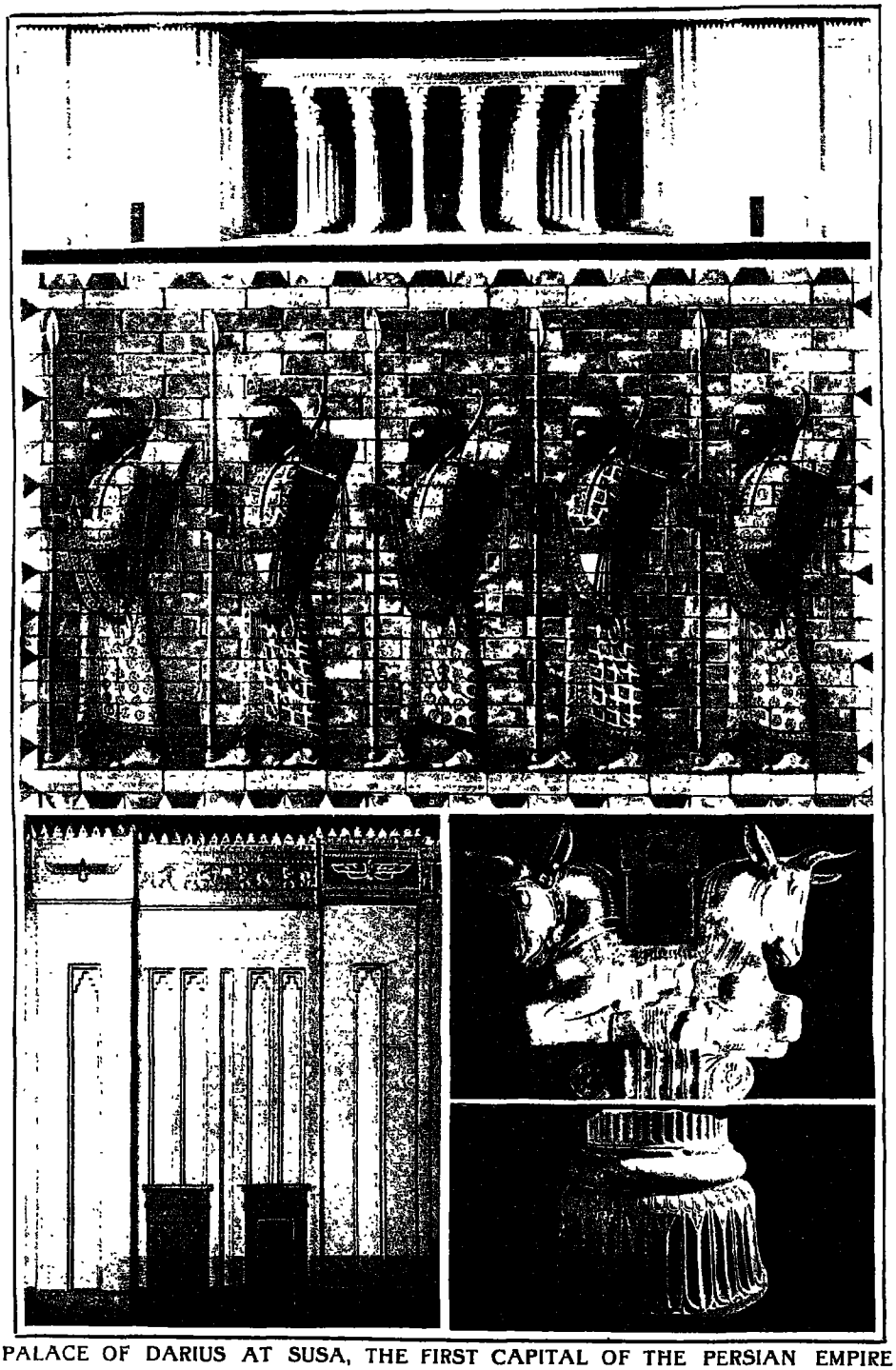


THE ART AND CULTURE OF ANCIENT ASIA MINOR ILLUSTRATED

The Lydians were, perhaps, the first coiners of money. Of those illustrated 6 and 7 are the earliest known coins in the world; these and 2, 3, and 5 are of electrum, 4 is gold. The pottery is Lycian (1) and Carian (8). The bas-relief (9) shows Lydian horsemen. Beneath this are specimens of early jeweller's work, a serpentine mould (10) and trinkets of a more advanced period (11 and 12). The worship of Cybele, the nature goddess of Lydia, is shown in 13.

Æolians and Ionians, it is true, united at first in order to submit to Cyrus on the same conditions as formerly they submitted to the Lydian kings. But Miletus had stood aloof and had been able by timely measures to maintain the privileged position which she had formerly held under the Mermnadæ. Cyrus rejected the proffered terms. The Greek cities turned in a body to Sparta for help and prepared to offer a determined resistance. Sparta declined to help them, and we hear nothing further of common action and common resistance. After Priene and Magnesia on the Mæander, which had rendered help in the ill-starred revolt of the Lydians under Paktyas, had been conquered and severely punished, the remaining states were subdued one by one. Thus the whole Greek coast—the Dorian cities surrendered mostly without resistance—became subject to Persia, and was forced not only to pay tribute, but to furnish soldiers and obey the Tyrants appointed by the great king. When Caria and Lydia had been conquered the whole of Asia Minor belonged to the Persian kingdom. Of the islands, Chios and Lesbos submitted; Samos, where the famous Polykrates was tyrant, was to be conquered later. Cilicia retained its own rulers, but owned the suzerainty of Persia.

K G. BRANDIS
H. R. HALL



PALACE OF DARIUS AT SUSA, THE FIRST CAPITAL OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

The famous palace of Darius at Susa is illustrated here from the beautiful reconstruction in the Louvre. The top picture shows the audience-hall, or Apadana, of Darius, and is noteworthy for the free use of pillars, the distinctive feature of Persian buildings. The capital and base of one of these columns are shown at the bottom from the actual originals. The beautiful workmanship of the enamelled tiles which covered the walls of the palace is well shown in the reproduction in the middle of the page. The remaining picture is of the pavilion of the throne-room of Darius's palace.

MEDIA AND THE PERSIANS

THE MEDES BEFORE THE PERSIANS

THE old Babylonian inscriptions furnish as little information for the most ancient periods of Median history as they did for that of Armenia. The earliest name for the country appears, from the inscriptions, to have been Anzan. The rulers of Lagash record wars with Anzan, and a governor of Dur-ilu announces a victory over the hordes of Anzan. It is not possible to ascertain its eastern frontier, while on the north we may make it extend round Elam. Inscriptions in the old Babylonian language in the Zagros indicate that Babylonian influence prevailed there in the country of the Lulumæans in the very earliest times; and incidental allusions by the Assyrian kings prove that Babylonia once exercised, even politically, a more widely extended influence there than ever Assyria did in later times. Towns are incidentally mentioned as old Babylonian foundations. The Assyrians had a province of Arpakh, in the district watered by the tributaries of the Adhem, and it is possible that some traditions point to the former existence of an empire of the same name, but no certain conclusion can be arrived at on this point.

The population is clearly connected with that of Elam. This Medo-Elamite group, the eastern branches of which are lost in the darkness of Central Asia, encountered to the south of Lake Urumiya the Urartu-Hittite group, whose most westerly representatives we found in Khubushkia. We do not find that any considerable states were formed here in the Assyrian period, of which we are tolerably well informed. We meet everywhere petty states, such as Parsua, on the eastern shore of Lake Urumiya. Towards the north-east the country is bounded by the "salt desert." Thence poured in the hordes of Central Asia, for whom the Babylonians had the collective name of Umman-manda, or Manda hordes. This term, of course, does not convey the idea of a definite race, but merely that of their uncivilised condition. There were certainly among the Umman-manda, who are referred to during widely different periods of Babylonian history, representatives of heterogeneous races, amongst them the very peoples whom we find in possession of Media. Thus at a later period the Aryan Medes and Persians bore this designation. Since no great states were formed here, or rather, since no facts have yet been ascertained as to the existence of such, we may leave this welter of nations to itself with the scanty notices of its collisions with Babylonia during the most ancient period. The most important of the Assyrian attempts at subjugation were described when dealing with the history of Assyria. Media interests us chiefly as the land where was developed the empire which has always been recognised as the pioneer and precursor of the Persian world-empire.

Medo-Elamite Group

Media Pioneer of Persia

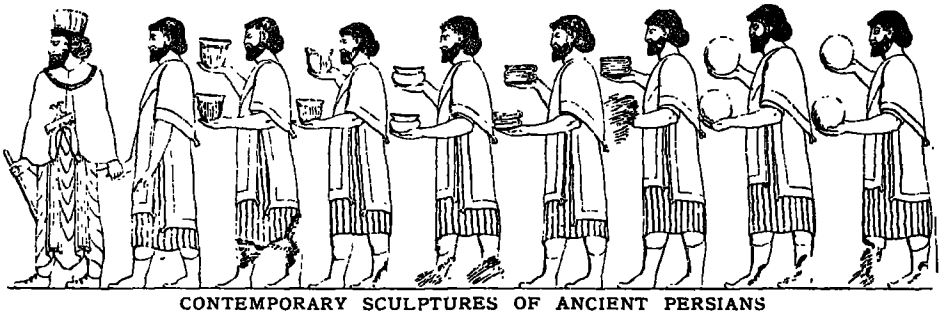
The Medes are among the first Aryans whose appearance we can definitely trace in that part of the Nearer East now under consideration, although recent discoveries would seem to show that further to the west, in Mesopotamia, the Mitani represent a still earlier wave of the same migration. These, as the Medes, became the ruling race in a large empire, which afterwards, under the Persians, dominated the East as far as Babylonian culture extended, and perhaps more widely still. Median history is thus a prelude to that of Persia.

The Medes, or the Madai, appear for the first time in Assyrian inscriptions under Shalmaneser II., who, in the year 836 B.C., on an expedition against Media, mentions the Amadai between Namri and Parsua towards the interior of Media—that is, where later on the centre of their dominion lay. Henceforth they are repeatedly named by Tiglath-pileser, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon, each of whom prides himself on having received tribute

from their chiefs. Each of them also regularly asserts that no one of his predecessors had entered the territory of these dangerous foes—the title "dangerous" Medes being given them as an *epitheton ornans*. The Assyrians never really occupied their country; and Assyria soon trembled before the Medes. We see from the accounts that the country was divided into separate cantons—Sargon enumerates a large number of them—which were governed by chiefs, never kings, and were obliged to pay tribute whenever an Assyrian army was in the vicinity. In other respects they did not trouble themselves about the Assyrians. There was no sign as yet of a Median empire.

Assyria and Media

Before we can point to the appearance of a comprehensive imperial power among the Medes we must trace the history of the other Aryan nations who appeared around Lakes Van and Urumiya. As early as the closing years of Sargon's reign, the Cimmerians were pressing hard on Urartu and were overrunning the empire, whose power had been already broken by Assyria. We conjectured that the violent death which Sargon met in some unknown place was perhaps the result of the signal defeat inflicted on an Assyrian army by the Cimmerians. This disaster re-echoed throughout the whole East, and is referred to in a hymn of victory which has been preserved in the book of Isaiah (xiv. 4–21). We can realise the movement of the nations in Armenia through the questions put by Esarhaddon to the oracle of the Sun-god, which show that Assyria was afraid of the intruders, and with difficulty guarded her frontiers against her new antagonists. One of the questions put to the oracle asks whether Bartatua, king of the Ashkuza, ought to be given the daughter of Esarhaddon in marriage, as he requests. The policy of the succeeding period shows that his wish must have been granted. Esarhaddon, therefore, just as Sargon formerly in Zabal, was anxious to form a bond of union between himself and the barbarian princely house, and thus to turn the enemy into a guard for his frontier. Bartatua's son, Madyas, is mentioned by Herodotus as king of the "Scythians," who advanced to the relief of Nineveh when besieged by Cyaxares. After that time Assyria was allied with the Ashkuza. But the people which Herodotus, or his authority, terms Scythians, and which became dangerous to the Cimmerians, were the Ashkuza in question; they had driven the Cimmerians, the enemies of Assyria, towards the west. Esarhaddon himself claims to have defeated the Cimmerians; but the victory was insignificant, since from the first the objective of the Cimmerian advance was Asia Minor more than Assyria.



CONTEMPORARY SCULPTURES OF ANCIENT PERSIANS

The first figure of this group, from the Persepolis sculptures, wears the Median robe of honour, and the group probably represents part of the triumphal procession of Cyrus described by Xenophon.

This was the beginning of the great Cimmerian movement which partly obliterated the states of Asia Minor, or Phrygia, and partly inundated them. Lydia was overrun, and only the citadel of Sardis was able to hold out. We now understand why Gyges, who was attacked by the Cimmerians somewhere on the Halys, sought an alliance with Assyria, the provinces of which, both there and in Cilicia, did not lie far from his frontier. The Cimmerians then devastated Asia Minor for a time, until their power broke up and gave way before the newly rallied forces of the civilised nations. One of their leaders, Dygdamis, is known to us from classical history. The Ionian towns had also to suffer from the wild

Cimmerian Raids in Asia Minor

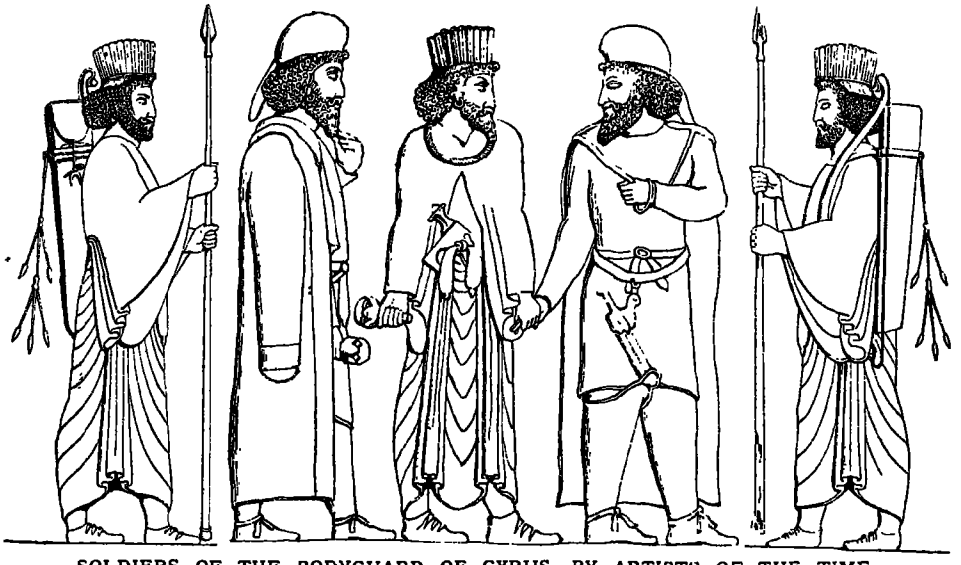
hordes, and the destruction of Magnesia finds an echo in the poems of Archilochus. This Dygdamis, mentioned in an inscription of Ashurbanipal, met his death, according to the classical account, in Cilicia—possibly Homer's Cilicia in the Troad; he was succeeded by his son Sandakshatra. The Cimmerian onslaught gradually spent itself in distant regions, and the remains of it were dispersed by the Lydians.

Classical tradition tells us of the Treri, a people not yet identified in the inscriptions, which accompanied the Cimmerians on their expedition. The Saparda, who have been already mentioned with them on Lake Van, must have also advanced into Asia Minor in conjunction with the Cimmerians, or following in their steps. From this time onward we find Saparda occurring in the Bible just as in the inscriptions of the Perso-Seleucid age, as the name of Central Asia Minor—Phrygia and the adjoining countries. The Ashkuza, by the departure of the Cimmerians and the treaty with Assyria, became masters of the situation in Armenia; in Herodotus they appear as the "Scythians" who drove out the Cimmerians. Of these he tells us that, after a conquest of the Medes, which is to be mentioned immediately, they ruled "Upper Asia" for twenty-eight years, and in their expeditions reached the Egyptian frontier, where Psammetichus bought them off. They then withdrew and destroyed Ascalon. The "power of the Scythians" was, according to Herodotus, broken by the Medes when they besieged Nineveh and Cyaxares became master of the territory conquered by the "Scythians"—that is, the countries from Lake Urumiya down to the river Halys, which is the boundary of Lydia. The empire of the Ashkuza was thus a precursor of the Median sovereignty, and served to pave the way for their supremacy in "Upper Asia."

Ashkuza Conquer the Medes

Ashkuza Power Broken

The Medes had hitherto inhabited the Median tableland and the regions east of Lake Urumiya in separate districts and tribes, without ever having been really subjugated by the Assyrians. The questions asked of the oracle by Esarhaddon show us this people playing precisely the same part as the Cimmerians and Ashkuza—threatening the Assyrian frontiers and occasionally occupying isolated tracts. They distinctly figure as a third group by the side of the other two. Assyria, by winning over the Ashkuza, had obtained a defence not only against the Cimmerians settled to the west, but also in the east against the Medes. These thus became the natural antagonists of the Ashkuza. The constant war against this state, strengthened by the support of



SOLDIERS OF THE BODYGUARD OF CYRUS, BY ARTISTS OF THE TIME
The two soldiers on either side were members of the personal bodyguard of Cyrus. The centre figure is clothed in the royal Median robe, while the other two wear the Persian costume. From the sculptures at Persepolis.

Assyria, could not fail to furnish the Medes with a motive for unification, in order that they might not meet the same fate as the Cimmerians.

Herodotus's narrative connects the first unification of Media with the name of Deioces. One of the authorities for Median history which Herodotus used has recently been proved to be trustworthy, so that it is conceivable that the royal house of Media actually called its original ancestor Deioces. All else that is told of him bears the stamp of a naïve conception of the evolution of monarchy, and is unhistorical. The fact that Ecbatana was later the capital of the Median empire leads to the conclusion that we must trace the concentration of the separate tribes to this district.

First King of Media

His successor, according to the same tradition, was Phraortes. The subjugation of the Persians is attributed to him. The new Median empire would have accordingly stretched from Persis, including also Elam and Susa, as far as the borders of Ashkuza. Phraortes is said to have undertaken an attack upon Assyria, which would probably have taken place during the reign of one of Ashurbanipal's successors. Herodotus says that Assyria on that occasion was deserted by her "allies," and it is possible that the Ashkuza are meant, who then certainly plundered Assyrian provinces. Phraortes is said to have fallen during this expedition.

The son and successor of Phraortes was Cyaxares. With him we at last stand on demonstrably certain and historical ground. It was he who destroyed Nineveh, and by the subjugation of the Ashkuza became the real founder of the Median empire. His war with Assyria shows that Media had entered into a treaty with Babylon, which had once more become independent under Nabopolassar, and had supported the latter in his resistance to Assyria. We find, therefore, the two nations from this time onward as allies, and the Median and the Babylonian dynasties connected by a marriage between Nebuchadnezzar and the daughter of Cyaxares.

Thus Nabopolassar and Cyaxares had a mutual understanding when they both attacked Assyria in 608 or 607 B.C. Mesopotamia was occupied by an expedition from Babylonia, but Nineveh itself was invested only by Cyaxares, who "wished to avenge his father," as Herodotus says. Madyas, the king of the Ashkuza, then advanced to its aid, but was utterly defeated with his army. Cyaxares was thus master of the countries as far as the Halys, and Assyria was stripped of her last resource. The victory of the Medo-Babylonian alliance was assured. Cyaxares received the country north of the Tigris, and his empire now stretched as far as the Halys.

States like that of the Medes must, so long as they are full of strength and vitality, continue their victorious career. Friendly relations to Lydia under Alyattes, their newly acquired neighbour on the Halys, were therefore not maintained for long. The war, according to Herodotus, was carried on for five years with varying success until, after a battle, when the well-known eclipse which Thales predicted occurred in 585 B.C., an armistice, and afterwards a peace, were concluded as a result of the intervention of Nebuchadnezzar and King Syennesis of Cilicia. Here also friendly relations were cemented by a matrimonial alliance, and Astyages received to wife the daughter of Alyattes.

Alliance with Lydia

THE RISE OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

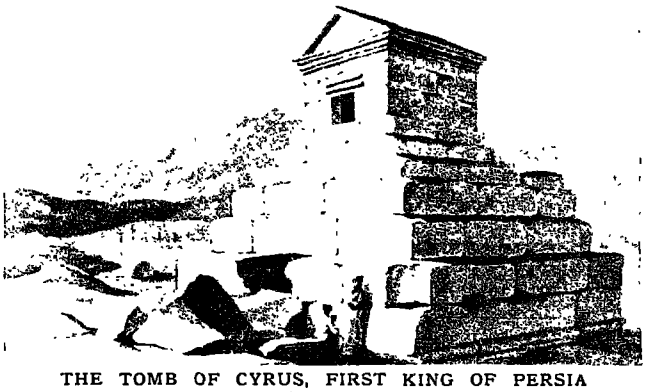
WESTERN ASIA was thus divided among three masters. According to the customary course of events, it was now a question which of the three would put an end to the other two. Strange to say, however, all three, or more correctly the Medes, who as conquerors are alone to be considered, preserved peace with the other two until the man appeared who took the three for himself. It would be inconsistent with the spirit of the ancient East, and with the policy of the civilised states, if the Median barbarians had really observed their treaties with Babylonia and Lydia, and had remained loyal to the friendship sealed by marriages. But their relations to Babylonia did not alter until the family of Nabopolassar was dethroned there, and a Babylonian came to the throne. Astyages, who meanwhile had succeeded Cyaxares, immediately after the accession of Nabonidus, in 555 B.C., advanced into Mesopotamia and besieged Harran. The dreaming

Nabonidus could hardly have saved Babylonia; but rebellion in Media gave him a short respite. Astyages was attacked at home and overthrown by his "vassal" Cyrus; thus the dominion over the Median empire passed to the Persians. Although we can picture to ourselves the general causes which produced this change, we are unable to obtain from the extant accounts any clear view as to the details of the persons and peoples who brought it about. The narrative of Herodotus assumes that Phraortes conquered the Persians, and that they, under Cyrus, overthrew the Median dynasty. We know that Medes and Persians were of kindred stocks, and the equality of both nations in the Persian empire is proved by the circumstance that the Median rule was acknowledged by the new conquerors; only the dynasty was put aside, and the nobles of both nations made common cause with each other. Darius was certainly a Persian; that is, he was descended from the nobility of the Aryan people, which at the time of the formation of the Median empire had made its home in Persis, east of Elam. The difficulty consists in obtaining any definite information as to the personality of Cyrus. It appears that the Achæmenian account, as well as that of Herodotus, which is based upon it, must have intentionally lied when it represents Cyrus as related to the Achæmenians. The object of such an invention is clear; by this means a legitimate claim to the throne could be established, and Cyrus and Cambyses were thus considered the rightful kings of Persia.

Who was Cyrus?

Monuments erected later, with the inscription "I am King Cyrus, the Achæmenian," had of course the same object. Undoubtedly we ought not to regard Cyrus as a prince of the old population, but as a member of the newly immigrated Aryan nobility; whether he was Persian or Mede must remain a disputed point, but this was immaterial when he once became a prince. It is still uncertain to which country he belonged and how great his territory was. Nabonidus terms him a "petty" vassal of the great Mede; that, however, may only express the contrast between him and the Great King. The Babylonian chronicle, which deals with the events of this period, calls him, up to the capture of Ecbatana and the overthrow of Astyages, "king of Anzan," but afterwards "king of Parsu (Persia)." Cyrus had in fact, as the tradition puts it, made use of the Persians for his own purposes, and had therefore been recognised by them as their leader. Whether the Persians at an earlier period, as Herodotus implies, were already subject to the Median kings, or now for the first time really took an active part in the internal struggles of Media, Cyrus in any case knew how to avail himself of their help against the sovereign whom he wished to dethrone.

First King of Persia



THE TOMB OF CYRUS, FIRST KING OF PERSIA
Cyrus was an obscure vassal of the Median emperor Astyages. With the help of the Persians he created an empire which ruled the entire East

We can at least take it for proved that Cyrus—whether himself a Persian or not—was able to overthrow the Median royal house only by the help of the Persians. The revolution has no further significance. Since the Medes themselves had taken part in the conspiracy, their position remained untouched, and they were for the future the governing people by the side of the Persians. No difference existed between Median and Persian nobles; the difference between the two peoples was indeed only that between two independent tribes. It is not surprising that Cyrus now designated himself

king of the Persians, since he was bound to give the honour and preference to the people who built up his power and supported his claims. But he was soon destined to be more than this, and he made the Persians and Medes the ruling people of the entire East. After Astyages, in the year 550 B.C., had been taken prisoner by Cyrus, the latter's empire extended as far as the Lydian frontier. The question suggests itself, what town then became the royal capital of the new empire in place of Ecbatana? If we consider how the Achæmenians represented themselves as the lawful successors of Cyrus, Susa must have been the capital from the very first. In this way Cyrus would have put himself forward as heir to the old Elamite claims to the sovereignty of the East.

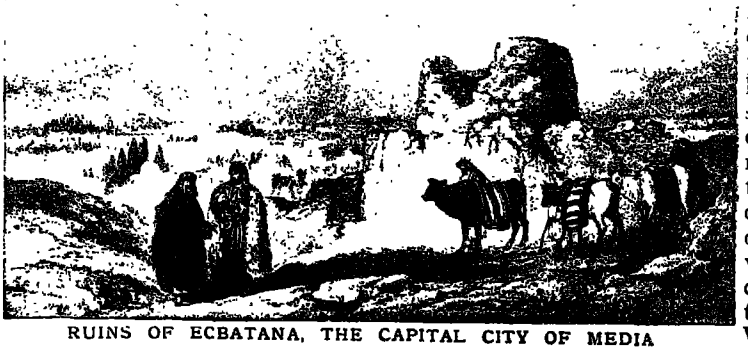
Empire of Cyrus

As ruler of the new Medo-Persian empire he found in the realm of foreign politics the conditions existing which had been produced by the treaty between Alyattes and Media. Persia had to share the sovereignty of the Nearer East with Lydia and Babylonia. But while Nabonidus dug for old records and built temples the Lydian Crœsus recognised the altered state of affairs and the danger which had become threatening: he exerted himself to arm the East against the new enemy. He received abundance of promises, but no efficient support, and was defeated before his allies, especially Egypt, had roused themselves to make an effort in 547 or 546 B.C. Even the Greeks of Asia Minor shared the fate of their rulers. Cyrus was thus master of Asia Minor also and could now turn his attention to Nabonidus, who expected more help from his elaborate system of fortifications than from his power of action. In the year 539 B.C. the Babylonian empire also ceased to exist. Cyrus was thus master of the whole Nearer East, for the provinces had then no more power of resistance than on the fall of Assyria.

We are familiar with the story of Cyrus' death which is said to have taken place in the year 530 B.C. in battle with savage tribes on the eastern frontier of his territory, on the other side of the Jaxartes, in the zone of the "Turkish peoples," occupied by other non-Aryan tribes.

He was succeeded by his son Cambyses, who after the capture of Babylon had already governed there as viceroy. We have still less information about him than about his father. The Greek accounts, so far as he is concerned, are entirely influenced by the distorting Achæmenian legend which meets us in the Behistun inscription of Darius. Of the events of his reign Herodotus relates only the occupation of Egypt in 525 B.C., by which he revived the conquests of Esarhaddon. The account may naturally be traced to Egyptian sources. Cambyses, in fact, from his natural disposition, had incurred the bitter enmity of the native priesthood by constantly scoffing at their religious ideas; while, on his return from his unsuccessful campaign in Nubia, he even killed a newly-found Apis bull. According to this story, he must have been an excitable prince who, contrary to the habits and notions of the civilised peoples ruled by him, exhibited the simple intolerance of the primitive man in place of the stately dignity of the Oriental despot, and often vented his caprice on what seemed to him foolish. While on Egyptian

Cambyses the Scoffer



RUINS OF ECBATANA, THE CAPITAL CITY OF MEDIA

territory Cambyses received the tidings of the rebellion of the pseudo-Bardia, presumably a "Magus," named Gaumata. We can at present follow only the Achæmenian account of him. Was he really only a pretender, and not, after all, a true brother of Cambyses? However this may be, Bardia was acknowledged in Persia, Media, and elsewhere. We can fix the date of his reign, 522 B.C., from a number of dated documents from Babylonia. Cambyses had nothing more than his army with which to oppose him. He set out immediately, but, as Darius records, committed suicide on the way. The reasons and motive for his action are obscure; the deed may have been due to mental derangement.

We do not know the proper meaning of the term "Magi," and we cannot therefore make use of the untrustworthy Achæmenian account to decide what the relations of this monarch were to the people and to the now extinct house of Cyrus. This much is clear, that his sovereignty was everywhere acknowledged, even by Persians and Medes, and found a strong body of supporters among the people. It represented, therefore, a resistance offered by the mass of the people to the development of affairs, necessitated by the conquest of the great civilised countries, through which the nations, hitherto free, came under the dominion of a king and a nobility. It is expressly stated that Bardia granted a remission of taxation and took measures to check the pretensions of the priesthood, which had been favoured by Cyrus. Darius and six confederates surprised Gaumata in a castle near Ecbatana and murdered him. Darius was then proclaimed king and succeeded in holding his own. He claims, indeed, to have put down the revolts in the scattered provinces of the empire in the course of a single year. His cause must, therefore, from the first have found support in other quarters. Atossa, the sister and wife of Cambyses, whom Bardia had tried to put out of his path, was on his side. She became the wife of Darius, and is the first of the Persian queens who played an important rôle in state affairs.

Darius Gains the Throne

Darius was not related to Cyrus and his family. The reason, however, why he asserted his Achæmenian descent is clear. He wished to be reckoned the lawful heir



TOMB OF CAMBYSES, SON OF CYRUS

of the old royal house, and he required, in addition to the support afforded by the nobility, whose interests were bound up with his own, a tradition which might win him the reverence of the people.

Whether Cyrus was a Persian or not, he in any case felt himself to be king of the civilised countries of the Nearer East, and showed himself in that character. He adopted to a large extent the existing conditions, and provided only his own people with unencumbered estates, so that a nobility, devoted to him, arose, which must soon have gained further influence in the same way as the conquerors of earlier times. But the nobles of the eastern parts of the empire, especially Persis, which, more remote from civilisation, were still the recruiting grounds of the real strength of the people, were threatened with a loss of their share in the great prizes. Owing to the preponderance of power which their compeers in the western parts of the empire received from the treasures of civilisation, they were faced by the danger of being reduced to a position which would only too soon make them members of the ruled instead of the ruling class. It was this nobility which used the

East Against West

opportunity offered them by the attempt on the part of the Magi to seize the sovereignty. Their attempt was a rising of the uncivilised East against the West and its predominant class, already reverting to the culture of the ancient East.

It was by the exploit of the Seven that the new empire came under a really Aryan rule. The protest of the Aryan spirit, or the Persian, as we may call it after this victory against the policy of Cyrus, now finds an outward expression in the employment of the Persian language for official inscriptions. It is further expressed in the promotion of Persepolis to be the royal city by the side of Susa, which Cyrus had selected as the capital of his empire, so closely bound up with old tradition. The protest is finally exhibited in the stress laid on the Aryan Ahuramazda, or Ormuzd, cult as the religion of the ruling people, and as the religion of the empire, in opposition to the policy of a Cyrus, who had allowed the religious ideas and institutions of the western half of the empire to remain in the ascendant. The East, which had thus conquered the West, is still shrouded in darkness. All that we know of it is learnt only at the close of the Persian empire, on Alexander's expedition. It is the proper home of the Aryans—that is, the country where the tribes with whom we are here concerned found their widest expansion and still further developed their characteristics. The valley of the Indus on the east, and more to the north the ranges which shut off Central Asia, form its natural boundary.

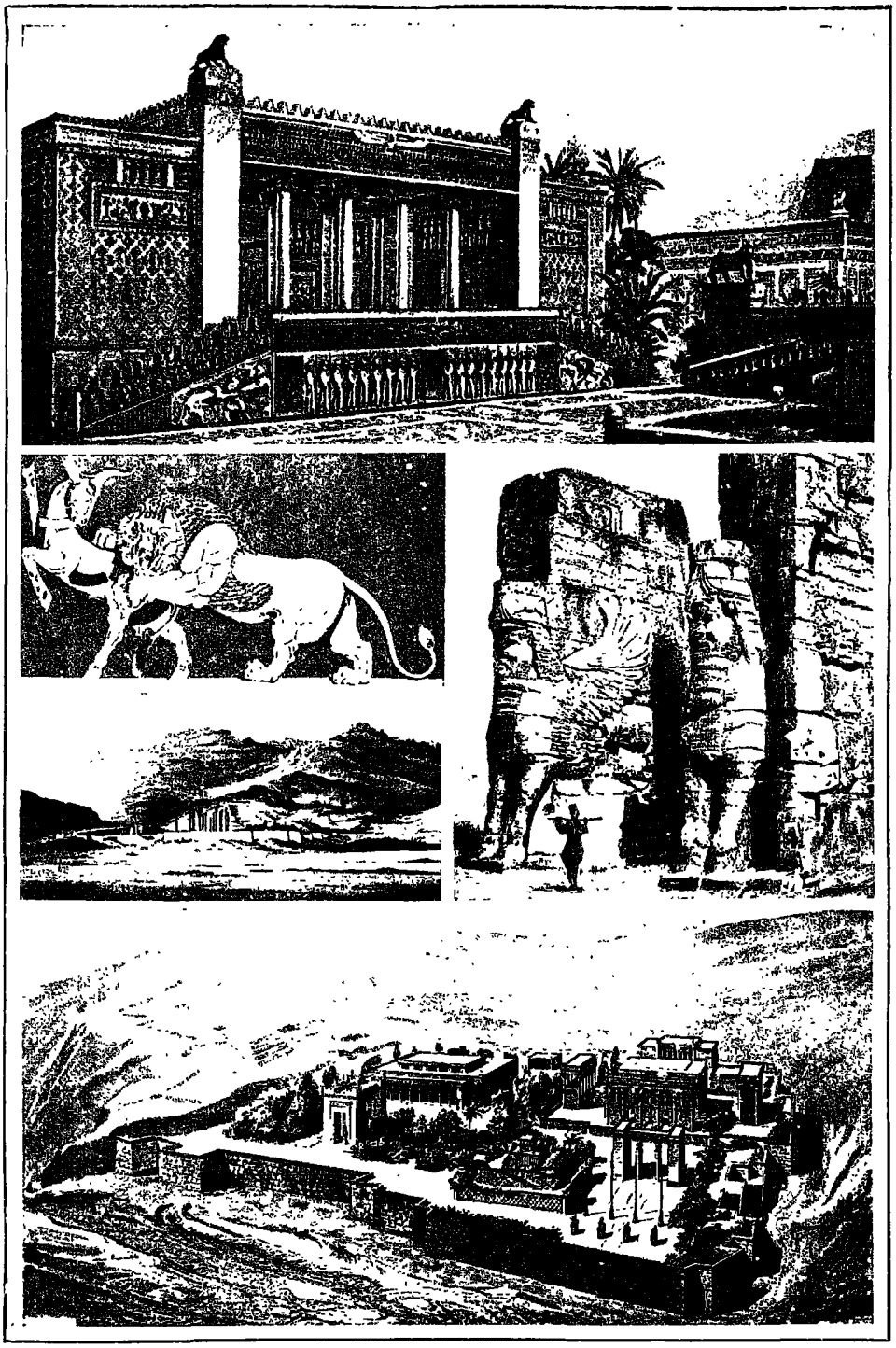
The spiritual side of these Aryan stocks is rendered to some extent familiar to us by the Avesta. The book, which is extant under this name, was not reduced to its present form until the rise of the Sassanids, and was only then promoted to be the code of a rigid national religion. From its form, which contains old elements, especially the Gathas, or ancient songs, and from its advancement to a canon, it may be compared with the Bible in its relation to Judaism. All that remains to us is only a portion of a lost and larger work, which was for the Aryan nations something similar to what the Vedas were for their Indian kinsmen.

The Avesta is the sacred book of the Ahuramazda religion, the official religion of the Persian kings, which naturally did not yet possess the high culture in which the code of the Sassanids knew it. The Achæmenids showed themselves the representatives of the East, as opposed to the West, which accepted the ancient cults, by the fact that they continued in the religion of their fathers, to which they assigned the first place. They and the Persians prayed to Ahuramazda, and the inscriptions of Darius and his successors mention no other gods. In this way they were at one with the Aryan peoples of the East, and felt the contrast with the governed West. But if the Avesta, in its present form, bears somewhat the same relation to its earlier form that the Hebrew priestly code bears to the Jehovist narrative, or Malachi to Amos, a distinction must be drawn between the home of the Avesta and the old Persia, which had the same religion as that to which the basis of the later development in the Avesta is traced. The Avesta has come to us in a dialect which is indeed closely allied with that of the old Persian inscriptions, but is still of another country; so for its home we must look further



DARIUS, FOUNDER OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

These two representations of the king are from Persepolis, the second showing him like the god Ormuzd overcoming a winged lion.



PERSEPOLIS, THE SECOND CAPITAL OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

At the top is given a reconstruction of the entrance to the great palace of Darius, while the picture at the bottom conveys an idea of the scale and situation of the palace. Above this, on the left, is a picture of the ruins in modern times. The other illustrations show one of the tiles of the palace and two Persian bulls, copied from Assyrian models.

towards the East. The historical events, which explain its importance, are obscure; but the splendour of the Persian empire, where an Aryan people ruled, may not have been without some effect upon it. The Iranian legend expresses this when it invents an old Bactrian realm which waged incessant wars for many centuries with the peoples of the East, the Turanians. There, under a king "Vistaspa," Zarathustra was the prophet of Ahuramazda. The name Vistaspa is, by a hardly fortuitous coincidence, the same as that of Darius's father, Hystaspes. It is certainly significant of the reflected glory and fame of the Persian empire in the Far East that the father of the head of the Persian dynasty was represented as ruling in the country where the origin of the Avesta was certainly known. This is how the Oriental legend expresses itself when it wishes to state that the region where the religion and its code have been developed was also the home of the people which dominated the Orient.



ORMUZD, THE GOD OF PERSIA
From an ancient Persian sculpture at Persepolis showing Ormuzd fighting the spirit of darkness.

The Persian empire was a creation of Cyrus; the rule of the Persians—that is, of the nobility of the East—still uninfluenced by civilisation, was founded in this empire by Darius—in Persian, *Darayavaush*. The new sovereignty was not yet secure, in spite of the first success against Gaumata. Rebellions broke out in all the larger countries, which had to be suppressed before the new lord with his fellow-conspirators could enjoy his success. The insurgents everywhere appealed to the ancient empires which had existed in the countries concerned, and tried to prove themselves genuine descendants of the former dynasties. Darius records these insurrections and their suppression in his great Behistun inscription. At Susa a certain Atrina appeared, who attempted to gain support from the old Elamite population, and attempted to revive the ancient empire of Elam. He was quickly crushed by a Persian army. Nidintu-Bel asserted himself for a rather longer period; he was acknowledged in Babylon under the title of Nebuchadnezzar III., and documents dated during his reign have been preserved. A second revolt in Susiana, under Martia, who called himself Ummanish, king of Susa, was stifled at the outset. The most dangerous was the opposition in Media, where Phraortes, probably an actual scion of the old royal house, proclaimed himself king, and was also recognised by the Hyrcanians living to the east of Media and the Parthians. He was taken prisoner by Darius himself, after the Persian armies had fought several times against him without success. Almost at the same time insurrections broke out in Babylon under a second pseudo-Nebuchadnezzar, in Armenia, in Margiana, or Merv, in the Far East, where a new pseudo-Bardia arose, and among the Sagarians. These last insurrections must have expressed the opposition of the Aryan peoples to the newly founded dominion of the Persian nobility, since they were now in almost the same position under the dominion of Darius as, shortly before, the latter and his partisans had been under the power of the house of Cyrus.

While the empire was exposed to these shocks, the provincial governors in the west were tempted to repudiate the new rule and make themselves independent. Oroctes, the satrap of Sardis, made such an attempt, but Darius got rid of him by murder. Aryandes, the equally suspected satrap of Egypt, who had, however, been appointed by Cambyses, was soon afterwards removed. A demand for submission seems to have been also sent to Carthage, but without result, although the interests of Carthage in the hostility against the Greek world, which was now showing itself, forced it to adopt in a certain degree the same policy as Persia.

Herodotus, in whose narrative the official statements of the Persian government find expression, represents Darius as the creator of a completely new and organised administration for the new empire—as though, like Charlemagne, he had been a law-maker on his

own initiative—in contradistinction to a fickle despotism which was supposed to have existed hitherto. Up to this time merely " presents " had been made to the king; thenceforward a fixed tribute was paid. In point of fact, the Persians merely took over the administration of the Babylonians, and they that of the Assyrians. The tribute was of course strictly regulated at all times, and Darius made no sweeping alterations in the terms and incidents of dependence. Any reforms, however, that he made in the method of administration may probably be traced to the fact that he filled the more important posts with his own noble adherents, to give them their promised share in the prizes won by their common efforts. The difference between the earlier system and that of the Persians consisted mainly in the fact that large satrapies were now instituted, while Cyrus had retained the smaller Assyrian provinces. This change only, and the execution of the requisite measures to carry it out, were due to Darius. Herodotus, however, has an obvious excuse for attributing the creation of the organisation to Darius. Cyrus and Cambyses had not extended the Babylonian system to Asia Minor, which was first brought under that form of administration by Darius.



DARIUS'S RECORD AND MONUMENT OF HIS TRIUMPH AND ROYAL DESCENT

On a great rock about 1,700 feet high, at Behistun, Darius had carved in cuneiform an account of his victories and Achæmenian descent. The rock also bears the sculpture reproduced here showing Darius receiving captives.

It is improbable that the position of the population of the empire generally underwent any radical change. The process of extortion was left indeed by preference to the native authorities, who were responsible for the collection of the taxes. A Persian administration existed only for the affairs of the satrapy, as under the Assyrians, while the administration of the different communities was left in the hands of the old locally regulated organisations.

From this point onward we have no native accounts of Persian history, but only the Greek narrative, so that we are informed merely of incidents on the Mediterranean—that is to say, of the wars with Greeks and Egyptians—and of other affairs only in so far as they affected them. We are not in a position to ascertain the general facts which modified the history of Persia, and we can, on the whole, see matters only in the light in which they appeared to the Greek observer, and not as they revealed themselves in Susa.

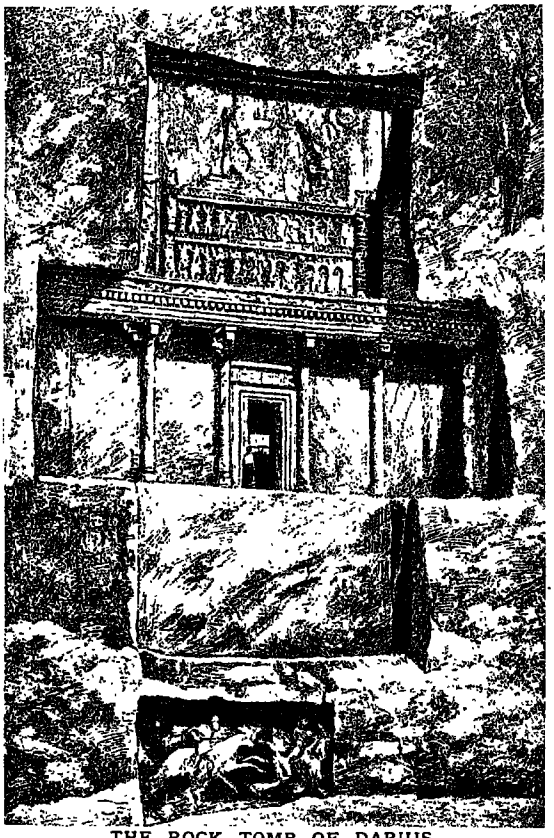
The empire of Darius, according to our view, differed from its predecessors merely in the fact that Persians actually governed it. So long as it was vigorous it sought to conquer, and when it could no longer conquer, it approached its fall. It existed for two centuries in all, and therefore not so long as many other similar powers which rose and fell.

Darius had hardly secured himself in the old seat of power when, in conformity with the nature of his empire, he planned new conquests. At first an advance was made towards the east. In the Behistun inscription " India " is not yet mentioned as a province, although it certainly is in a later one from Persepolis, and in the inscription on Darius's tomb at Naqsh-i-Rustam. This obviously can refer only to the country round the Indus.

The next undertaking was the Scythian expedition, about 515 B.C. It must have ended without definite results, like almost every campaign conducted against nomads. Herodotus informs us of the course of the expedition. The fleet was furnished by the Asiatic Greeks. The Bosphorus was crossed, presumably by a bridge; so, too, was the Danube. There were no victories to be won over an enemy which would not face a battle.

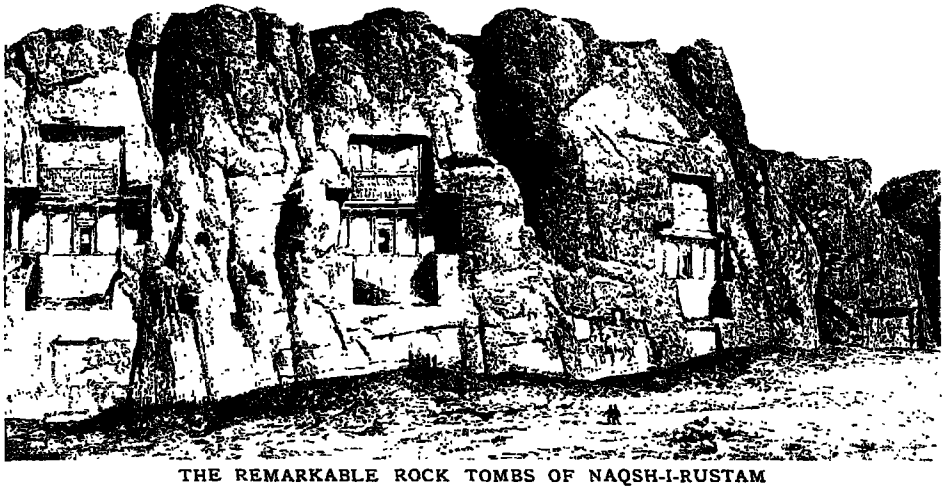
So, in the end, Darius, after heavy losses through hunger, thirst, and sickness, had to return. It is known that he was saved by Histiæus of Miletus and the other Greek tyrants, who had resisted the proposal of Miltiades that the bridge should be broken down because the overthrow of Darius would mean the end of the power of the tyrants.

Even if the expedition into the regions north of the Danube resulted in no tangible success, still the frontiers of the empire had been secured and extended, for Thrace and the district south of the Danube were permanently subjugated. The king of Macedonia also submitted, and the islands of Lemnos and Imbros were conquered. Thus the Greeks in Europe, surrounded on every side that was strategically important, were the next object of Persian conquest. The complications which led to the outbreak of hostilities bear, from the Persian point of view, precisely the same character as those which have often met us in the relations of Oriental empires to their neighbours. An opportunity for intervention is found in the appeal of a banished tyrant —Hippias—for assistance, coupled with the intervention of Athens herself in a revolt of the Great King's Greek subjects within the Persian dominions in Asia Minor. Before we turn to the account of that struggle, we will dismiss certain other events contemporaneous with its earlier stages. Egypt had remained tranquil under Darius, since he, in contrast to Cambyses, appears to have understood how to conciliate the priests. Something was even done by him for the improvement of the country. An inscription of his, which was found during the construction of the Suez Canal, proves that he had constructed or repaired a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. In the year 486 B.C. events gave rise to a revolt, during which a certain Khabbash styled himself king of Egypt. Darius died in 485 B.C., during the revolt which was suppressed in 484 B.C. According to Herodotus, Egypt was after this more heavily burdened, a fact which is thoroughly in keeping with the customs of Oriental policy. Achæmenes, brother of the new king, became satrap.



THE ROCK TOMB OF DARIUS
One of the finest pieces of sculpture at Naqsh-i-Rustam is this tomb of Darius, the founder of the Persian Empire.

Under Xerxes, who reigned from 485 to 465 B.C., a revolution broke out at Babylon, which still regretted the loss of its former independence. The name of Shamashirba, who was then proclaimed "King of Babylon," is recorded in inscriptions. The city must have been captured by storm, so that we may connect with this the long siege, to which Herodotus has attached the legend of Zopyrus, which meets us so frequently throughout the East. The capture must have occurred after the return of Xerxes from Greece. It is expressly recorded that he then destroyed the great terraced tower of the Temple of Marduk. The privileged position of Babylon had hitherto been respected by the Persian kings. It had voluntarily surrendered to Cyrus, and Darius had, in spite of various rebellions,



THE REMARKABLE ROCK TOMBS OF NAQSH-I-RUSTAM

One of the features of the Persepolis remains is the series of tombs cut in the living rock, including that of Darius

left its old constitution intact. He had, according to Herodotus, wished to carry off the statue of Marduk, but had not ventured so far. Xerxes was the first to do so. This signifies, as we know, the refusal to recognise any claim on the part of Babylon to form a distinct kingdom; and in this connection we may note the fact that Xerxes and his successors no longer styled themselves "King of Babylon," while Darius had continued to use this title.

The burdens which the Great King laid on Asia Minor could not have been very heavy. Apart from the revolt of the Ionians, we hear of no risings. The insurrections against the satraps in the fourth century B.C. originated with ambitious governors desirous of independent rule, not with a people struggling to throw off an oppressive yoke. On the other hand, it must be emphasised that the institutions attributed to Darius, the son of Hystaspes, were beneficial to Asia Minor. Of the twenty satrapies into which his empire was divided, four or five were in Asia Minor. Thus, Ionia with Caria, Lycia, and Pamphylia formed one, Mysia and Lydia the second, the Hellespont, Phrygia and Bithynia the third, and Cilicia alone the fourth.



XERXES
From a coin of his reign.

This division was especially important for the levying of troops and the raising of taxes, to which each satrapy had to contribute a fixed sum. This amounted, in the case of Ionia, Caria, and Lycia to 400 talents of silver; Mysia and Lydia paid 500; the Hellespont and Phrygia only 360. But to this must necessarily be added the expenses, which had to be separately defrayed, of feeding the troops which were permanently stationed there as well as those temporarily marching through the country, and the cost of keeping up the governor's court. It was, however, surely a boon for the subjects that their taxes to the Great King were definitely assessed, since formerly, under the name of presents, irregular imposts had been exacted. The establishment of the royal post-road was bound to benefit Asia Minor. It is true that from the earliest times a caravan route ran from Sardis across the Halys, skirting the north of the Lycaonian salt desert to the Euphrates, and thence further to the east; but Darius placed everywhere at fixed intervals along this road stations with inns, and placed watch-towers at river fords, mountain passes, or where else such might be necessary. By this means the security of travellers was considerably increased; and even if his first thought was for the royal service and for a rapid and certain communication between Sardis and Susa, the greater security which he thus ensured must have redounded to the good of his subjects.

At the same time Darius established a uniform coinage throughout the empire, adopting, like the Greeks, this invention of the Lydians; but while the striking of gold coins was made a royal monopoly, rulers and cities, especially the Greek cities, were allowed to strike silver coins of any standard and with their own legend. The royal coins were of gold and silver after the Lydian system, and according to Babylonian weights. For the numerous inhabitants of Asia Minor who traded directly with the East this was a beneficial institution.

First Persian Coins

But a state of affairs which nations accustomed to absolute monarchy considered endurable, perhaps even pleasant, produced discontent at first and soon open disaffection among the freedom-loving Greeks. It is true they could realise the advantages of a uniform currency and of a safe royal highway, and they had already paid tribute under Crœsus; but the levies of troops and ships which they had been forced to furnish to Cyrus for the subjugation of Lycia, and in larger numbers to Darius for the expedition against the Scythians, were especially resented by them. There was the additional circumstance that men who were friendly to Persia had been placed by the Great King as tyrants in their midst. Owing to this, the active corporate life which had flourished, in Ionia especially, must have been seriously checked; for the authority of these tyrants depended on Persia, and their anxiety to win the favour and good graces of the Great King must have been greater than their eagerness to rule to the satisfaction of their fellow-citizens.

The discontent that was fermenting among the Greeks at that time is shown by isolated facts that have come down to us about the progress of Darius's Scythian campaign, already mentioned. Byzantium and Chalcedon revolted when the tidings of the disastrous result of the expedition reached them. The people of Chalcedon broke down the bridge thrown over the Bosphorus, so that Darius had to cross from Sestos to Asia by ship. Yet the fragments of the army which the king had rescued from the Scythians were still so large that the insurgent cities were reconquered and punished in 513 B.C. Soon after, however, events occurred which were destined to show more clearly the prevalent feeling among the Greeks. In the year 500 B.C. aristocrats from Naxos, who had been exiled by the people, came to Miletus, where, in the absence of Histiæus, who was staying at the court of Susa, Aristagoras, his son-in-law, was conducting the government. He received the Naxians and promised to reinstate them. He laid a suitable plan before Artaphernes, the satrap of Sardis, offered to bear the cost himself, and asked for approval of his scheme. The cities then were ordered by Artaphernes to send ships and foot-soldiers, but Megabates, and not Aristagoras, as he had hoped, was appointed commander of the fleet and of the army against Miletus. The expedition failed completely; the Naxian people successfully defended themselves for four months against all attacks, so that at last Megabates withdrew without effecting anything.

Discontent Among the Greeks

Aristagoras could not make good the expenses of the war, as he had promised, and feared that he would be deposed from his office on account of a quarrel with Megabates, a near relation of the king. In this difficult position he received a message from his father-in-law, Histiæus, urging him to revolt from the king. Aristagoras, therefore, determined on revolt, and found at Miletus support for the scheme. The fleet, too, which was still assembled after the disastrous result of the Naxos expedition, joined in the revolt. Many cities expelled their tyrants and made common cause with Miletus; each chose *strategoi*, or generals, as supreme officials to constitute a supreme council of war.

Revolt of Miletus

At first the common cause seemed to meet with success. Eretria sent five ships, Athens twenty, to their assistance. In the spring of 499 B.C. the allies advanced to Sardis, took the city, without, however, being able to capture the citadel, held by Artaphernes, and burnt the greater part of it. In this conflagration the temple of Cybele, the great goddess of the country, was destroyed; this so embittered the inhabitants that they rose themselves against the Greeks and forced them to withdraw. In the meantime, the Persian generals had assembled; they came up with the army of the allies at Ephesus as it was retiring from Sardis, and inflicted on them a crushing defeat. On

the other hand, the fleet of the allies ruled the sea and induced the Greek towns on the Hellespont and Caria to revolt. Such successes, however, were not lasting, as the Persian commanders with superior forces soon reconquered the towns on the Hellespont and defeated the Carians at Labranda. Aristagoras, who had at first been the soul of the enterprise, became so discouraged that, seeking safety for his person, he fled to Thrace, where he was murdered by the Edonians. "He was not a magnanimous man," Herodotus says; and clearly when he fanned the flame of revolt and made himself its leader, he had let himself be swayed by selfish motives. When, therefore, the fleet of the allies with its 350 sail was annihilated by the Persians at Lade in 497 B.C., the united resistance of the Greeks was crushed. Each town was reconquered separately. Miletus alone held out against siege and assault until it, too, had to surrender after an heroic resistance, in 494 B.C. By this the Persian domination was everywhere re-established, and the hated tyrants ruled in every Greek city as representatives of the Great King.



SPECIMENS OF THE COINS OF DARIUS

Darius, adopting the Lydian invention and system of coins, established a uniform coinage in gold and silver throughout his empire. These coins all show the figure of the Great King.

After the suppression of the revolt (about 495 B.C.) and the destruction of Miletus, Mardonius, the Persian commander, attempted to advance against Greece itself, and actually subdued the north-western archipelago, but was checked in his advance by a disaster to his fleet off Mount Athos. A second and a larger fleet was sent two years later under Datis and Artaphernes. This conquered Naxos, destroyed Eretria in Eubœa, which also had supported the Ionian revolt, and landed in Attica, where the army was defeated at Marathon by the Athenians under Miltiades in 490 B.C. The attempt to reinstate Hippias as tyrant in Athens had miscarried. The great Greek campaign was the outcome of a scheme already planned by Darius in revenge for Marathon. Having no Persian accounts, we are not able to take up a standpoint which will be fair to the Persians. The triumph of the Greeks was so overwhelming and so unexpected that their accounts of it are not judicial. In fact, they are obviously exaggerated in two different directions, by the desire to magnify the odds against which they fought, and to pour contempt on their adversary. Thus the mere impossibility of providing commissariat for a million of men must compel us to reduce the number of the invading host; while, on the other hand, we may credit that host with being largely formed of the tolerably disciplined and practised troops which Xerxes undoubtedly possessed. But the fact which there is no sort of reason to dispute is that the Persian armaments, both by land and by sea, enormously outnumbered those of the Greeks, and that they were irremediably shattered. The victory of the Greeks on land is explained by the superior attacking power of the Greek heavy-armed soldiers when opposed to the Oriental method of fighting and equipment, which was not adapted to a regular hand-to-hand battle. At sea it was due to the superior tactical methods of the Greek sailors, very much as with the overthrow of the Spanish Armada by the English two thousand years later. The Persian ships were furnished entirely by tributary states, the Phœnicians, and the maritime states of Asia Minor, to whom no competent commander-in-chief from headquarters could be assigned; and the manning the ships with land troops could not fail to give the experienced Greek sailors the advantage from the first.

This war was destined to free the settlements of Asia Minor eventually from the Persian yoke. Marathon, Thermopylæ, Salamis, Platæa will ever remain as the greatest deeds of heroism in this Greek struggle. And just as at Platæa the Persian army was annihilated and the Persian camp

stormed, so, at the same time, perhaps on the same day, the Persian fleet was shattered at Mykale on the coast of Asia Minor by the confederates. This was the signal for the small Greek towns of Asia Minor to make common cause with the mother country and to revolt from the Persian king. The confederacy of Delos was then formed with Athens as the chosen head; its place of meeting was at first Delos, afterwards Athens, and its members pledged themselves, while completely retaining their autonomy, to provide ships and crews and to furnish money contributions in order to found a war treasury.

League Against Persia

The members of the new league prosecuted the war against Persia, and under the protection of this aspiring and rapidly powerful league, the small Greek towns of Asia Minor were secure from Persian attacks and from Persian vengeance for their revolt. The war continued for many years. The Persian garrisons were driven out of the towns of the Hellespont and from the Thracian coast. A large Persian fleet, which had sought protection from the advancing fleet of the confederates in the mouth of the Eurymedon, a river in Pamphylia, with the object also of effecting a junction with the Persian army, was annihilated, together with the army, by the bold attack of Cimon, in 467, or in the summer of 465 B.C., and the camp of the Persians was stormed. Elsewhere, too, where the Asiatics met the Greeks, they were worsted. Whether or no a regular peace was concluded, from about 449 B.C. hostilities ceased on both sides. In fact, the Greek towns in Asia Minor enjoyed liberty and governed themselves.

The end of the Greek expedition marks the turning point in the history of Persia. States built up on conquest must advance, or they recede. With the year 479 B.C. the retrogression of the Persian empire begins. It must always be remembered in this connection that we have no information as to occurrences on the other borders of the empire; we may, however, reasonably assume that under Cyrus and Darius the Persian supremacy in the Far East was more securely established than we find it in the time of Alexander. Victorious Greece at once crossed over to the attack. The islands and the Thracian coast were now almost entirely recovered from the Persians. Henceforth Persia never made any serious attack on Greece; and it had, indeed, to defend itself against the aggression of the latter, until it finally succumbed to Hellenism.

Persia's Turning Point

Xerxes was murdered about this time—465 B.C. This was the result of a private palace intrigue, and the accounts, as usual, do not enable us to be clear about the deeper causes which underlay it. Artaxerxes, the youngest of the sons of Xerxes, was raised to the throne, his elder brother Darius being put out of the way at the time. The king-maker was Artabanus, the captain of the bodyguard, who was soon afterwards himself removed by Artaxerxes.

Artaxerxes, known by his Latinised surname as Longemanus, or "Longhand," reigned from 465 to 424 B.C. From this point onward we no longer have a tolerably connected account of Persian history even from the Greek standpoint, and are dependent chiefly on records of isolated occurrences. During this reign Themistocles came to the court of Persia, and knew how to pose before the king as the man by whose help Greece might be subjugated. Soon after the beginning of this reign the second rebellion in Egypt broke out under Inarus, the son of Psammetichus, a Libyan prince, who called in the help of the Athenians about 460 B.C. These had undertaken a renewed attack on Cyprus, whence they sailed to Egypt, drove back the Persians with their partisans into the citadel of Memphis and besieged them there. Persia tried, in the first place by diplomatic negotiations with Sparta, to compel the Athenians to withdraw. When that method proved ineffectual, a strong army was sent out under Megabyzus, and Egypt was conquered. The Athenian auxiliaries were annihilated, and a similar fate befell a subsequent detachment of fifty ships. Inarus fell into the hands of the Persians, and was crucified; his son, however, was taken into favour, and received back the province of his father. Amyrtæus, who had also called in the Athenians, and had obtained a detachment of sixty ships from Cimon in Cyprus, maintained his position in the swamps of the Delta. The siege of Citium was raised in consequence of the death of Cimon, but another victory, both by sea and land, was won in 449 B.C., after which hostilities ceased. It is a moot

Artaxerxes Reigns

point whether this "peace of Cimon" was really solemnly ratified, or whether the war had gradually died out. Athens, at any rate, renounced her claims on Egypt and Cyprus. On the other hand, the coast of Asia Minor and the Greek towns on the Black Sea were set free. In the empire itself Megabyzus, the conqueror of Egypt, revolted against Artaxerxes in Syria; but in the end this rebellion also was quelled by peaceful means. The accounts now begin to record the political interference of the ladies of the palace; but not much reliance can be placed on the gossip of Ctesias, the Greek physician at the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon. Xerxes II., son of Artaxerxes, was murdered in 424 B.C. by one of his half-brothers after a reign of only a month and a half, and this latter in his turn was ousted after six months by his brother Ochus, satrap of Hyrcania. Ochus assumed the name of Darius II., and was surnamed Nothus, since he was the son of Artaxerxes by a concubine; he reigned from 424 to 405 B.C. Ctesias marks out from the very beginning his sister and wife, Parysatis, as the chief promoter of all intrigues. His brother Arsites and a son of Megabyzus in Syria rose against Darius. Arsites was taken prisoner owing to the corruption of his Greek mercenaries, and was put to death at the instigation of Parysatis. The third Egyptian revolt broke out in 410 B.C. By this effort Egypt was freed for more than sixty years from the Persian supremacy. The satrap Pissuthnes revolted in Sardis; he was crushed by Tissaphernes. His son Amorges, supported by the Athenians, held his own in Caria.

Intrigues of Court Ladies



PERSIAN FIRE ALTARS

These two fine altars were set up in the valley near Naqsh-i-Rustam. They probably represent an early form of Persian nature-worship.

After the disaster to the Athenians in Sicily in 413 B.C. a favourable opportunity was presented to Tissaphernes to reconquer the Ionian towns. He, as well as his rival, Pharnabazus, the satrap of Northern Asia Minor, or Phrygia, jointly called in the Spartans in order to deprive the Athenians of the towns on the coast. But the interests of the Persians and Spartans were far too distinct to render possible any energetic course of combined action. The Athenians finally left off with so distinct an advantage that Pharnabazus was compelled to renounce his readiness to escort Athenian envoys to the court in order to negotiate a treaty there.

At this same time, however, a revolution occurred. Tissaphernes was removed from his satrapy, and retained only the towns on the coast. In his place Cyrus, the younger son of Darius Nothus, was appointed to be satrap of Lydia, Greater Phrygia, and Cappadocia, and he carried out a vigorous anti-Athenian policy and strongly supported the Spartans. At the same time, Lysander received the supreme command for Sparta; and while his policy established Spartan ascendency, it led later to a rupture with the Persians.

We are told of an insurrection of the Medes in the heart of the empire during the year 410 B.C. Ctesias also records a revolt of Terituches, whose sister Stateira was married to Arsikas, the eldest son of the king. After his fall, enmity rankled between the queen-mother Parysatis and Stateira. In the year 405 B.C., Darius Nothus died, and his son Arsikas mounted the throne as Artaxerxes II. Mnemon. Cyrus, summoned by his mother, whose favourite he was, came too late. He was arrested on the advice of Tissaphernes, but released at the instance of Parysatis and sent back to his satrapy, in order to make the preparations that were to be anticipated. Cyrus's first move was to seize the towns of his opponent, Tissaphernes, a war of one satrap against another. He then collected an army of Greek mercenaries, and, in 401 B.C., marched with it, secretly supported by the Spartans, into the heart of the empire in order to depose

Satrap against Satrap

his brother. This is the "March of the Ten Thousand Greeks" described by Xenophon. The inability of the empire to resist a Greek army was now plainly revealed. The 13,000 Greek mercenaries defeated the immense army of the king at Cunaxa, in the province of Babylon. But Cyrus fell in the battle, and the throne of Artaxerxes was saved. On former occasions the Greeks in the employ of Persia would have then imparted fresh strength to the helpless colossus, but now they had detected the real nature of the dreaded foe, and were completely disillusioned. They knew now that in the heart of the empire whole districts and tribes, especially in the mountains, did not acknowledge the Persian suzerainty. The open quarrels of the satraps showed plainly enough the dissolution that was already beginning, and offered welcome opportunities to the advance of the restless Greeks.

March of the Ten Thousand

The intrigues at court were only intensified by the death of Cyrus, since Parysatis could not be reconciled to the loss of her beloved son, and contrived gradually to remove out of her path all those concerned in it, among them the momentarily triumphant Stateira, who was poisoned. Artaxerxes II., it is true, then banished his mother, but soon called her back again. The satrapies of Cyrus were given to his rival, Tissaphernes, who had conducted the defence during the great rebellion. Sparta, the supporter of Cyrus, was already hostile to him; so when he demanded the fulfilment of the conditions on which help had been furnished by Persia in the shape of a surrender of the Greek towns of Asia Minor, the result was war in 401 B.C., which Sparta carried on in Asia Minor, especially with the help of the survivors of the Ten Thousand. It was conducted after 396 B.C. under the supreme command of the Spartan king, Agesilaus, who won a great victory at Sardis in 394 B.C., although no decisive results were obtained from it. In the meanwhile Parysatis had succeeded in bringing the hated Tissaphernes into disfavour at court; he was replaced by Tithraustes and afterwards executed. The struggle was prolonged by the wiles of the two satraps and by negotiations, until Agesilaus was recalled to Europe. In the meanwhile the tide had changed to the disadvantage of Sparta. The Athenian, Conon, had fled to Euagoras in Cyprus after the defeat at Ægospotami, and had induced Pharnabazus to fit out a fleet for him in order to be able to carry on war against Sparta by sea. At first, being hindered by remissness in payment of the subsidies, he went himself to the court, secured the supreme command of the fleet for Pharnabazus, which meant for himself in reality, and defeated the Spartans at Cnidus in 394. The result of the victory was the overthrow of the Spartan naval power and the restoration of the Athenian under the protection of Pharnabazus. Athens held her own by the help of Persia, and Persia could not play any part on the sea without Athenian guidance. On land Sparta continued for a long time to be the chief military power. During the never-ending plots and schemes at the Persian court, Tiribazus, the satrap of Sardis, who adopted the policy of Tissaphernes, was able once more to come to the front and to bring Conon into disfavour. The latter again fled to Euagoras, where he soon afterwards died. But Struthas, who again supported Athens, was finally appointed satrap in Sardis. Thus there were incessant disputes, intrigues, and counter intrigues, until at last it was settled by the "peace of Antalcidas," in 387 B.C., that the Asiatic towns belonged to Persia, but that the island and all other Greek states should be autonomous.

Sparta Defeats Persia

Peace at Last

Cyprus was expressly acknowledged in the treaty to be Persian territory. In reality it was practically independent, since Euagoras had united the Greek elements throughout the island in a common war against the Phœnicians, and was king of the island. His loyalty to the supreme feudal lord must soon have appeared doubtful. An attack was therefore made on him in 390 B.C. He offered a stout resistance, being openly aided by Athens, until, after the peace of Antalcidas, Persia took more rigorous measures to bring him to submission, as he was daily becoming more dangerous, commanded the sea as far as Egypt, and had succeeded in firmly establishing himself at Tyre. He was defeated, but was able to obtain favourable terms of peace. Not long after he was murdered. Cyprus, under his successors, broke up again into different small states. In the expedition of Artaxerxes against

the Kadusi, a nation of mountaineers south-west of the Caspian Sea, his large army met a reverse which was like that of Salamis; he was surrounded and had to pay ransom. Egypt, really independent, still resisted Persian attempts at subjugation. A more vigorous attack was made when Pharnabazus, in 376 B.C., was placed at the head of a larger army. He did not, however, accomplish much in the end, since regard for the continual change of feeling at court rendered any vigorous conduct of the campaign impossible. The results of the instability of Artaxerxes were seen towards the end of his reign in a series of revolts, of which that of Ariobarzanes in the Hellespontine satrapy and that of Datames in Cappadocia were the most formidable. Mausolus also, the prince of Caria, maintained a loyalty which was not always above suspicion. At last even Tachus, the king of Egypt, assumed the aggressive, since he adopted the old policy of the Pharaohs and attempted the conquest of Syria. He advanced as far as Phœnicia, being supported by an army of Greek mercenaries under Chabrias, and by the Spartans under the veteran Agesilaus. But when his nephew Nectanebus had himself been proclaimed king in Egypt he was forced to take refuge with the Persians; and he became utterly powerless and inactive.

Invasion by Egypt

When Artaxerxes' death was imminent his son Ochus, favoured by Atossa, whom, though his own sister, Artaxerxes had married at the instance of Parysatis—for instances of marriage with a sister, daughter, and even mother can be found in the history of the royal house of Persia—had contrived to remove his brothers out of his path and to secure the throne for himself in 359 B.C. The reign of this energetic Artaxerxes III., Ochus (358–338 B.C.), marks a last rally on the part of Persia. His actions show that he did not hesitate to carry out his ends after the methods of a true Oriental monarch by unscrupulous bloodshed and merciless wars.

He had first to deal with the revolts in the empire. Our accounts of them are vague and incomplete, but it is so far clear that the king was more successful than his predecessor. Artabazus, the satrap of the Hellespontine province, and Orontes on the coast of Asia Minor, could not hold their own, notwithstanding occasional help given by the Greeks. In Greece there appears to have been alarm at the energy of the Great King from the very first, and it was debated whether the aggressive ought not to be assumed against him. Demosthenes was compelled to warn the Greeks against breaking with him without good cause. In Egypt, at first, even under his rule no success was gained, and the revolt, as formerly was the case under Tachus, spread once more to Palestine. We have very little information about the causes of the movement, but the revolt of Sidon and of the nine kings of Cyprus, as well as an allusion to a chastisement of Jerusalem, prove that we here meet with phenomena similar to those presented by the revolts of Palestine against Assyria, which were supported by Egyptian help. Sidon was especially conspicuous this time. Ochus finally took over the chief command himself, and advanced into Syria with a powerful army, in which some ten thousand Greek mercenaries were included.

Spread of Revolt

Sidon received aid from Rhodes under Mentor, but when the Persian marched against them, Mentor and Tennes, king of Sidon, entered into negotiations. The details are obscure. Sidon was surrendered and a terrible punishment inflicted on it. The remaining Phœnicians then submitted. There must also have been wars in Judæa. Egypt finally, after having resisted for so long, was subjugated and became once more a Persian province in 344 B.C. Very severe measures were adopted towards it, and Ochus seems to have outraged Egyptian sentiments in the brutal fashion of a Cambyses. Cyprus also was again subjugated under the command of Idrieus, the prince of Caria.

The power, however, was already dawning which was fated to crush Persia. It was seen in Susa that Philip of Macedon must become dangerous so soon as he had effected the conquest of Greece. An alliance was, therefore, made with Athens in order to take measures against him. The capture of Perinthus by Philip was prevented by the joint action of Athens and Persia. But the battle of Chæronea, in 338 B.C., coincided almost exactly with the death of Artaxerxes. This made Philip master of Greece, and created conditions by which the

Alliance against Macedon

Greek world and Hellenism were impelled to attack Persia in Asia.

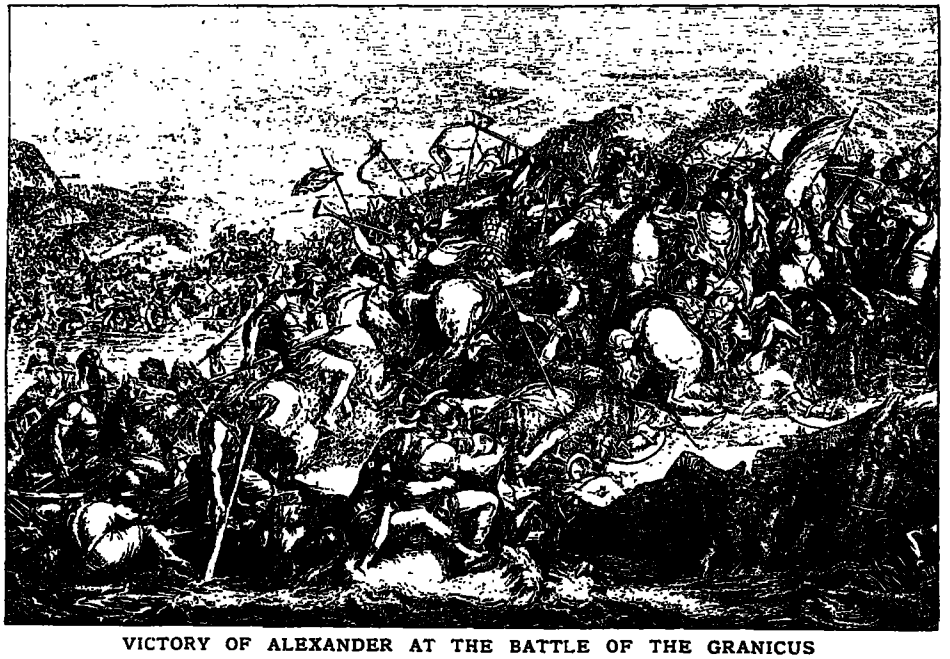
Artaxerxes is said to have been murdered by Bagoas, who placed Arses, the youngest of the king's sons, upon the throne, only to slay him in turn when he seemed to be contemplating action against his minister in 336 B.C. In the meanwhile a Macedonian army had advanced into Asia Minor, but its further progress was checked by the murder of Philip. After the death of Arses, Bagoas placed a distant relation of the murdered man, Codomannus, a great-grandson of Darius Nothus, on the throne. He reigned from 336 to 330 B.C. under the title of Darius III. Codomannus. But this time the king-maker did not escape his doom; he was soon put out of the way by Darius. Darius was the last king of Persia. We cannot form any notion of his character from the available records; but we may at any rate conclude that he was not in a position to do anything to prevent the fall of the empire. The great empire became the booty of Hellenism. The disruption had begun, as we have seen, soon after the defeat at Salamis; a proof, indeed, of the nature of the much-lauded "organisation" by the first Darius. The Ten Thousand of Xenophon would in themselves have been enough to overthrow the Persian monarchy, if they had had a competent general; now, when at last a powerful antagonist, with a definite aim before him, appeared upon the scene, the booty fell without trouble into his hands. It was a great success which Alexander enjoyed, but it was not a great exploit to overthrow an empire already tottering to its fall. The history of the ancient East has shown us numerous examples of similar conquests. The many revolutions, which have brought to the East its various populations are on a level with the Hellenistic conquests, although the glory of their leaders is not sung so loudly as that of the representative of the foremost civilised people in the western world.

Persian King Maker

End of Persian Empire

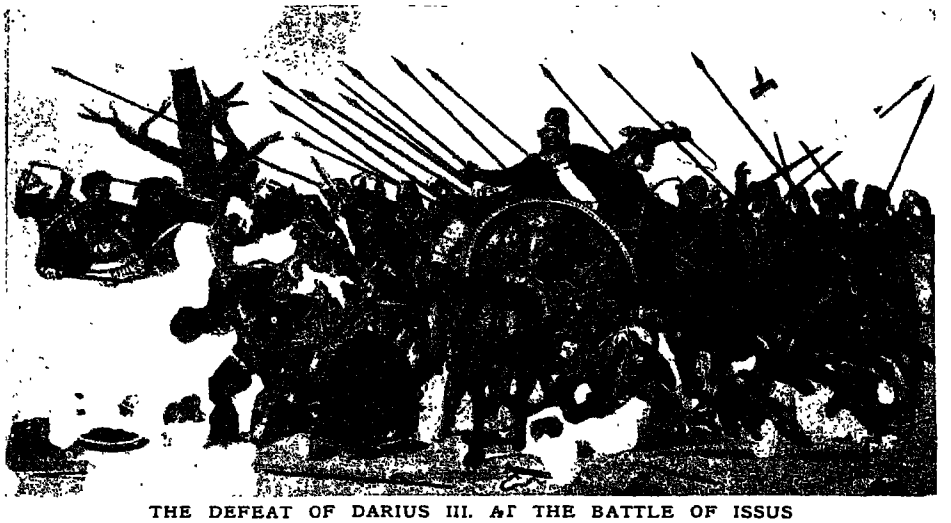
The result of this conquest was not then decisive; the East was indeed conquered by the arms of the Greeks, but it resisted its civilisation, and it finally drove out the conquerors once more.

The narrative of the conquests of Alexander the Great belongs to the Greek portion of our history of Persia. All that we are here concerned with is that the establishment of Alexander's empire terminates that of the Persians. The



VICTORY OF ALEXANDER AT THE BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS

One of the fights in Alexander's conquest of Persia, where Darius III. was defeated. From the picture by Le Brun.



THE DEFEAT OF DARIUS III. AT THE BATTLE OF ISSUS

A reproduction of a mosaic from Pompeii, showing Darius III. in his chariot at the battle of Issus in 333 B.C. against Alexander. The Persian stategy is said to have consisted chiefly on running away.

immediate disruption of the new empire and the vicissitudes of its various portions are the subject of the ensuing chapters; but when Persia appears as a political entity, it will be a different Persia, not the Achæmenid empire.

The Persian empire from its wars with the Greek world stood in the full light of history. The Achæmenian empire appears before us in the brilliance which it displayed to the Greek historian. But looked at from East instead of from West, it appears in a completely different aspect. That which seemed to the Greek the irresistibly powerful heir to a civilised world, shrouded in mysterious darkness and possessing inexhaustible riches, lies clear before us in its evolution. We know that it was neither the first, nor the most lasting, nor the most powerful, although perhaps the most extensive phenomenon of its kind. Many a conquest of a similar character has been seen and absorbed by the old civilised world of the East. Even the Persian régime was not able to change its character fundamentally, and did not exert more influence upon it than any other of the well-known conquests. The sharp division which we were able partially to recognise in the evolution of a western and an eastern Persia, a result of the conquest of highly civilised countries by peoples which were still in the early stages of society, and, further, the reconciliation of the Persian families who were at the head of affairs with the Medes and the ruling powers of the subjugated provinces, all clearly show that the dominant power claimed nothing beyond a purely political conquest of the vanquished countries. Some Persian nobles supplanted refractory rulers of the old population, and one or two Persian officials governed the provinces. But substantially nothing was changed. A Persian or other Aryan migration, which might have introduced a new population into the old civilised countries, was kept back, after the great flood of nations had once been checked through the organisation of a Persian empire by Cyrus. The fact that Darius, although he had at first taken advantage of successful efforts in this direction, could no longer submit to them when king, is only one of those innumerable phenomena in history where circumstances are more powerful than men, even when they have had the very best intentions.

Correct View of Persia

Conquests Without Changes

Thus only that portion of the empire had become Persian or Aryan which had been struck by the wave of migrating Aryan hordes before they had yet formed a firm union; that is to say, while they had not yet become aware of the power of the civilisation which they wished to conquer. These countries were precisely those which had not possessed a superior civilisation of their own—namely, the eastern districts. When,

however, the Aryans had come within the mystic circle of Babylonian culture, into Media and Elam, they submitted to it. Media had long been removed from Assyro-Babylonian influences, and Elam's power had been broken by Ashurbanipal; therefore both lands offered suitable conditions for receiving an Aryan immigration without obliterating or absorbing its race and character. The population of both lands, indeed, themselves received an Aryan tinge. The incomers, on the other hand, fell under the spell of that culture whose very cradle they had violently seized.

Invading Aryans Civilised

After the subjugation of the western civilised countries that process ceased, by virtue of which, through an immigration of nomadic hordes, a new social life had grown up out of the blending of influences, all tending to evolve a vigorous civilisation. In place of this, political conquest, resting on force, was now made the object of rulers. There could thus be no further prospect of an independent evolution of the Aryan spirit. In the place of a Persian nation, which would have worked itself upward from stage to stage to a higher civilisation and so to dominion over the East, there was now a Persian administration, like an Assyrian, which drained the strength of the civilised lands, and thus became dependent upon them. Not the Persian people, nor a Persian state, but the Persian empire, represented by the army and officials, now held the reins of power in Nearer Asia.

This new empire, in its fundamental principles merely a repetition of the Assyrian empire during the eighth and seventh centuries, shows the same character in all its phenomena. In the administrative sphere the Persian satrap was merely the Assyrian shaknu, although his province was, as a rule, disproportionately larger. Like him, too, he was in fact only a Persian viceroy, who had been placed in the position of the old native ruler. He possessed within his province all rights of a sovereign. Above all, he maintained an army at his own cost, pursued to some extent an independent policy, and thus usually reached the point where the thought of revolt must involuntarily have suggested itself, whenever the intrigues of the courtiers threatened to become dangerous to him. The constitution of the later satrapies is traceable to Darius. Cyrus had in the west simply adopted the old institutions. The accounts of him and his son speak of 127 provinces, which extended from India to Ethiopia. Accordingly the east must have been divided up somewhat after the model of the west. Darius, who went hand in hand with the eastern nobility, instituted the larger satrapies, and the Persians, who administered them, became rulers over separate countries.

The Persian Satrap

After the flood of immigration had abated, and the conquerors had become owners, who on their part had to ward off the hordes that were pressing on after them, wars had to be waged with troops supplied by the civilised states. These proved to be useless material to a great extent. Those of the immigrants who were marked out by landed possessions to be the nobility, and thus the backbone of every army, could do no more than form the backbone of a royal army. The satraps, who were in the first place responsible for the defence and maintenance of their provinces, could not avail themselves of this resource. Every satrap, therefore, had to keep an army of his own, soon composed, especially in the western provinces, of mercenaries, and those chiefly foreign. The overplus of capable soldiers which the vigorous development of the Greek people produced always found there a ready acceptance. In this way the satraps of the western provinces were soon in possession of armaments which might become a menace to the Great King.

Persian Army System

The royal Persian army, in contradistinction, seems to have been constituted on the basis of a feudal state, such as corresponds to the organisation of a newly immigrated people. Any man who had received a grant of land was liable to perform military duties corresponding to his share of the soil. There must, indeed, have been a very motley mixture of nationalities in the army, especially if the same system obtained in the provinces, where civilisation had long passed this stage, and in the western provinces particularly. It is not certain how matters were arranged there; but the "barbarian army," which Cyrus the younger led against Artaxerxes, in addition to his ten thousand Greek mercenaries, can hardly have been collected on another system. Such armies were distinct in armament and customs, even if we are



ALEXANDER BEFORE THE DEAD BODY OF DARIUS III., THE LAST KING OF PERSIA
Darius fled to Media in 331 B.C. and was murdered just before Alexander overtook him.

not required to accept Herodotus's description of the army of Xerxes as accurate in all its details.

In other respects the administration, apart from the satraps and the highest officials, was in the provinces the old national one. Even the Assyrian substitute for the now impracticable colonisation of conquered countries—namely, the plan of new settlements with a population ingeniously formed into Assyrians, and of the transplantation of prisoners of war to different parts of the empire—was entirely abandoned The treatment of Sidon, which had been made Assyrian by Esarhaddon, and the permission accorded to the Jews to return to Palestine, are two striking instances in point. How far in the latter case any alliance of Cyrus with the Jewish element, so powerful in Babylon, may have played a part must remain an undecided question. The first instance, however, and the general abandonment of this procedure prove that the Assyrian policy had been deliberately reversed. It was clearly seen that institutions, established by force, could never attain the same prosperity as economic structures

which are built upon the soil and rise from national development. Thus, the Persian empire made no attempt to interfere with the old-established institutions in the various provinces. In spite of the Persian supremacy, the inhabitants of Babylonia thus remained Babylonian, and those of Ionia Greek.

Persia's Derived Civilisation

The picture of the effectiveness of the Persian sovereignty in the eastern provinces is quite otherwise. Here from the first the conditions were different. While the centre of the empire, Susiana and Persis, received culture from the west, it must have transmitted it in turn to the east. So far it became important for the conditions which were developed later by the Parthian and Bactrian empires. Western ideas in this way reached India, and finally the Sassanid empire determined the course of the civilisation of Islam. So that in truth we cannot speak of a Persian civilisation in the west. That portion of it which developed in its original home possesses a still smaller value for the evolution of mankind. If Elam, during almost as many millennia as the Persian empire lasted centuries, had already borrowed from Babylonia the fundamental principle upon which its power rested, that will also hold good of its heir. A glance enables us to recognise in the pictures from Persian royal palaces, or in the glorification of the victories of a Darius on the cliffs of Behistun, an intellectual kinship with the Assyrians, the same object of glorification, the same conception, the same technique. The beautiful workmanship of the enamelled tiles which covered the walls of Persian palaces [see page 1800] is also largely due to Babylonian influence.

Doubtless the active and gifted people of the Greeks, which after the eighth century B.C. entered into intimate relations with the Asiatic empires, assisting

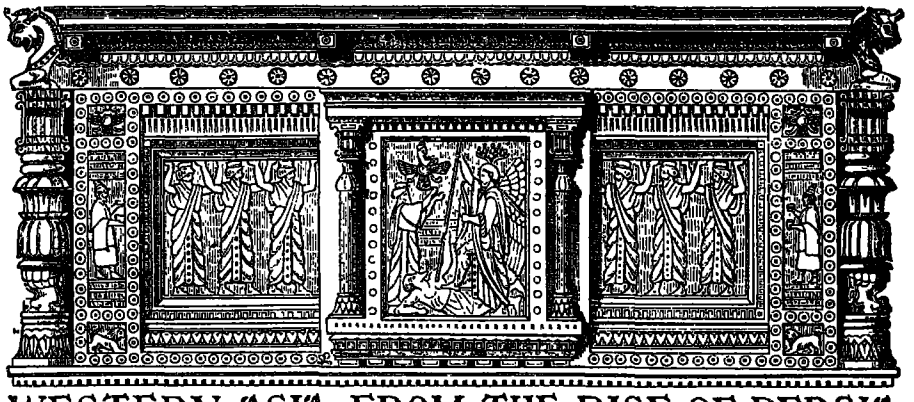
Greek Art in Susa

Cyrus in his Persian wars and participating in his victories, that people which had supplied mercenaries to the Assyrian and Chaldæan armies, and furnished whole armies, as we saw, to the Persians, also sent artists to the court of Susa. It would, however, be an idle task to attempt to trace the influence of Greek art in purely Persian productions. The Persian king was a successor of the old Oriental kings. Just as he, full of dignity, discharged his time-honoured duties with wig and long, flowing robe, so there remained for the art which served to glorify him no other path except that marked out by millennia of veneration. The Persian buildings have one feature distinct from the Assyrian ones known to us, and that is the ample employment of pillars. It is, perhaps, a permissible conjecture that Greek influence may be seen in this. But it is also conceivable that Egyptian influence, through the medium of Phœnicia, may have travelled through the Euphrates valley as far as Susa and Persepolis. Yet, granted the case that Hellenic architects and artists had helped in building the palaces of Xerxes, their Hellenic spirit could evince itself at most in secondary details. What they created must always have been Oriental, copied from the old models, as the Oriental love of tradition demanded.

A production similar to this royal art, which in some degree had abandoned the national spirit, is the Persian cuneiform script. It was adapted from the Babylonian, or more correctly the Elamite, in order to provide an alphabet for the language of the new sovereign people. This was not suited to the grammatical scheme of the old civilised languages, and therefore could not be written with the old hieroglyphic and syllabic script which had closely followed the structure of the Sumerian and later the Semitic. In further pursuance of the principle already traceable in Elamite, a specially simplified syllabic writing was invented—actually invented in this case at the royal command—in order to be able to carve the inscriptions of the kings in the Persian language also. A written language in the sense of Babylonian was never developed from this, so far as our present knowledge goes. Even the Persians made use of Aramaic as the imperial language of intercourse, so far as the Babylonian language and its cuneiform script did not maintain their rights. The Persian cuneiform script, evidently first introduced by Darius in order to emphasise his national policy as contrasted with that of Cyrus and Cambyses, has had no history and exerted no influence on the development of civilisation; the Avesta was written in a literal alphabet derived from the Aramaic.

Persian Cuneiform Script

HUGO WINCKLER
LEONARD W. KING



WESTERN ASIA FROM THE RISE OF PERSIA TO MAHOMET

BY DR. HUGO WINCKLER, DR. K. G. BRANDIS, LEONARD W. KING, M.A., AND H. R. HALL, M.A.

ASIA MINOR AFTER ALEXANDER

AT the death of Alexander, in 323 B.C., the empire which his conquests had created extended over all Western Asia and into the Punjab, besides Hellas and Egypt. Its continuance seemed secured at first by the selection of his stepbrother, Arrhidæus, as king under the title of Philip, by the birth of a son and heir, and by the appointment of Perdiccas as regent of the empire. But the foremost generals became governors of the provinces into which it was divided, and at the same time commanders of the troops stationed or about to be levied in their administrative districts. Every governor bestirred himself immediately to raise a trustworthy army, by which he might make himself as independent as possible of the imperial power and might carry out his own ambitious designs without regard for the welfare and prosperity of the whole. This naturally furnished the ground of many disputes. The scene of these wars of the Diadochi, or "Successors," was Asia Minor. Antigonus was sent thither from Babylon as governor of Greater Phrygia, Leonnatus went to Hellespontine Phrygia, Eumenes to Cappadocia, Cassander to Caria, Menander to Lydia, and Philotas to Cilicia. While the others all went to provinces long since subdued, Eumenes had first to conquer his province. The Cappadocians, whose land had hardly been touched by Alexander himself, had never reconciled themselves to the Macedonian rulers placed over them, and had actually set a native noble—probably of Persian origin—by name Ariarathes, at the head of affairs. He being a clever, enterprising man, had extended his rule over the whole of Cappadocia, to which Pontus then belonged, and maintained it with the help of a strong army of 15,000 horsemen and 30,000 foot-soldiers. According to the commands of the regent of the empire, Antigonus and Leonnatus were to help Eumenes in expelling Ariarathes; but neither obeyed orders. Perdiccas, therefore, was obliged to march against Cappadocia with the imperial army. Ariarathes was defeated, taken prisoner, and crucified, and Eumenes received the country as his province. The nephew of Ariarathes, his namesake, saved his life by flight into Armenia, whence, at a later period, he came back to influence the destinies of his fatherland.

Wars of the Diadochi

Conquest of Cappadocia

Leonnatus had in the interval aided Antipater, governor of Macedonia, in his struggle against the Hellenes, and had lost his life in the campaign. Antigonus, instead of answering the summons to explain his refusal to obey the regent's orders, fled to Antipater in Europe, and

effected there an alliance against Perdiccas, in which Ptolemy, the governor of Egypt, joined. War followed; Perdiccas was murdered in Egypt, and Antipater became regent of the empire in his stead. Antigonus received back the province of Greater Phrygia, from which he had fled, and was given the supreme command of the imperial army, with the task of carrying on the war against Eumenes, who had been on the side of Perdiccas, and had successfully held his own against Antipater and Craterus. Eumenes was defeated in the open field, but successfully defended himself in the steep mountain fortress of Nora against Antigonus, escaped, and in a short time assembled a new army, with which he conquered Cilicia and Phœnicia and finally crossed the Euphrates, in order to bring the governors of the eastern provinces over to his side. At last, in the year 316 B.C., after many battles, he fell, through the treachery of his picked troops, into the hands of Antigonus, who had him put to death. Previously to this, and in 319 B.C., immediately after the death of Antipater, who had appointed Polyperchon as his successor and regent of the empire, Antigonus had renounced obedience to the new regent, had driven out the governors of Hellespontine Phrygia and Lydia, who were on the side of Polyperchon, and had given their satrapies to men of his own party. Now, after the death of Eumenes, he was ruler of all Asia, from the upper provinces of which he returned to Asia Minor with enormous treasure.

Fall of the Regency



PHILETÆRUS
Founder of the kingdom of Pergamus about 280 B.C.

But the great power and ascendency of Antigonus produced a hostile coalition of the other governors. These were Cassander, the son of Antipater, who meantime had driven Polyperchon out of Macedonia; Ptolemy; Lysimachus, who in the year 323 had received Thrace as a province, and after subduing the warlike, freedom-loving mountain tribes, had founded for himself an important state; and, lastly, Seleucus, who, driven from his satrapy of Babylon by Antigonus, had fled to Ptolemy in Egypt. Antigonus refused their request to divide the satrapies equally; so wars resulted, which dragged on with changing fortunes and some interruptions from 315 to 301. In these the last members of the royal family—Alexander's posthumous son, who was called after him, and his illegitimate son Heracles—met their death. The rulers, therefore, proceeded to assume the title of kings in 306 B.C. Antigonus retained his power, and Asia Minor remained his choicest possession until he succumbed to the last mighty onslaught of his enemies, and was killed at the battle of Ipsus in Phrygia in 301 B.C. There is no sign of lasting institutions or of a government bringing blessings to its subjects in this disturbed period of new and constantly-growing armaments. Only the Greek cities of Asia Minor enjoyed peculiar consideration and retained their self-government and immunity from taxation.

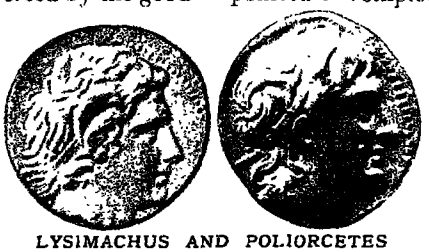
After the death of Antigonus there were four kingdoms in existence—Egypt, under Ptolemy; Thrace, under Lysimachus; Macedonia and Greece, under Cassander; and Syria, under Seleucus. Asia Minor was divided between Lysimachus and Seleucus, who had taken the most important share in the overthrow of Antigonus. Both remained in possession of the portion that fell to them, notwithstanding that Demetrius Poliorcetes, "the Besieger," the son of Antigonus, made numerous attempts to reconquer his father's realm. Lysimachus was defeated and killed in 281 B.C., in a battle against Seleucus, to whom, as victor, Asia Minor justly fell. During the immediately succeeding period the line of Seleucus is in the ascendant, and possess, indeed, the greatest power as far as extent of territory goes; but the Seleucidæ are no longer sole rulers, as once Antigonus was.

In the confusion in which Asia Minor was involved after the death of Alexander new states had gradually been developed there, which, growing into greater power, stamped their mark on the whole subsequent period. Once more we find on the soil of Asia Minor for the first, and indeed for the last time since the dissolution of the Lydian dominion, states with a separate history and a separate policy, in complete independence of any great political power whose capital and centre of gravity lay outside the peninsula.

Last of the Separate States

Ariarathes, the nephew and adopted son of that Ariarathes whom Perdiccas had crucified at the time when Antigonus was waging his disastrous war against the allied kings, had returned to Cappadocia from Armenia, and, supported by the good will of the population, which had never grown accustomed to the Macedonian rule, entered upon the heritage of his father. His attempt was favoured by events in the immediate neighbourhood. Mithradates, the grandson of Ariobarzanes, a former satrap on the Hellespont, who had been in the service of Antigonus, warned by Demetrius Poliorcetes that his life was in danger, fled to Paphlagonia. There he was able to occupy the town of Kimiata in the gorges of the Olgassys, which he surrounded with strong walls, and now, in concert with Ariarathes, he summoned the Paphlagonians and the inhabitants of the north coast to arms. The lieutenant of Antigonus had to give way to the two; and when, after the battle of Ipsus, the two victors, Lysimachus and Seleucus, turned their attention to the subjugation of these outlying districts, it was too late. An army of Seleucus was totally defeated in Cappadocia, and Mithradates was able to hold his own in the north. Later, after the death of Lysimachus and the invasion of the Gauls, and during the continuous wars of the Seleucidæ, both within and outside Asia Minor, no more thought was entertained of their subjugation. Thus Ariarathes created an independent kingdom in Cappadocia, with which he united Cataonia; and Mithradates, who received the name of Ctistes—the Founder—founded a kingdom in the valleys of the Amnias and Iris, which, situated on the Pontus Euxinus, or Black Sea, came gradually for brevity to be called Pontus. The rulers of both territories naturally styled themselves kings.

Birth of New States



LYSIMACHUS AND POLIORCETES

After the death of Antigonus and despite the efforts of his son, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Lysimachus, king of Thrace, and Seleucus of Syria shared Asia Minor.

In the north-west new states grew up. Bithynia had been ruled in Persian times by princes of its own, who recognised the suzerainty of the Great King and were subject to his satraps, even though they often enough disobeyed them. Alexander freed Bithynia from the Persian domination, but apparently left the princely families in possession of their hereditary power: the Macedonian governor of Hellespontine Phrygia, Calas, was appointed to complete their subjection. But the Bithynian prince, Bas, repelled his attack in the open field, and his son Zipoites succeeded during the wars of the "Successors" in maintaining and even in extending his hereditary position. Zipoites is the first who styled himself king; this must have happened in 297 B.C. after a victory over Lysimachus, since the era of the Bithynian kings begins with the autumn of 297. He also maintained his position against the successor of Antiochus, Seleucus, who had sent his general, Patrocles, to force Bithynia to submission. In any case, after this Bithynia finally entered the ranks of independent states. Zipoites was able to bequeath to his son Nicomedes a realm which towards the east included the Greek towns of Teion and Cieros. About this time there arose an independent state in the valley of the Caïcus, on the borders of Bithynia. At the outbreak of the war with Seleucus, Philetærus had abandoned Lysimachus, whose citadel and treasures he was guarding at Pergamus, and had gone over to Seleucus. When the latter was soon afterwards murdered he won the gratitude of Antiochus by sending him the body of his father, held Pergamus, and succeeded in bringing the whole valley of the Caïcus as far as the sea under his dominion, and thus laid the foundations of the kingdom of Pergamus.

Founding of Pergamus



NICOMEDES

Son of Zipoites, first king of Bithynia. From a coin.

Once more a race of invaders became prominent in Asia Minor and exercised an important influence on the conditions of the country. Just as previously, at the time of the Mermnadæ, Cimmerians, combined with Thracian hordes, had crossed over into Asia Minor and had long scoured the land, plundering and robbing, so now the Gauls appeared. They had before this made inroads into Thrace and Macedonia; now in 277 B.C., Nicomedes, who was contesting his inheritance with his brothers,

took a Gallic army under Leonnorius into his pay and by their aid subdued Bithynia. At the same time a second Gallic force, under Lutarius, crossed the Hellespont, joined the force under Leonnorius, which now was again free, and, both combined, raided the fields of Asia Minor and burned the towns. Antiochus, in order to protect, at any rate, his own part of Asia Minor from the Gallic pillagers, marched across the Taurus. A pitched battle was fought between him and the Gauls. In overwhelming force—so ran the account of the fight—the "Galatians" confronted the king in a dense phalanx, twenty-four ranks deep, with 10,000 horsemen on each wing. From the centre of the line of battle eighty four-horse chariots, armed with scythes, and twice as many two-horse war chariots were to charge. It may easily be conceived that the king's courage almost failed him at the sight of this formidable multitude, especially since the greater part of his inferior army consisted of slingers and other light-armed troops. He even wished to make terms; but one of his generals encouraged him and devised a plan of battle for him. The sixteen elephants which the king had with him were driven headlong against the enemy; the enemy's horses, which had never seen an elephant, took fright, galloped in wild rout back on the ranks, and caused universal confusion. The overthrow of the Gauls was complete.

Antiochus Fights the Gauls



THE STRENGTH OF THE ARMY OF ANTIOCHUS

A terra-cotta statue of an elephant seizing a Gaul, reproduced from "Passing of the Empires," S. P. C. K. In the battle between Antiochus of Asia Minor and the Gauls the Galatian army, which included 20,000 horsemen, was routed by sixteen elephants.

This victory checked the wandering of the Gauls, in so far that they were driven back to the eastern part of Phrygia on both sides of the Halys and restricted to a region to which they gave their name permanently. Here in Galatia they founded their capital, Ancyra, which attained later great prosperity, and at the present day, as Angora, is the chief town of Central Asia Minor. Here they gradually obtained secure settlements and lived, mixed with the natives, without abandoning their language, habits, or constitution, under twelve tetrarchs, each of whom belonged to one of the four cantons of their three tribes—Trocmeri, Tolistoboii, and Tectosagi—and under a council consisting of three hundred members. Often enough, starting from here as mercenaries of the rival princes, they helped to decide the destinies of the peninsula. For, unfortunately, there was no prosperous development in Asia Minor even after the defeat of the Gauls by Antiochus. In the many wars between Egypt and Syria, which led to the occupation of the coast of Caria and Lycia by the Ptolemies, then in the long, bloody war between the brothers Seleucus Callinicus and Antiochus Hierax, sons of Antiochus Theos, the whole west coast and the central and southern districts, Caria, Phrygia, Lycia, and Cilicia, were at one time in the hands of Callinicus, at another of Hierax. No wonder that the Gauls, too, reappeared in this confusion, and, after inflicting a crushing blow on Callinicus in the interest of Hierax, once more assumed a position which threatened danger. Once more they laid waste the fields; and their neighbours, to secure peace from them, were forced to pay tribute. Even Antiochus Hierax could not secure immunity in any other way.

The Gauls Reappear

The credit of averting the new danger of the Gauls belongs to the princes of Pergamus. After Eumenes I., the successor of Philetærus, had defeated Antiochus I. at Sardis in 262 B.C., the permanence of their rule was secured. The disturbed times gave an opportunity for strengthening and extending it. Attalus I. (241-197 B.C.), the son and successor of Eumenes, had brought his name into history by an

action which conferred on him lasting fame in the eyes of his contemporaries and of posterity. He refused to pay to the Gauls the customary tribute, and faced their consequent invasion in a battle, where he completely defeated them. By this means he greatly contributed towards ending their raids and confining them to their own territory. On account of this splendid achievement Attalus was honoured by the towns and princes who were saved by him from the Gallic danger, and assumed the royal diadem. Eumenes II. dedicated to him an imposing monument, an altar to Zeus, standing on a massive pedestal, round the sides of which ran reliefs, which glorified for all time the victory of Attalus over the Gauls under the representation of the battle of the gods with the giants. Pergamene art, as shown us by these reliefs, marks in some ways the highest point reached by the Greek art of the later style. The statues of Pergamus were regarded as triumphs of art by the Romans, and the various figures of "Dying Gauls"—erroneously called "Dying Gladiators"—in our museums were copied from Pergamene originals.



RUINS OF THE ANCIENT METROPOLIS OF PERGAMUS
In the second century B.C. the city of Pergamus became the most important kingdom in Asia Minor and a centre of civilisation. These ruins are all that remain to-day.

Attalus I. not only permanently secured his realm, but extended it also by a war with Antiochus Hierax, who, after long disputes with his brother Seleucus Callinicus, had finally withdrawn and held Asia Minor north of the Taurus, so far as it was distinctly Seleucid. Hierax was defeated at Colcë, in the neighbourhood of Sardis, and compelled to fly from Asia Minor; Seleucid Asia Minor fell into the hands of Attalus. But the Seleucidæ were destined once more to establish their power in the peninsula, and, as it seemed, more firmly than ever. Achæus, the general of Seleucus, retook from Attalus the territory he had recently conquered, but could not resist the temptation of founding a separate state and of placing the kingly diadem on his own head during the confusion which prevailed in Syria after the death of Seleucus. This kingdom, severed from the main Seleucid state, lasted some years, until Antiochus III., who had restored his authority in his own kingdom by a successful war against insurgent satraps, felt himself sufficiently strong to deprive Achæus also of his sovereignty. Achæus, being beaten, shut himself up in Sardis and held out a considerable time, but was eventually murdered by traitors. Thus Antiochus III. reunited a large part of Asia Minor to his own main territory in 214 B.C.

Kingdom of Attalus

A letter of the king preserved for us in an inscription gives us a slight glimpse into the internal administration. The Seleucid kingdom, like the Persian, was divided into satrapies: we do not know how many of these were included in Asia Minor. By the side of the worship of the native gods, which naturally remained fixed, a similar worship of the king and the queen was introduced; for both there was in each satrapy one high-priest, and sacrifices were offered to both, just as, two hundred years later, in the provinces high-priests were appointed for the Roman emperor.

Worship of King and Queen

But Antiochus III. did not rest content with these acquisitions. It was not enough that he had brought even Greek towns on the western coast of Asia Minor into his power; he aimed at Europe also and laid claims to Thrace on the ground that it was by right a possession of the

Seleucidæ, owing to the defeat of Lysimachus by Seleucus. He had already become master of the town of Sestus, and had made Lysimacheia, which he restored, the headquarters of his army and the capital of a province of Thrace that was still to be conquered, when he became involved in a war with Rome.

Seleucidæ Confined to Cilicia

In the revolt, the dominion of the Seleucidæ in Asia Minor on this side of the Taurus was ended for ever. They kept only the territory on the far side of the Taurus—that is, practically, Cilicia—and did not venture to cross the sea with warships to the west of the mouth of the Kalykadnos. Rhodes and Pergamus, which had taken the part of Rome, were both splendidly rewarded for their loyalty. The former received the country of Lycia and Caria as far as the Mæander; Pergamus, which had withstood a siege from Antiochus, and whose territory had been ravaged, received Hellespontine Phrygia, Greater Phrygia, Lydia with Sardis and Ephesus (which had been occupied by Antiochus and had not soon enough gone over from him to the Romans), and the part of Caria which lay north of the Mæander. The Greek towns of Asia Minor, which had sided with the Romans on the day of the battle of Magnesia, where Antiochus had met with his overthrow, were conceded self-government and also immunity from tribute. By the despatch of Manlius Volso against the Galatians, who were defeated by him in two battles, the Romans deserved well of Asia Minor; for even after the defeat inflicted on the Galatians by Attalus many towns had still been obliged to pay tribute to them to secure protection from their marauding invasions. The Galatian scourge was now destroyed once for all.

The results of the battle of Magnesia are of the most far-reaching importance. Rome, without appropriating a foot's

Rome the Mistress of Asia Minor

breadth of land, becomes from this time the foremost power in Asia Minor. It is clear on the face of it that Pergamus and Rhodes, which had long been allies of Rome, would seek to further their prosperity and power by this connection; but the longer the other states, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus itself, resisted, the less they could avoid the influences of Rome. The power of the Macedonian, Syrian, and Egyptian monarchies over Asia Minor was broken from that day. For at least a century the peninsula enjoyed peace, in which it had had no share since Alexander's death. What conception Rome had of its rights as the leading power is clearly shown by the political changes which were introduced into Asia Minor thirty years after the battle of Magnesia. After the third Macedonian war Rome, being dissatisfied with the conduct of the free city of Rhodes and its unwelcome intrusion into the course of this war, deprived it of its possessions on the peninsula of Asia Minor and declared Caria and Lycia to be "free." The Rhodian garrisons had to be withdrawn from these countries, and the considerable tribute which till then had flowed into the Rhodian treasury from that source was stopped. Thus the power of Rhodes suffered a heavy loss. The trade of Rhodes was bound to fall off, since the Romans had established the free harbour of Delos and had blocked the main artery of the Rhodian exports and imports on the coast of Macedonia, which had now become Roman.

Lycian City League

In Lycia the towns, of which there were many of various sizes, formed themselves into a close organisation, the Lycian league. They had always unwillingly submitted to the Rhodian rule, and knew how to make good use of the freedom now conceded to them for the welfare of the country. The beginnings of this Lycian city-league may have been older, especially as far as the common worship of the Lycian tribal deity is concerned; but now other duties fell upon the league: the representation of the country in foreign lands, negotiations with strange powers, the maintenance of the common interests, as well as the establishment of systematic and assured conditions at home. Though such a city-league in itself presented no novelty, the fundamental thought on which the Lycian league rested was new and excellent. Every member of the league had a different number of votes, according to its size, distributed in such a way that the largest towns gave three, the intermediate towns two, and the small towns one vote, respectively, at the meeting of the league, which was held in turn in each of the communities. At the head of the league was placed a president, chosen similarly in turn from the towns which were members, and elected annually. The

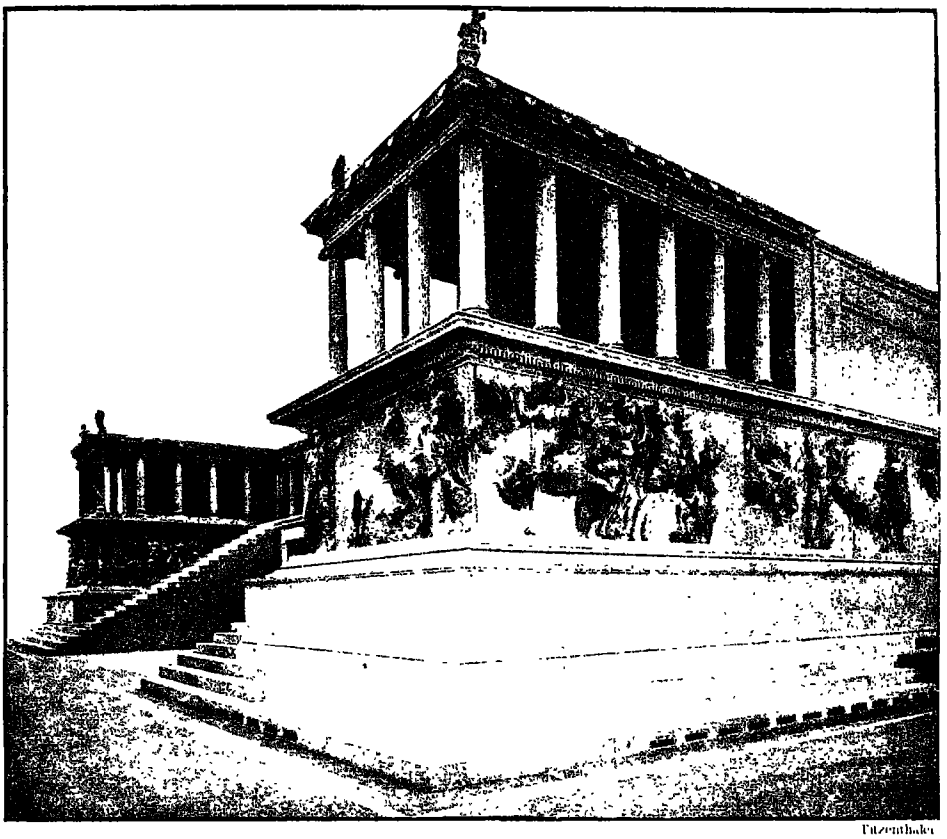


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ONE OF THE TRIUMPHS OF THE ART OF PERGAMUS: AN ALTAR TO ZEUS

This imposing altar to Zeus was erected in honour of Attalus I., who completely routed an invasion of the Gauls. The reliefs round the sides of the altar mark in some ways the highest point reached by the Greek art of the later style.

towns exercised their right of voting through representatives. A similarly organised league, the Chrysaorian, existed in Caria, where there were comparatively few towns, but many large village communities.

The most splendid picture at this time is presented by Pergamus, which, through the courage and statecraft of its kings, had become an important kingdom. From the struggle against Bithynia, which broke out immediately after the war with Antiochus III., Eumenes II. emerged as victor. Prusias of Bithynia had occupied some territory in Mysia, which in the peace with Antiochus had been conceded to Eumenes. On this ground a quarrel began between the two, which has the greater interest for us because Hannibal for the last time played a part in it, and for the last time, uselessly, it is true, tried to form a powerful coalition against Rome. Despite some successes of Hannibal, Eumenes was not only able to maintain his position, but also to incorporate into his own kingdom the territory conquered by Prusias on the Sangarius. Prusias did not venture to shelter Hannibal when the Romans demanded his surrender; and the great Carthaginian, being abandoned, put an end to his life at Libussa, on a height above the Gulf of Nicomedia. The princes of Pergamus, distinguished as they were for their cleverness and statecraft, were not less renowned for their warm interest in art and science. We have already mentioned the altar to Zeus. On the acropolis, which towers above the city, they reared a rich group of buildings, which, rising in terraces one above the other, crown the summit of the royal citadel. And in the middle of it, among palaces and temples and public buildings, was the library, which was also a museum, where, besides a rich collection of books, originals, as well as copies of prominent

works of the older Greek art, were preserved. In this manner Pergamus became an important centre of civilisation, and will be always mentioned with honour by the side of Alexandria.

By the side of Pergamus, Bithynia fell into the background; its princes had gradually subdued the whole territory from the Rhyndacus and the Mysian Olympus to Heracleia, and southward from Heracleia over the Sangarius up to the Paphlagonian frontier. Hellenism early made an entrance here; and an increasing number of Greek towns sprang up. But none of them can be compared with Pergamus in glory and importance.

Extent of Bithynia

Up to this time Rome had had no possessions of her own in Asia Minor. But when Attalus III. of Pergamus died in the year 133 B.C. and made Rome his heir, the Romans accepted the inheritance. Here begins a new phase in the historical development of Asia Minor. It is true that Aristonicus, a scion of the princely house of Pergamus, disputed the inheritance with the Romans, raised an army, found adherents, and went against them, sword in hand. But it was impossible for him to hold out long. In the year 129 B.C. the revolt was crushed and its leader murdered. The consul, Manius Aquillius, created the Roman province, Asia, co-extensive with the kingdom of Pergamus. In addition, there was Caria, which had taken part in the revolt of Aristonicus. The latter had been besieged and captured in Stratonicæa. Aquillius, having been bribed, had given Greater Phrygia to Mithradates Euergetes of Pontus; Bithynia raised a protest. The proceedings in the senate on this point were prolonged interminably, until at last Rome appropriated the country herself. From that time, 116 B.C., all Greater Phrygia, Hellespontine Phrygia, Mysia, Lydia, and Caria, were included in the new Roman province. Of the Greek towns, free up till now, those that had supported Aristonicus were deprived of their liberty and made provincial towns; but the others were recognised as free and autonomous.



MITHRADATES
The Great, king of Pontus, from a coin of his realm.

At first, indeed, Rome had magnanimously relinquished all claim to taxes, which had long been raised by the kings of Pergamus; but soon some of them were restored. They introduced a tax of one-tenth on the produce of the soil, a tax on pasture land, and duties on imports and exports; the collection of revenue was made over to a company of Roman knights, who farmed all these taxes at Rome. This method of taxation was the plague and ruin of the provincials. The Asiatics, exposed to the tyranny and caprice of these companies, who considered only their own profit, and never the welfare of the taxpayers, and who naturally wished not only to get back the sums paid at Rome for farming these taxes but to enrich themselves greatly by it, were shamelessly plundered by them, and could never hope for success if they ventured on a judicial complaint at Rome; for the very knights who composed these companies for farming the taxes were the judges.

A Roman governor, who changed yearly, stood at the head of the province. Even if some of them, such as Mucius Scævola, were very honourable and worthy men, who really had the welfare of the province at heart, the majority of them brought with them only a mass of debts from the capital; and the province was reckoned by them and their compeers to be the most suitable sphere for getting rid of their debts and acquiring new wealth. There were, indeed, opportunities enough for the governor to wring out money for himself, especially since the province had to provide all expenses for him and his suite. The amount, however, which had to be expended for him depended on his own discretion, since he could impose taxes for a definite object, such as for the building of ships to resist the bold attacks of pirates, or generally for the protection of the land; and it rested with him alone to determine the rate of taxation, while no one controlled its proper application. Again, he alone distributed the garrisons among the towns, and many towns were only too glad to be quit of these unwelcome guests by a money payment to the governor. It was not, in any case, difficult for the Roman officials to plunder thoroughly the province entrusted to them. And, unfortunately, the number of the selfish governors at this time was greater than

Romans Plunder Asia Minor

that of the honourable. Besides this, the suite of the governor was large, and consisted mostly of young aristocrats, to whom the opportunity for acquiring wealth was not unwelcome.

In short, the maladministration of the Romans was appalling. And in Rome itself the senate usually turned a deaf ear when complaints against its members were raised. Such misgovernment must have greatly excited the anger and dissatisfaction of the provincials. Only a spark was needed to kindle a terrible conflagration, and the man was soon found who knew how to deal with these conditions. We saw earlier that the house of Mithradates in Pontus had founded a dynasty.

Appalling Misgovernment of Rome

In the course of time the frontiers of this kingdom were widened. The Greek towns on this coast, Amastris, Amisos, and, above all, Sinope, with its own colonies of Trapezûs and Cerasus, had been conquered and Sinope made the capital of the kingdom of Pontus. On the other hand, the various attempts of the Pontic princes to bring Galatia and Greater Phrygia under their rule were frustrated, either by a coalition of the other kings in Asia Minor or by the intervention of Rome. Mithradates Euergetes, who had fought in the war of Aristonicus on the side of the Romans, and then thought he had claims on Greater Phrygia, was murdered, at his own wife's instigation, before the transactions with Greater Phrygia were completed. He left a son of tender age, who, young as he was, fled from the plots of his mother and



FAMOUS BRONZE FROM PERGAMUS

The statues of Pergamus were regarded by the Romans as triumphs of art. This group is "The Gaul and his Wife."

remained for many years hiding in the lonely mountains. Mithradates Eupator reappeared at Sinope as a young man of twenty, and the people hailed him as their king. His mother was obliged to resign the government to him. Filled with ambition and energy, his first and foremost thought was the aggrandisement of his kingdom; but that required means, money, and soldiers, of which he had not sufficient at his disposal. A happy chance helped him. In the Tauric Chersonese, the modern Crimea, the Scythians of the great South Russian steppe were pressing hard the free town of Chersonesus and the kingdom of Bosporus, now Kertch; Mithradates, being asked for aid, sent over his general, Diophantus, with an army. He



THE OUTSTANDING EXAMPLE OF PERGAMENE SCULPTURE

The familiar figures of "Dying Gauls" in the museums, erroneously called "Dying Gladiators," are Roman copies of Pergamene originals. The above is from an original.

defeated the Scythians, drove them back from the peninsula, and admitted the Chersonese, as well as the kingdom of Bosporus, which had submitted to his master, into the union of the subject states.

Perhaps more important than the increase in territory was the replenishment of the Pontic treasury by the taxes which flowed in from the Crimea. Mithradates strengthened his army and increased its efficiency by continual training. He had already conquered Paphlagonia and Galatia in combination with Nicomedes of Bithynia, had partitioned them with his ally, and had secured his influence in Cappadocia, when the protests of Rome forced both of them to relinquish their conquests. Mithradates bowed this time to the dictates of Rome, since he did not yet feel himself strong enough for defiance; but the wish to wreak vengeance on Rome for having prevented first his father and then himself from realising the ardently desired scheme of conquest was cherished from this moment.

Training the Army of Pontus

The disputes about the succession in Bithynia between Nicomedes III. and Socrates, who held possession of the throne by the help of Mithradates until Nicomedes, supported by the Romans, expelled him, and finally the invasion of the territory of Pontus by Nicomedes, led to the outbreak of the war between Rome and Mithradates. This so-called First Mithradatic War broke out in 88 B.C., at a time when the Romans were still fully occupied in Italy itself. The Roman legate, Manius Aquillius, levied, indeed, some troops in Asia; but he, as well as the remaining Roman commanders in the province of Asia, were defeated by Mithradates or repulsed without attempting serious resistance.

The king marched by way of Apamea and Laodicea into the Roman provinces. Isolated towns, such as Magnesia, near the Sipylus, and Stratonicæa in Caria, resisted for some time the attacks of the king, and had to be conquered by him; but these were exceptions. Mithradates was received with open arms and hailed as a liberator from the universally hated yoke. In a very short time the province joined him. At his orders on one day 80,000 Italians were murdered. These had gradually become numerous, as more and more people had poured into the incalculably rich land of Asia for the sake of gain and commerce. Greece also was affected. Athens first of all espoused the cause of Mithradates; the Bœotians, Achæans, and Lacedæmonians declared for him. His general, Archelaus, was in Greece with 100,000 men, and had his headquarters at Athens. At Rome itself there was civil war. Not until the beginning of the year 87 B.C. was the great Sulla able to start with an army for Greece. His mere appearance brought many Greeks back to their allegiance. Only Athens resisted and remained loyal to Mithradates, and was conquered on March 1, 86 B.C. after a long siege; a few days later the Piræus also was stormed and given to the flames. The first great success was followed by others. Sulla defeated Archelaus at Chæronea, and Dorylaus, who had come up with considerable reinforcements, at Orchomenos.

Slaughter of 80,000 Italians

In Asia Minor also the situation was not as favourable for Mithradates as at first. Rhodes had refused submission to the king, and Lycia did likewise. The siege of Rhodes, like that of Patara in Lycia, had been a waste of time, for on both occasions Mithradates had been forced to withdraw without effecting any result. Again, the cruel and tyrannical government of the liberator began soon to prove intolerable. At Ephesus, Tralles, and other places the king's governors were murdered or expelled, and the towns put into a state of defence. Lucullus, Sulla's general, had assembled a fleet in Syria and Egypt, with which he took Cos, Cnidos, Chios, and other towns from Mithradates. Pressed on every side, the king resolved to enter into negotiations for peace with Sulla. By the terms of peace Mithradates was obliged to evacuate the Roman province, give up his conquests in Bithynia, Paphlagonia, and Cappadocia, and to restrict himself to his Pontic territory; he was also to surrender 70 warships and pay 2,000 talents as war indemnity.

Peace with Rome

Thus ended the First Mithradatic War, and the Province of Asia was once more Roman. Sulla reorganised it. Rhodes was rewarded for its heroic resistance by a gift of Caunia and other districts on the Carian coast; the towns which had remained loyal were declared free; while those that had revolted were punished and a heavy fine was imposed upon them. This penalty weighed heavily upon the

towns; and since it had to be met by loans, it materially retarded their prosperity, already seriously impaired. Ten years afterwards we see Lucullus endeavouring by wise measures to discharge the debts of many of the towns, and vigorously combating the pernicious system by which unpaid interest was regarded as bearing interest in turn. He reduced the rate of interest, wiped out the interest which had run up above the amount of the original capital, and appropriated the fourth part of the income of the debtor for the satisfaction of the creditor.

The Work of a Wise Financier

The Second Mithradatic War, from 83 to 81 B.C., was in reality nothing more than a marauding expedition of Muræna, the governor of Asia, into the Pontic territory.

Towards the end of the year 74 B.C. Nicomedes III. of Bithynia died and bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. That gave Mithradates a welcome opportunity to invade Bithynia in the spring of 73 B.C., and to bring the whole land under his rule. Lucullus and Cotta were immediately sent from Rome to Bithynia, and the Third Mithradatic War began. Cotta, to whom the supreme command of the fleet had been given, was to defend Bithynia. He withdrew to Chalcedon, while Lucullus advanced from Cilicia and Asia with the legions which had been collected there. Cotta offered battle under the walls of Chalcedon, and was defeated; at the same time Mithradates' fleet forced an entrance into the harbour and captured sixty Roman warships. After this success Mithradates began the siege of the rich, free town of Cyzicus, which was loyal to the Romans and defended itself bravely. Lucullus advanced to its relief. Mithradates, taken on two sides, and no longer besieger, but besieged, with his mighty army crippled by hunger and disease, was compelled at last to abandon his attempt and to fall back hastily on Pontus, saving what he could. Even his fleet was by degrees driven out of the Ægean Sea. Lucullus, on his part, now marched through Bithynia and Paphlagonia into the king's territory, defeated him at Cabeira, and compelled him to fly to his son-in-law, Tigranes, King of Armenia. After the conquest of the towns of Amisus and Sinope, Lucullus advanced into Armenia, defeated Tigranes at Tigranocerta in 69 B.C., and after a second victory at Artaxata, was making preparations to subdue all Armenia, when his soldiers mutinied and forced their general to retreat. As even the enormous booty captured on this retreat did not alter the soldiers' purpose, Lucullus was forced to abandon Armenia.

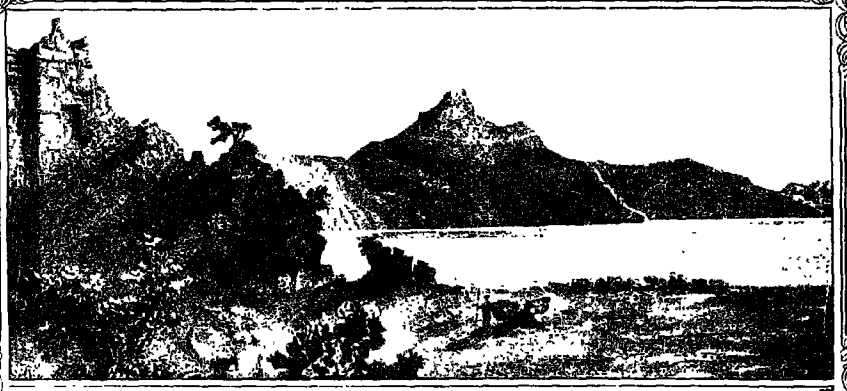
The Last War of Mithradates

Meantime, Mithradates had escaped and collected a new army, with which he advanced to reconquer his kingdom. The hostility of the equestrian class in Rome to Lucullus was so strong that he was recalled, and Pompey was entrusted with the conduct of the Mithradatic War in his place.

Pompey had just ended the War with the Pirates. After the Seleucid and Egyptian fleet had lost the mastery of the Ægean Sea, piracy became rampant. Pompey deserves the credit of having at last energetically checked this plague. Covered with glory in this war against the pirates, he appeared the most competent general to end the Mithradatic War. He therefore started in the year 66 B.C. for the new theatre of war, and so completely crushed Mithradates at Dasteria, which he himself afterwards named Nicopolis or City of Victory, that the king of Pontus could save himself only by precipitate flight through Colchis to the Bosphorus. In the midst of mighty preparations and great plans—he intended to lead against Italy a large army of Scythians, Thracians, and Celts, and to attack Rome itself—he was betrayed by his son Pharnaces and the army, and died by his own hand. Thus Pontus, the kingdom of Mithradates, fell to Rome; Bosporus was left to his son and betrayer, Pharnaces. Pompey organised Pontus as a province, founded eleven townships in it, and united it with Bithynia under one jurisdiction. Rome was now mistress of all Asia Minor, except Cappadocia, Galatia, and Lycia. By 25 B.C. Galatia too was a province. Cappadocia was absorbed after the death of its last king, and Lycia in the middle of the first century A.D.

Pontus Falls to Rome

Asia Minor had no separate history in the time of the Roman emperors, just as later under Byzantine and at present under Turkish rule. It has been a part of world-empires, and only as such has it had a share in the events of world-history. The age when its independent states played a part in the history of the world passed away with the early years of the empire.







REMAINS OF SYRIAN TOWNS FOUNDED BY SELEUCUS

The first picture shows the remains of the port of Seleucia, on the Mediterranean, built by Seleucus Nicator near the mouth of the Orontes. The second illustrates the actual ruins and some of the Seleucid sepulchres cut in the rock. The third is a picture of the walls on the west side of Antioch, built by Seleucus when he founded the city.



THE EMPIRE OF THE SELEUCIDÆ

FROM Asia Minor, after the death of Alexander, we turn to follow the fortunes of another portion of his empire: the eastern countries extending between Asia Minor and Egypt from the Phœnician coast to the Jaxartes and from the slopes of the Taurus to the Indus. The death of the great king brought no great immediate changes to these districts; Babylon remained the capital of the empire, and the provinces continued, for the most part, under their previous governors, excepting Media. At the partition of satrapies at Babylon. Media fell to Peithon, son of Craterus, while its former possessor, the Persian, Atropates, was restricted to the north-western part of Media, the province later called Atropatene after him. Syria was given to Laomedon of Mytelene.

A great change in the affairs of the East took place at the death of Perdiccas in 321 B.C. Babylon ceased to be the capital.

Seleucus Governor of Babylon

The new partition of satrapies at Triparadisus, arranged by the new regent, Antipater, affected the East much more than the former partition. Laomedon, indeed, retained Syria; Peucestas, Persia; and Peithon, Media; but Parthia received a new governor in Philip, as did Bactria and Sogdiana in Stasanor. Mesopotamia in Amphimachus, Susiana in Antigenes. and. what is most important for the ensuing period, Babylon in Seleucus.

Seleucus was born about 356 B.C. A member of the Macedonian nobility, he, like all his companions, entered early into the army and followed Alexander into Asia. He owed it not merely to his birth, but also to his courage and capabilities, that he belonged to the more intimate circle around the king. We are told, as an instance of his great strength and his courage, that one day in the presence of Alexander he brought a raging bull to the ground. He distinguished himself in the Indian campaign and in the battle against Porus. After Alexander's death he assumed the command of the household cavalry in place of Perdiccas, who became regent of the empire; Alexander had attached peculiar distinction to this post, and the holder of it, who was then called Chiliarch, filled, according to Persian precedent, at the same time one of the highest places at court. In this office he made the campaigns of Perdiccas against the insubordi-

The Rise of Seleucus

nate governors, first against Antigonus, and later against Ptolemy of Egypt. When the Egyptian campaign failed, he was among those generals who abandoned their commander; and it is to him and Antigenes of Susiana that the murder of the regent is ascribed. He was appointed governor of the province of Babylonia, giving up the Chiliarchy and the command of the household cavalry. It therefore became his first concern immediately to create an army for himself. Alexander's principle that no satrap should keep an army had been disregarded directly after his death. Seleucus was very soon drawn into the whirlpool of events. Eumenes, who had sided with Perdiccas, had been declared an enemy to the empire at Triparadisus; Antigonus had been appointed strategus, or captain-general, and entrusted with the conduct of the war against Eumenes. This war took a new turn when Eumenes, after the death of Antipater, had been appointed strategus in Asia by the regent, Polyperchon, and by Olympias, mother of Alexander, and had been amply provided with funds. The theatre of war was shifted to the east, where he at once found support from

Alexander's Empire Breaks up

the governors of the eastern provinces. These were still with their troops in Media, where they had expelled Peithon, who had killed Philip, satrap of Parthia, had placed his own brother in his place, and had thus roused the suspicions of other satraps.

But Seleucus neither took part in the combination against Peithon nor did he then join the side of Eumenes. He expressly declared that he could not make

common cause with the enemy of the empire. On the contrary, he joined Antigonus, who came to the East in order there to prosecute the war against Eumenes. Fortune, indeed, seemed to smile on Seleucus at first. He received the province of Susiana, the former governor of which, Antigenes, fought on the enemy's side; but fortune proved fickle. When Antigonus had put to death Eumenes, betrayed by his own troops, and handed over to his enemy, he behaved as an absolute despot and arbitrarily appointed and deposed governors. When he was in Babylon he required from Seleucus, from whom he had already taken away Susiana, an account of his administration; Seleucus refused, and, feeling himself no longer safe, fled from Babylon to Egypt and the court of Ptolemy.

Seleucus Flees to Egypt

The great power of Antigonus, as well as his despotic behaviour, led to an alliance of Ptolemy, Lysimachus, and Cassander, to the consummation of which Seleucus contributed his share. Wars then ensued, which continued almost without cessation from 315 to 301. Here we are concerned only with the struggle for Syria and Phœnicia, with which the first war began. Ptolemy had occupied these countries; Antigonus drove him out, and when he himself went back over the Taurus, in order to be near the scene of war in Asia Minor, he left behind his son Demetrius there. The decisive defeat of the latter at Gaza and the reconquest of Syria by Ptolemy allowed Seleucus to return to Babylon in 312 B.C. Seleucus had undertaken the march with only 800 infantry and 200 cavalry; but the population, whose love he had known how to win previously, welcomed him back. As most of the garrisons, too, went over to him, he was able without great trouble to re-enter on the possession of his province. When Seleucus, together with Lysimachus of Thrace, appeared in Asia Minor for the last decisive passage of arms with his old opponent, Antigonus, he had extended his power far over the borders of Babylonia, and created for himself an empire which went from the Euphrates eastward to the Jaxartes and comprised all the so-called upper satrapies. It would be interesting to be able to follow the distinct steps of this expansion of his power, but our sources fail here.

Founding the New Empire

We hear only that Seleucus unexpectedly by night attacked Nicanor, who had been placed in command by Antigonus in Media and the upper satrapies, and had advanced upon the news of Seleucus' return to Babylon. In this night attack many distinguished leaders fell, among them the satrap of Persia; and the greater part of the troops went over to Seleucus. Nicanor was forced to fly. Susiana, Media, and Persia fell to Seleucus, who thus won a powerful position. The feeling of the upper satrapies was not favourable to Antigonus, which was to Seleucus' advantage. The governors of those parts either voluntarily submitted or, as in Bactria, were forced into submission. Similarly he tried to make the Macedonian power once more felt in India, where it had been destroyed since the establishment of a strong native empire by Chandragupta. Seleucus crossed the Indus to fight him, but concluded a peace on favourable terms for the Indian prince. In return for a tribute of 500 elephants he confirmed Chandragupta in his former dominions, and a subsequent alliance by marriage established permanent friendly relations between the two empires. Seleucus had thus in a few years founded an empire and grown strong enough to interfere in the West. Like his neighbour, he assumed the royal diadem in 306 B.C. The advance of Demetrius Poliorcetes in Hellas, and his pressure on Cassander, induced the latter immediately to turn to Antigonus, in order to make his peace with him. Antigonus demanded complete submission, and thus unequivocally asserted his claims to the overlordship. Lysimachus, Ptolemy, and Seleucus, to whom Cassander communicated this answer, saw the common danger—all four kings concluded a new treaty of alliance and began the war against Antigonus. But only Lysimachus and Seleucus took active part in it. When the former marched across the Hellespont to Asia Minor, Seleucus went to join him with his army in Phrygia, and in conjunction with Lysimachus offered Antigonus battle at Ipsus in 301 B.C., where Antigonus was defeated and slain.

Tribute from India

The allies divided the spoils. The chief share in it, as was fair, fell to the two actual conquerors. Lysimachus received north-western Asia Minor—Caria, Lydia, Ionia and Hellespontine

Phrygia; Seleucus had Greater Phrygia and Syria. Ptolemy, who as a member of the alliance against Antigonus had invaded Syria, but had again evacuated the land on the false news of a victory and further advance of Antigonus, was forced to waive his claim on Syria, for the possession of which he had long striven. The expedition of Demetrius Poliorcetes—who had lost Macedonia—into Asia in 286 B.C. was without noteworthy influence on the affairs of Asia Minor, for he soon fell into the power of Seleucus and died a prisoner in 282 B.C. But once again Seleucus had to take the field. Lysimachus had caused his son and successor, Agathocles, to be killed on the malicious accusation of his wife, Arsinoe, and her brother, Ptolemy Ceraunos, who had fled from Egypt to Macedonia because his younger brother had been appointed successor. Lysandra, widow of Agathocles, fled with her children to Seleucus in Syria. Thither also resorted Ceraunos, who no longer felt himself secure in Macedonia, and another son of Lysimachus, by name Alexander.

Thrace and Asia Minor Gained

Seleucus received them all with friendly hospitality. Hence a war broke out in 281 B.C. between Lysimachus and Seleucus. Lysimachus was killed in battle, and Seleucus entered on his inheritance in Asia Minor and Europe.

Seleucus appointed his son Antiochus, who had for a long time administered the upper satrapies, regent of Asia, desiring himself to reside in Macedonia, in order to end his days in the land of his birth; while he intended Thrace for the children of the murdered Agathocles. He had already landed in Europe when, in 281 B.C., he fell beneath the dagger of Ceraunos, the very man who had shortly before fled to him, beseeching help. The murderer made himself master of Macedonia and Thrace.

In a long life Seleucus had, indeed, learnt the uncertainty of all things, but towards the end had enjoyed permanent prosperity and had attained greatness. Shortly before he died the greater part of Alexander's empire was in his hands. But he was not merely a fortunate conqueror, who forced large tracts of land to his own rule, and might with justice style himself Nicator, or Conqueror, but he resembled Alexander the Great in having done all that lay in his power to disseminate Hellenic culture, while he promoted trade and traffic in his own dominions and opened new sources of prosperity. He continued on a magnificent scale the policy of colonisation begun by Alexander. The founding of seventy-five towns is ascribed to him, including Seleucia on the Tigris, which, rapidly flourishing, contained soon after the Christian era 600,000 inhabitants; Antioch on the Orontes, which flourished even in later antiquity; Seleucia Pieria, the port of Antioch; Seleucia on the Calycadnus in Cilicia; Laodicea in the Lebanon, and Apamea on the Orontes. In the east also numerous towns were founded on the Greek model, with a senate and a popular assembly; and these soon became centres of culture and growing prosperity.

Founder of Seventy-five Towns

When Seleucus I., Nicator, died, the empire established by him had attained its greatest expansion. The power of the Seleucidæ—the name usually given in honour of its creator and founder to the dynasty which, through Seleucus, became lords of these dominions—stretched then from the Bosphorus and the western coast of Asia Minor to the Indus and from Syria to the Jaxartes and the Pamir. Those who wish to designate the empire of Seleucus no longer by the reigning dynasty, but by a geographical term, are accustomed to call it, in accordance with the true position and the real fulcrum of the power of its rulers, the Syrian empire; this designation is, indeed, less appropriate for the period of Seleucus and his immediate successors than for the later Seleucidæ.

But this empire was merely a conglomeration of countries, inhabited by the most heterogeneous nations. In this lay its weakness. Seleucus at first resided in Babylon, at about the centre of his empire. He afterwards removed his residence to Antioch on the Orontes—that is to say, almost to the western border. This shifting of the centre of gravity of the empire from its central point to the circumference was clearly due to the fact that Seleucus had entrusted his son, Antiochus, with the administration of the upper satrapies; but Antioch remained the capital even after his death. The choice of the royal residence was a very important matter for the empire, which, badly defined and devoid of natural coherence in all

Antioch the Capital

respects, as it was, found its ideal unity only in the person of its monarch. Although the Seleucidæ obviously did not renounce any claim on the eastern satrapies by this arrangement, these became, in fact, far removed from the heart of the empire and withdrew more and more from the influence of the central authority. The first successor of Seleucus was his son, Antiochus, surnamed Soter, who even in his father's lifetime had administered as co-regent the countries lying east of the Euphrates. He had taken to wife Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Stratonice was originally married to his father, but had been voluntarily surrendered by the latter to the son, who was wasting away with love for her, an occurrence which soon became a fertile subject for the Greek writers of romances. He followed his father's example, and nominated his two sons as regents; first the elder, Seleucus, and after his murder, the younger, Antiochus.

The Love of Antiochus

The history of the next two generations, which are taken up by the reigns of Antiochus I., Soter (281–261), Antiochus II., Theos (261–246), and Seleucus II., Callinicus (246–226), is marked by the relations of Syria to Egypt and by the wars which the Seleucidæ had to wage with the neighbour states. The position of Syria as regards the states of Asia Minor was not less important. In addition, there was the defection of the countries on the Oxus and Jaxartes; for now began the subjugation of the Parthian province by the neighbouring inhabitants of the steppes and the formation of the new Parthian empire.

Complications with Egypt began directly after the death of Seleucus. The first question at issue was that of the possession of Phœnicia and Cœle-Syria, countries to which Ptolemy Soter laid claim on the ground that he had conquered them in 318 B.C., had lost them through Antigonus, but had demanded them once more on the occasion of the last alliance of the kings against Antigonus as a prize of victory for his share in the war. Since, however, the battle at Ipsus had been fought without Ptolemy's assistance, Syria had been awarded to Seleucus in the distribution. For this reason Ptolemy's son and successor, Ptolemy Philadelphus, soon after the death of Seleucus, began the First Syrian War. We know little of its course. Philadelphus conquered Cœle-Syria, the southern part of Syria, and by means of his fleet brought strips of the coast of Asia Minor under his rule. so that Egypt firmly established herself on the coasts of Cilicia, Pamphylia, Lycia, Caria, and Ionia.

Wars with the Ptolemies

But besides the Ptolemies, other foes to the Seleucidæ had arisen in Asia Minor. In the north-western corner lay Bithynia, which had been able under native princes to preserve its independence throughout the whole of their period. Even the attempt made by Antiochus, immediately after his accession, to subdue Bithynia had failed. To the south-west of it, in the valley of the Caïcus, lay Pergamus, a strong fortress, the commander of which, Philetærus, revolted from his new masters, the Seleucidæ, after Lysimachus' death, and, being amply provided with funds, was able to lay skilfully the foundations of an important dominion. In addition, the Galatians had come into Asia Minor as a new power. They had been invited in 277 B.C. by Nicomedes of Bithynia to come over from Thrace, and had remained here. They occupied the country on the upper Sangarius and middle Halys, and as far as political influence went, greatly contributed to the disintegration of Asia Minor. Against them also Antiochus had to fight to protect his territory. It is recorded that he defeated the Galatians. This victory helped to confine them to the district called, after them, Galatia, but it did not effect their subjugation. Antiochus was still more unlucky in the war against Eumenes of Pergamus, in which he was defeated at Sardis. Soon afterwards he died, in 261 B.C.

Coming of the Gauls

His son and successor, Antiochus II., surnamed Theos, who reigned from 261 to 246 B.C., was not in a position to alter the state of affairs in Asia Minor and to win back the districts torn from his kingdom. With Egypt he waged the Second Syrian War. We know nothing more of it than that its objects, the recovery of Cœle-Syria and the driving out of the Egyptians from the coast of Asia Minor, were not realised. The status quo was recognised in the subsequent peace; and to seal and confirm it, Ptolemy Philadelphus gave his daughter Berenice to Antiochus in marriage. Antiochus'

first wife, Laodice, who was disgraced and divorced for the sake of the Egyptian princess, in revenge poisoned her husband and instigated her eldest son, the new king, Seleucus II., surnamed Callinicus, to the murder of his stepmother. To avenge this crime, Ptolemy Euergetes, who in 246 B.C. had followed Philadelphus on the Egyptian throne, began the Third Syrian War. While Euergetes marched to Syria at the head of his troops his fleet sailed from Cyprus to Cilicia, where many Seleucid officials, as well as many Cilician towns, voluntarily joined the Egyptians; the officials devoted to their old lord, had Only Seleucia and the Cilician coast remained in the Egyptian power.

The reign of Seleucus II. was extremely stormy and disturbed: and its records lack coherence. His brother Antiochus, surnamed Hierax, disputed with him the dominion over Asia Minor and rose against him, relying on the independent states of the Bithynians, Cappadocians, and Galatians. But in the war of the two brothers against each other and in that with Attalus, Prince of Pergamus, who conquered and routed Hierax, the country as far as the Taurus was lost to the Seleucidæ. Hierax was murdered in



THE LOVE OF ANTIOCHUS FOR HIS STEP-MOTHER STRATONICE

Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes, was married to Seleucus I., who voluntarily surrendered her to his son Antiochus because the latter was wasting away with love for her. From the picture by De Lairesse.

to fly, and the towns who favoured him were besieged. The fleet then sailed for North Syria. Seleucia, the important coast town, and later Antioch, the capital, which lies a short distance from it, were occupied. Euergetes himself crossed the Euphrates with an army, made himself master of the upper satrapies, and brought back the treasures and relics which the Persians had in earlier times carried off from the Egyptians. In spite of such astounding successes, the Egyptian king suddenly concluded peace, because, it was said, uproar and revolt in his own country summoned him back. his flight by robbers about 227 B.C. Even in the east the dominion of the Seleucidæ fared badly. In the time of Antiochus Theos the Bactrian governor, Diodotus, had revolted. He proclaimed himself king of Bactria, and was recognised in Sogdiana and Margiana in 250 B.C. About the same time the brothers Arsaces and Tiridates, chiefs of the nomadic tribe of the Parni, whose pasturing-grounds were on Bactrian territory, had moved further west and had occupied the Seleucid territory of Astabene. Arsaces was immediately proclaimed king there. Thence they invaded Parthia, and, after

defeating the governor, made themselves masters of the country. The attempt of Seleucus Callinicus to expel Arsaces failed, and the Parthian empire of the Arsacidæ became established more firmly; it disappeared only in 226 A.D., after a duration of 480 years. When Callinicus died, in 226 B.C., the Seleucid empire comprised only Northern Syria, without the important seaport Seleucia Pieria: Cilicia, with the exception of the coast; and the land eastward from the Euphrates as far as Media, Susiana, and Persia. Asia Minor this side of the Taurus and all the land east of Media was in the hands of the enemy: Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, for which battles had so often been fought, belonged now, as formerly, to the Egyptians.

The Reduced Empire

Seleucus III., surnamed Soter, eldest son of Callinicus, reigned only a short time—226–223 B.C. He was assassinated while on a campaign over the Taurus against Attalus of Pergamus. He was followed by his brother, Antiochus III. (223–187 B.C.), aged twenty, to whom the surname Megas, or the Great, has been given. At first he was a pliant tool in the hand of his first Minister, Hermeias, an intriguing Carian. The settlement of affairs in Asia Minor, where, after 227, Attalus had extended his territory up to the Taurus, and the war with Pergamus, were entrusted by him to his cousin, Achæus. He himself planned a war against Egypt, in order to bring once for all under his power the long-disputed Cœle-Syria. And in this plan he still held firmly to the counsel of Hermeias, when, in 222 B.C., news was brought him of the revolt of the Median satrap Molon, and his brother Alexander, who governed Persia. Antiochus did not himself march until Molon had conquered several of his generals, placed the diadem on his head, and, starting from Apolloniatis after the capture of Seleucia on the Tigris, had actually taken Babylonia. In 220 B.C. Antiochus crossed the Tigris and pushed into Apolloniatis, in order to cut off his enemy's retreat into Media. A battle was fought, Molon was defeated, and died by his own hand. As a warning example his corpse was crucified and displayed on the highest point of the Zagros Mountains, over which the road from the West into Media led. Antiochus settled affairs with leniency and moderation. Seleucia alone was severely punished. He then invaded Atropatene. Here the prince, Artabazanes, who had taken Molon's side, was terrified by the sudden invasion and made a treaty favourable to Antiochus. Hermeias, the powerful Minister, was afterwards murdered.

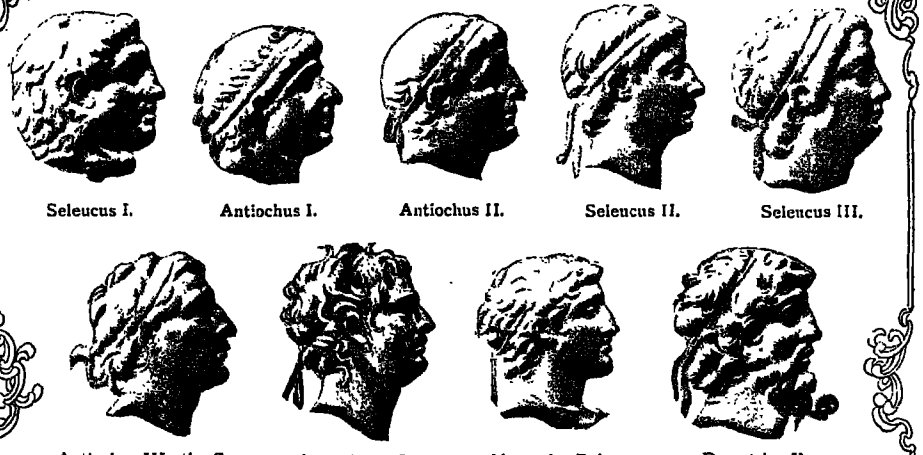
Wars of Antiochus the Great

Antiochus on his return to Syria began extensive preparations for the Egyptian war. The campaign of the year 219 B.C. opened favourably. Seleucia Pieria, the port of Antioch, which had been Egyptian since the time of Ptolemy Euergetes, was taken. The Egyptian governor of Cœle-Syria, Theodotus, an Ætolian, went over to Antiochus and delivered up the seaports of Ptolemais and Tyre. Other towns also surrendered to him. But what was universally expected did not happen. Instead of attacking Egypt, which was ill-prepared for war, the king marched back from the Phœnician coast to Seleucia. Now began negotiations by Ptolemy's Ministers, Agatholes and Sosibus, while they were busily arming; and in the winter of 219-218 B.C. the conclusion of a four months' truce was actually obtained. In the summer of 218 Antiochus was again in Cœle-Syria and defeated the Egyptians; but when Ptolemy, in 217 B.C., after mighty preparations, took the field in person, Antiochus was beaten at Raphia on the borders of Syria and Egypt and was forced to relinquish the conquered districts. Ptolemy made no further use of his victory.

A Truce After Victory

Meantime, in Asia Minor, Achæus had revolted from Antiochus and had been proclaimed king. Antiochus took up the war, and in 216 marched over the Taurus, forced the enemy back to Sardis, and after a siege of two years took the town by a stratagem. Achæus was delivered into the hands of Antiochus, who caused him to be executed.

There now followed a series of successful operations. In 209 B.C. Antiochus undertook a campaign of several years' duration in the East. He first invaded the territory of the Parthians, where the Arsacid dynasty was compelled to recognise the supremacy of Syria. He then marched to Bactria. Euthydemus encountered him on the Areios, but had to retreat after a gallant fight. Bactria, the capital, was besieged; and Euthydemus, reduced to great straits, threatened



Seleucus I. Antiochus I. Antiochus II. Seleucus II. Seleucus III.

Antiochus III., the Great Antiochus IV. Alexander Balas Demetrius II.



Diodotus Tryphon Antiochus VIII. Antiochus IX. Cleopatra Selene Tigranes

THE RULERS OF THE EMPIRE OF THE SELEUCIDÆ FROM 306 to 64 B.C.

The dynasty and empire of the Seleucidæ was founded by Seleucus I. about 306 B.C. Under the rule of his three successors, Antiochus I. and II. and Seleucus II., who waged the three Syrian Wars, the realm fared badly. Seleucus III. reigned for three stormy years, but his brother, Antiochus III., the Great, restored the empire to its original importance. Both he and his son, Antiochus IV., however, had to submit to Rome. Alexander Balas, an upstart king encouraged by Rome, was driven out by Demetrius II., and he, in turn, by Diodotus Tryphon. Antiochus VIII. and IX. and the latter's son all married, in turn, Cleopatra Selene. Tigranes, king of Armenia, conquered Syria before the final supremacy of Rome. The portraits are from coins in the British Museum.

to call the nomads into the country and to give up the Greek civilisation to their mercy. The Seleucid, whose house had disseminated Greek culture everywhere, did not refuse to listen to such arguments. The parties then concluded an offensive and defensive alliance in 206 B.C. Antiochus now went over the Hindu-Kush into the valley of Kabul and renewed with the Indian king, Subhagasena, the friendship which Seleucus Nicator had formed with Chandragupta. Subhagasena also gave him elephants and furnished his army with provisions. He began his return through Arachosia and Drangiana and wintered in Carmania, or Kerman. From there he made a digression towards the opposite Arabian coast to the rich trading nation of the Gerrhæi. Thence the king returned to Seleucia. This campaign brought the Seleucid name once more into honour in the East, and won for the king among his contemporaries the surname of "the Great."

In the meanwhile, the young Ptolemy Epiphanes had come to the throne in Egypt in 205 B.C. The kings Antiochus of Syria and Philip V. of Macedonia concluded therefore a treaty, with the avowed object of seizing the Egyptian possessions and of dividing them among themselves. Philip crossed into Asia Minor, but was there entangled in a war with Pergamus, Rhodes, and lastly with Rome herself. Antiochus sought to realise his former intentions against Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. The diplomatic interference of Rome in favour of her ward, Epiphanes,

was not able to check the king in his project, successfully begun, of subjugating Cœle-Syria, which was completed by the defeat of the Egyptians under the Ætolian mercenary, Scopas, on Mount Paneum, near the sources of the Jordan, in 198 B.C. Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia thus became once more Syrian.

Marriage With Egypt

As Antiochus wished to have a free hand for Asia Minor and Europe, he concluded peace with Egypt and sealed it by the betrothal of his daughter Cleopatra to Ptolemy Epiphanes.

In 196 B.C. Antiochus crossed over to Europe, occupied the Chersonese, rebuilt Lysimacheia, made this town his arsenal, and set about the conquest of Thrace, as if all belonged to him which his great ancestor, Nicator, would have ruled if he had not been suddenly murdered. The strained relations with Rome were intensified when Antiochus hospitably received Hannibal, Rome's greatest foe. After diplomatic negotiations, war with Rome finally broke out, when Antiochus, at the instigation of the Ætolians, crossed to Greece in 192 B.C. and began to subdue Hellenic towns and provinces. Contemptuously ignorant of Roman power, he landed with ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry. He attempted to bar the advance of the Roman army at Thermopylæ, but was eluded and defeated. With few followers he fled to Asia Minor in 191 B.C. The Syrian fleet also had been defeated at sea : first in 191 B.C. by C. Livius at Corycus, between Chios and Ephesus, then in 190 B.C. by Æmilius at Myonnesus. The king's consternation at this reverse was so great that he evacuated Lysimacheia, his fortified arsenal on the Thracian coast, and thus left the road to the Hellespont free to Cornelius Scipio. The decisive battle took place at Magnesia on Mount Sipylos ; Antiochus was completely defeated in 190 B.C. By the terms of the peace he had to cede Asia Minor as far as the Taurus, to surrender his elephants and his fleet, except ten ships, and to pay a war indemnity of 15,000 Euboic talents (£4,800,000), of which 3,000 were to be paid at once, and 12,000 in the course of the next twelve years. Soon afterwards Antiochus was killed by the Elymæi, or Elamites, on an expedition to the East, where he wished to plunder the temple of Belus, in order to fill his empty coffers in 187 B.C.

Expensive Peace With Rome

Antiochus was succeeded by his sons, Seleucus IV., surnamed Philopator (187–175 B.C.), and Antiochus IV., surnamed Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.). Seleucus, who had to struggle with the financial distress caused by the payments to Rome, was murdered by his minister, Heliodorus. The latter attempted to usurp the throne, but could not hold it. Antiochus came to the throne, supported by Pergamus. He was immediately entangled in a war with Egypt. His sister, Cleopatra, had married Ptolemy Epiphanes in 193 B.C. and had received as a bridal gift the assignment of the taxes from several towns in Cœle-Syria. Cleopatra died in 173 B.C. and disputes arose over her dowry. The Egyptians claimed the towns, and demanded the continuance of the payments even after the death of the queen. Antiochus declined, since the Syrian claim of supremacy had never been relinquished there. Very shortly, war resulted. A victory at Pelusium delivered that important town into the hands of Antiochus, and made his road to Egypt open. The king, Ptolemy Philometor, fell into the hands of the enemy, and at the wish of the people his brother, Physcon, undertook the government in Egypt. Epiphanes was repulsed, but kept Pelusium. Philometor, having regained his freedom, came to an agreement with his brother. Epiphanes now attacked Egypt afresh and besieged Alexandria.

Antiochus Conquers Egypt

At this juncture C. Popillius Lænas appeared in the camp of the king at Alexandria with an order from the Roman senate, bidding Antiochus leave Egypt at once. He marched out of Egypt, and gave up Pelusium, but kept Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia in 168 B.C. The peremptory command of Rome had been enough. Enlightened by his father's disaster, and feeling himself not strong enough to wage a war with Rome, he was compelled to recognise the domineering foreign power in distant Italy, and submit himself to it. In the course of a generation, then, Syria had fallen for ever from the position of a world-power, which it held under Antiochus III.

We have just seen how Armenia had formed itself into two independent kingdoms. The next campaign of Epiphanes was directed thither in 166 B.C. He penetrated far into the land, took King

Artaxias prisoner, but replaced him in his kingdom, just as once his father, notwithstanding successful campaigns, had in the end recognised the kings of Parthia and Bactria. Armenia must certainly at this time have recognised the supremacy of Syria, but it did not again become a Syrian province. From Armenia, Epiphanes turned to the Persian Gulf, where he rebuilt a town founded by Alexander at the mouth of the Tigris, which had fallen to ruins, and called it Antioch. The new Antioch at the mouth of the Tigris having been again destroyed by the floods, was rebuilt afresh by the satrap, Hyspaosines, secured by strong dams, and called Charax. It soon afterwards became a flourishing commercial town and capital of a small kingdom. On the way to Persia to suppress a revolt, Antiochus IV. died at Tabæ, in 164 B.C., of consumption. The story of his relations with Judæa and the Maccabees is related in a following section.

After the short reign of Antiochus V. Eupator (164–162 B.C.), Demetrius I. Soter came to the throne (162–150 B.C.). He was the son of Seleucus IV., and had been at Rome as a hostage when his father was murdered and his uncle, Epiphanes, became king. From the outset he had to contend with the hatred of Roman tutelage. Timarchus, satrap of Media, revolted from Demetrius, and with the assent of the Roman senate assumed the diadem. In alliance with Artaxias of Armenia he soon subdued the neighbouring lands, and became master of Babylonia; but when Demetrius took the field against him, was defeated and slain in 160 B.C. Thus Media and Babylonia were again saved; and the grateful Babylonians, who hated Timarchus, gave to Demetrius the title of Soter, "the Saviour."

Under Roman Tutelage

But Rome, irritated at the destruction of her protégé, created fresh difficulties for Demetrius and formed an alliance of the neighbouring countries against him, in accordance with which a certain Alexander Balas, who was given out to be the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, set up as a rival king, and invaded Syria. Demetrius fell in the war against him in 150 B.C. The new king, who styled himself Alexander Theopator Euergetes, was, however, totally incapable. Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt, who had joined in supporting him, soon put forward Demetrius, son of Demetrius I., against him. After long struggles, in which Alexander Balas was worsted, Demetrius II. became king in 145 B.C. But against him also a certain Diodotus rose as a rival under the name of Tryphon, and succeeded in driving Demetrius out of the greater part of Syria. The effect of these calamitous civil wars was soon apparent. The rich and fertile provinces of Media and Babylonia were now lost and passed into the power of the Parthians. Seleucia, on the Tigris, the proud creation of the first Seleucidæ, was taken by them, and Demetrius II. himself was defeated by the Parthians and taken prisoner in 138 B.C.

Victories of the Parthians

His brother, Antiochus VII. Sidetes, who took his place in Syria, succeeded in ending the civil dissensions, after removing Tryphon, and in re-establishing the royal power. In 130 B.C. he undertook a campaign against the Parthians. The latter, being defeated on the Lycus, now released his brother Demetrius from captivity, probably in the hope that he would begin afresh the civil war and thus draw off Antiochus from Parthia. But before that happened the Parthians once more confronted Antiochus, and this time he was defeated and slain in 129 B.C. Thenceforth the dominion of the Seleucidæ was limited to the countries west of the Euphrates.

When Demetrius returned to his home under Parthian auspices, he began a war immediately with Egypt. The Syrian towns, especially the capital Antioch, and Apamea, sick of incessant war and misgovernment, and contemptuous of a Parthian protégé, revolted; and Ptolemy of Egypt set up against him in Syria Zabinas, the son of a merchant, who received the name of Alexander, and was passed off for an adopted son of the fallen Antiochus. He succeeded in defeating Demetrius, and the unpopular Demetrius went to Tyre, where he was killed as he disembarked from his ship in 125 B.C. Demetrius II. had two sons by his marriage with Cleopatra. Of these, Seleucus was killed by his own mother soon after the father's death, because he had assumed the diadem without her consent; the other, however, mounted the throne. A disturbed reign was the lot of this Antiochus VIII. Grypus, or "Long Nose," as it had been that of his father. A breach between Ptolemy and the rival king, Alexander Zabinas, led to closer

Antiochus "Long Nose"

relations between the Egyptian and Grypus, in consequence of which the latter received not only ample assistance from Egypt, but also the hand of the Egyptian princess, Tryphaena. This open help from Egypt brought many Syrian towns to the side of Grypus, who thus, being supported on all sides, could confront his rival. Alexander Zabinas was worsted in the battle; a fugitive, he was seized by robbers, and was brought to Grypus and killed. Thus Grypus was lord and ruler of his father's realm. He did not, however, long enjoy the sole rule. His stepbrother, Antiochus IX. Cyzicenus, opposed him. The war between the brothers led eventually to a partition of the realm. Grypus obtained Syria proper and Cilicia; Cyzicenus had Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia. In the year 96 B.C. Grypus was murdered. His son, Seleucus VI., repulsed, indeed, the attack of Cyzicenus, but had to fight with his four brothers. In Cœle-Syria and Phœnicia, after the death of Cyzicenus, his son, Antiochus X. Eusebes, "the Pious," reigned. He married—an event which throws light on the morality of family relations at that time — his own mother, Cleopatra Selene, who had been the wife of Grypus and then of Cyzicenus, after having been previously wedded to Ptolemy Lathyrus of Egypt.

War of the Brothers

A greatly diminished empire, torn by fraternal wars and civil dissension, whose history teemed with murder and horrors of every kind—that is the unedifying picture of the conditions of the Seleucid dynasty about 100 B.C. There was no longer any thought of accomplishing the great task pointed out by Seleucus, that of making the powerful empire into a state which should spread the blessings of civilisation and should find its most honourable work in the dissemination of Hellenism.

Antiochus III. had ultimately given back to the empire for a brief moment the position which it had held under the first Seleucidæ, although none of the successors had ruled an empire as wide as that which Seleucus had bequeathed to them. Antiochus Epiphanes and Antiochus Sidetes had striven earnestly to re-establish the former power, but all they created or founded soon fell to pieces again. Under their successors the empire was abandoned to the influence of the neighbouring powers. The intervention of Rome or Egypt in Syrian affairs proved too often fateful and calamitous to the house of the Seleucidæ.

In this helpless condition of the empire King Tigranes of Armenia was able to conquer first Syria proper in 83 B.C. and then the greater part of Phœnicia with Ptolemais in 74 B.C. The Roman, Lucullus, prepared the death blow to his supremacy in these regions. Shortly after, in the year 64 B.C., Pompey appeared in Syria and put an end to the Seleucid rule. Henceforth Syria ceases to have any history of its own. It flourished under the strong arm of the Roman emperors, for Rome carefully continued all that the Seleucidæ had accomplished by the extension of Hellenic culture. The land passed from the Romans to the Byzantines, and from them to the Arabs.

K. G. BRANDIS
H. R. HALL



GREEK INFLUENCE ON INDIAN ART

The wonderful Buddhist art of Gandhara, the modern district of Peshawar, of which the above is an example, was based on the tradition of classical art brought to Bactria and India by Greeks.



BACTRIA: A GREEK CENTRE IN THE EAST

NORTH of the Hindu-Kush, west of the Pamirs, and east of Iran there stretches towards the Caspian Sea and the Sea of Aral a wide region, through which two streams, the Oxus and the Jaxartes flow. In antiquity the country on the upper course of the Oxus was called Bactria, on which Sogdiana bordered in the direction of the Jaxartes, towards the north, while the country on the lower courses of these two rivers, which stretched to the Caspian and the Sea of Aral, was usually called Chorasmia or Khwarezm.

The Bactrian kingdom, the rulers of which are said to have fought for many centuries against the Turanians—that is, against the nomads—and to have won great victories, was of immense antiquity. But the kings in the accounts handed down are mere mythical figures.

Bactria Under Persia

The Bactrian kings ended when Cyrus on his great expedition to the East subdued Bactria and gave the administration of the land to his brother, Bardias. The supremacy of Persia over the Iranic East was maintained until Alexander the Great, as heir of the Persian empire, which had been destroyed by him, subdued Bactria and Sogdiana in the course of his conquests. He sought, by founding towns —among them Alexandria Eschate on the Jaxartes—to ensure the obedience of the conquered country and to win it over to Greek civilisation. He settled Macedonian and Greek soldiers here; and these, doubtless, were joined soon by merchants and enterprising persons of all sorts, since the country, through which of old the wares of India were brought to the Black Sea, promised rich profits.

On the tidings of Alexander's death, the Greeks settled by him in the military colonies, consisting of 20,000 foot-soldiers and 3,000 horsemen, marched out, wishing to force their way to their old home; but, at the orders of the regent, Perdiccas, Peithon, governor of Media, went against them, defeated them through the treachery of one of their leaders, and his victorious troops put them and their generals to the sword, in order to seize their property. Notwithstanding this, the Macedonian supremacy remained unshaken here.

Settling a Greek Colony

When Seleucus became governor of Babylonia and founded round it a great empire for himself, Bactria and Sogdiana formed part of it. The first Seleucidæ spared no precautions to secure these Eastern dominions. Alexandria Eschate was strengthened, and a new town, Antioch, founded in the same district, and others were restored or strengthened. These countries remained provinces of the Seleucid empire until, in the year 250 B.C., the governor, Diodotus, revolted and caused himself to be proclaimed king. Margiana and Sogdiana belonged from the first to the new kingdom. The times had been peculiarly favourable for the revolt. The successors of Seleucus Nicator had been so occupied in Asia Minor and by the wars with Egypt that their attention had been completely diverted from the Far East. The Bactrian empire was able, in the meanwhile, to strengthen itself. The treaty that Diodotus II., the son and successor of the first king, made with Tiridates of Parthia against Callinicus shows that both rulers recognised their common danger. Diodotus might enjoy his possession undisturbed so long as the Parthian empire lay between him and his former masters.

Greek Rule in Bactria

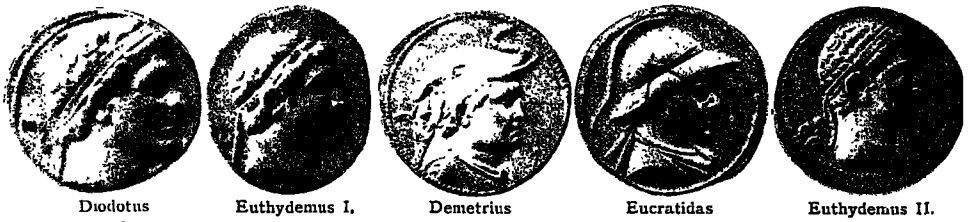
But the dynasty of Diodotus was soon dethroned by a Greek from Magnesia, in Asia Minor, named Euthydemus. When Antiochus III. had brought the Parthians at least to recognise the Seleucid supremacy and marched against Bactria in 208 B.C., Euthydemus ruled there. The campaign ended with the recognition of Euthydemus as king, and with the betrothal of his son Demetrius to Antiochus' daughter in consequence of the Bactrian ruler's threat of calling the nomads into the country and giving up Hellenic civilisation to their mercy. The treaty shows the importance attached both by Euthydemus and Antiochus to Bactria as a barrier against the "Scythian" barbarians.

The same Demetrius, to whom Antiochus III. had betrothed his daughter while his father still lived, crossed the Hindu-Kush and extended the Bactrian rule as far as the Indus and the Punjab. Thus, the valley of Kabul and the Punjab, which Alexander had once possessed, were won back to Hellenism. The old town of Sangala, henceforth called Euthydemia, was made the capital of the Indian possessions. About the same time Arachosia, where the city of Demetrias, so called after Demetrius, was founded, and probably also Aria and Drangiana were made subject to the Bactrian supremacy. This is the period of Bactria's greatest power. Demetrius succeeded his father, Euthydemus, in the government, but was fated to see Eucratidas successfully contest the rule with him. Eucratidas also fought against the tribes inhabiting Aria, Drangiana, Sogdiana, and Arachosia. We have no details about these internal wars,

Bactrian Conquests in India

and culture from them. At any rate, these conditions greatly simplified the conquest of Bactria by the barbarians.

When, about 140 B.C., the Yue-tshi, nomads akin to the Tibetans, driven by the Turkish people of the Hiungnu from their abodes, appeared on the Bactrian frontiers, in order to seek new homes for themselves there, they found no opposition. The land as far as the Oxus fell to them. This sealed the fate of Greek culture north of the Hindu-Kush. South of the Hindu-Kush the Greeks maintained themselves a century longer. Among the numerous kings, handed down to us on coins, who seem to belong to this era and this country, only Menander is known from other sources also. He extended his dominion over the Punjab up to the middle course of the Ganges, but ruled also down to the mouth of the Indus and east of it in Syrastene, the present Gujerat. He is said to have been a Buddhist, and was renowned for his



Diodotus | Euthydemus I. | Demetrius | Eucratidas | Euthydemus II.

CONTEMPORARY PORTRAITS OF RULERS OF BACTRIA FROM THEIR COINAGE

Diodotus proclaimed himself king in 250 B.C. His dynasty was overthrown by the Greek Euthydemus, who was followed by his son Demetrius. Eucratidas, in turn, overthrew him. Euthydemus II. was one of the later kings.

but only hear that the Parthians, under Mithradates, at this time became masters of Aria, or Herat, and that Eucratidas, on his return from an expedition to India, was murdered by his son.

But in addition to him there were other kings. The civil war had thus had ruinous consequences. Numerous royal names have been handed down to us on the coins, and the empire was clearly broken up into separate portions, the respective kings of which were at war with each other. But however little we are able to give with certainty the order of succession among the recorded kings, or the period of their reign, or the country where this or that king ruled, still it is very certain that this empire, weakened by intestine wars and manifold divisions, must have continually become more alienated from its chief task—namely, that of keeping the barbarians far from its frontiers and in protecting civilisation

Greek Art in India

justice. This Greek dominion in India was ended by a chief called by the Chinese Kieu-tsieu-Kio, or Kadphises in the Greek legend on the coins, the prince of Kushang, one of the five tribes into which the Yue-tshi were broken up. After he had united all these nomads into one aggregate, he conquered Kabul and Kophene south of the Hindu-Kush. His son, Kadaphes, added part of India to his dominions. This Scytho-Indian empire lasted to the end of the fourth century A.D. Its central point was the territory of Gandhara, the modern district of Peshawar. Here developed in the first century B.C. the wonderful Buddhist art which was based on the tradition of classical art brought to Bactria and India by the Greeks [see the statue of Buddha reproduced on page 1846]. The influence of Greek art on that of Gandhara is obvious.



THE JEWS AFTER THE CAPTIVITY

WITH the Persian conquest of Babylonia, the "Babylonian captivity" of the Jews was brought to an end. Cyrus, who on the whole followed the policy of granting self-government to small communities, had nothing to say against the desire of the fervent Jews to sacrifice to God in His own dwelling place. He granted permission for the return. From this point we have as authorities only the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. From the post-exile narratives, such as the Chronicles furnish, it is impossible to gather even such facts as can be established from the Books of the Kings. Ezra and Nehemiah write in the spirit of the Chronicles—namely, from the standpoint of the hierarchical party. Although we are unable, in the absence of other sources of information, to compare their statements with secular narratives or evidences, historians may make use of them by recognising the bias which underlies their narrative. Soon after the occupation of Babylon by Cyrus, in 539 B.C., a caravan of Jews—stated to consist of 40,000 persons—started for the Promised Land under the leadership of Zerubbabel, a descendant of David and of the priest Jeshua. In Zerubbabel's descent we may see evidence of the belief that the house of David and the priesthood must govern together the promised Jewish kingdom. The newcomers fared like all enthusiasts. They found everything very different from what their spiritual Utopia had made them expect. They could not be prominent in the midst of a population which cared little about the Jewish people, and the kingdom of David soon proved to be still a thing of the future, like the ideal states of so many a Utopian undertaking of later times. On the other hand, the temporal and spiritual powers, the prince of David's lineage and the high-priest, soon fell out. Cambyses then forbade the completion of the Temple.

Return From Exile

A new stimulus, or rather, subsidy, was given to the undertaking, in the year 520 B.C., under Darius, at the urgent request of the new community, which found expression in the prophecies of Haggai and Zechariah. The rich body of Jews in Babylonia and elsewhere in the empire went out of their way and exerted all their influence to effect the completion of the Temple. At the same time the quarrel between the prince and the high-priest was decided in favour of the latter. The high-priest was recognised as possessing equal privileges. It must, however, have been apparent that the returned exiles had already begun to show themselves ordinary mortals in place of religious sectaries. Many, including the leaders themselves, had abandoned their strict isolation and had begun to seek contact with the heathen world. It was seen from the very first of what spirit "this return from exile" was the offspring. It was an attempt to realise the hierarchical ideals of Judaism, with the aid of its supporters throughout the world. The situation was precisely the same as would be created if the Jewish plutocrats of the present day founded a new Jewish Jerusalem. There never was a state which has been independently developed on the basis of the Jewish code, and there never can be one, for this code is the organisation of a religious body. It arose as such, and as such it was employed; but a state obeys the universal laws of the development of mankind, and these are different from those of a religious body, which lives under their protection. There has never been any political history of Judaism, and least of all can the history of the period we are now examining be regarded as political. A history of Judaism belongs to the internal history of the development of all civilised countries—in

Help From Darius

No Political History

fact, of all nations lying within the region of Western civilisation, from the Persian era to the present day. The branch of Judaism, which hoped to attain its ideals in the Promised Land, was far from playing the most prominent part in this development, and it has little or no bearing on the history of the world. Even Christianity did not grow up in the narrow sphere of this Jewish hierarchy, but in the wider domain of the civilised East, flooded by Judaism, as well as in the countries of Hellenistic culture over which it also spread. Judaism, which was a power in the Persian empire and at the court, was forced therefore to make a fresh advance if it did not wish to acknowledge the ideals of its religion to be impracticable. It was powerful and sufficiently imbued with its faith to undertake even costly political attempts. Ezra, described as a Jewish scholar from Babylonia and of priestly descent, received in the year 514 B.C. permission from Darius—tradition erroneously makes him out to be Artaxerxes Longimanus—to head the second great migration to Jerusalem, in order to realise the ideal state of the Jewish hierarchy. The undertaking was carried out with the fullest sanction and support of the state. Judaism accordingly was in a position to obtain a hearing for its wishes at court. But Ezra and his trusted followers soon experienced the stern realities of life to the detriment of their ideals. Ezra met at once with opposition from the most influential part of the population already settled in the land, which was by no means willing to submit to his demands. There was especial opposition to the stringent regulation that non-Jewish wives should be put away, and mixed marriages avoided. Even strict Jewish discipline had to give way before the force of the requirements of daily life.

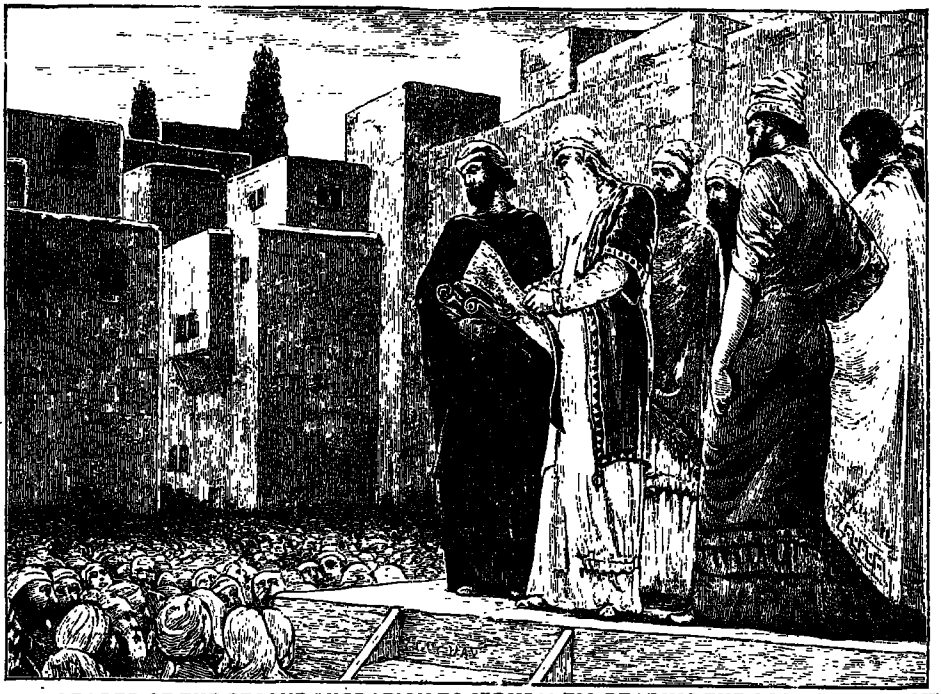
Judaism in Persia

Our accounts are vague, and give no actual facts for the ensuing period of his activity until thirteen years had passed. The hierarchical party, in order to secure for themselves the possession of Jerusalem, took steps to rebuild the walls of the city. The secular party, as we may term them, who saw in this the consummation of the rule of the intolerant priesthood, strained every effort in order to hinder the undertaking, through the Persian officials and the neighbouring princes—Tobiah the Ammonite, Geshem the Arabian—with whom they entered into close relations. But strictly enforced orthodoxy had long been the firm bond of Judaism throughout the empire, and thus the party of the priests won the day. The influence of the Jewish element which listened to them was stronger at court than that of the government officials, and Nehemiah, a Jew holding, it is said, the high post of cupbearer, was enthusiastic enough to devote his powers to the service of the holy cause. The Persian government, meanwhile, came to the conclusion that the purely hierarchical organisation was not a success. Nehemiah was therefore nominated Persian governor, and given full authority, which placed him above the secularised high-priest. Armed with all constitutional authority, which the influence of the great Jewish party procured for him, he started for Jerusalem, and in the face of all the difficulties which his antagonists, supported and incited by the secular party, placed in his path, he carried out his purpose of fortifying Jerusalem with a wall. He thus offered to the hierarchy the means by which to exclude the influence of their neighbours, and to control those sections of the population in the city which were in league with them.

Rebuilding of Jerusalem

Nehemiah Governor of Jerusalem

Nehemiah is said to have governed in Jerusalem for twelve years, and then to have retired to the court of Susa. But he had hardly turned his back, when the ascendency of the orthodox party was again threatened; he was compelled to return if he was not to abandon the realisation of the ideal religious state. Once more he exerted all the power which the influence of his sect conferred on him in order to exercise compulsion on the refractory; and he converted them by force to an acknowledgment of the strict demands of their religion. Even the family of the high-priest was bound to admit that Israel endured no attack upon its institutions. The Ammonite Tobiah, who was related to the high-priest El-ashib, was expelled from the Temple precincts; and a grandson of the high-priest, who had married a daughter of Sin-uballit, or Sanballat, probably the prince of Moab—not as usually assumed, Samaria — was driven from Jerusalem. Strictest orthodoxy reigned.



EZRA, LEADER OF THE SECOND MIGRATION TO JERUSALEM, READING THE BOOK OF THE LAW
Ezra received permission from Darius to head the second migration from Babylon to Jerusalem, and, with Nehemiah, legalised the experimental state by the publication of the book of the law, which event is here pictured.

The new order of things, such as Ezra and Nehemiah wished to introduce into the experimental state, received its legal confirmation by the publication of the book of the law, which comprised the institutions of Judaism, the priestly code. The account given of the outward ceremonial which attended its solemn publication by Ezra is unimportant; as might be expected, he tells us only of the rejoicings and enthusiasm of the people. The record of the difficulties which had been surmounted enables the historian to form a correct idea of the matter. The law was not the work of Ezra and Nehemiah, nor did they raise it to be the effective law of Judaism. It had long been the standard round which Judaism in the empire rallied; and its introduction into Jerusalem signified only the obligation of the ideal state, restored with the help of Judaism, to observe the law which it had been founded to fulfil. The real development of Judaism was not perfected on the soil of Palestine. The law was not the product of a political community, but of a religious body, and it was not the result of a national struggle for existence. The spirit of the law itself, which had thus been long in force for Judaism throughout the empire, is tolerably familiar. It is the spirit which since then has prevailed and has become only more rigid—the spirit which Judaism has observed down to the present day.

The Book of The Law

Vague and scanty as are the accounts for this period of the vigorous activity shown by the new Jewish spirit in the process of its development, they are still more so during the ensuing period of the Persian rule. We can, however, reconcile ourselves to this lack of information. The hierarchy which was here established presents in no respect a momentous event in the history of mankind. It was not even a unique phenomenon in the history of antiquity. Similar constitutions were possible even in the sphere of pagan religions, as is shown, for example, by the priestly state in Comana, in Cappadocia. In the Persian period the development of the hierarchy continued to advance. Although Ezra and Nehemiah exercised a sort of secular power, conferred on them by the court, and were to some extent governors, and although from the first there had been the wish to uphold the royal dignity of David, yet power was gradually concentrated in the hands of

The Priestly State

the high-priest. The Persian court looked on quietly at this growth, which threatened no danger to the maintenance of order and was fostered by the influential body of Jews. As punishment for an attempt to take part in the Syrian insurrection against Artaxerxes Ochus, the Jews had to submit to the deportation of part of their population into Hyrcania; the satrap Bagoas is said then to have shown that Persia would not tolerate any contumacy. Dissensions, which are reported to have been rife at this period in the family of the high-priest and to have led to the murder by the high-priest of his own brother, were certainly connected with the hostility of the rival parties, but are, after all, of no great importance.

Growth of the Priesthood

When Persia broke up, the Jews are said from the very first to have secured for themselves the favour of Alexander by adroit compliance. From this point onward we possess accounts which are influenced, even more than those of the Persian period, by Jewish self-complacency. Flavius Josephus is an untrustworthy and, from his conceit, irritating authority.

The disputes among the Diadochi severed Egypt from Babylonia. Syria was the apple of discord, but soon came under Egyptian influence. During the prosperity of Egypt under the Ptolemies we see Judaism also powerful and prosperous and affording welcome assistance to the government in all matters of trade and of administration.

Judaism undoubtedly did not then come to the front in Egypt for the first time. Just as one part of the hierarchical party had been brought by Nebuchadnezzar to Babylonia, so another had taken refuge in Egypt. During a later attempt at insurrection, Jeremiah and others had been carried there by force. With the further spread of Judaism these fugitives and newcomers had there, as elsewhere in the empire, gained in importance and had played a prominent part. It is, however, quite plain that the real strength of Judaism lay with the ruling power of the East—that is, in Persia and Babylonia. The East was now divided, and we see at once two centres of Judaism—in Babylonia-Syria and in Egypt. This is again an indication that the evolution of Judaism did not have Palestine for its scene. A Hellenic Judaism now comes into prominence at the court of the Ptolemies, which was able rapidly to appropriate the results of the ripening Hellenic spirit ingrafted on the East, and adroitly adapt them to its own requirements. It was more through this transference of the centre of the power of Judaism from Persia and Babylonia to Egypt than through political conformity to the rule of the Ptolemies that the Jewish state fell under the influence of Egyptian Hellenism. A production of Egyptian Judaism is the Septuagint Version, intended in the first instance for the use of those who could no longer read the Holy Scriptures in the original language.

Judaism in Egypt

Towards the end of the third century, in the struggle between the Seleucidæ and the Ptolemies, the former gained the upper hand and Judah became subject to Syrian supremacy. Antiochus III. was received by the Jews with open arms. Assistance was even given in the siege of the Egyptian garrison in the Akra, the citadel of Jerusalem. Antiochus is said to have shown himself correspondingly gracious at first and in particular to have sanctioned a remission of taxation, which was certainly calculated to win men's hearts, since their own compatriots had already proved themselves very active tax-collectors in the service of the Ptolemies. But when the power of Antiochus was afterwards broken by the battle of Magnesia, in 190 B.C., the greater advantage seemed once more to rest in an alliance with Egypt. Antiochus, in order to pay the war indemnity, was certainly forced to wring from his subjects all that he possibly could; on the other hand, the influence of the Egyptian Jews, in whose support hopes were now centred, must have been powerful.

Antiochus in Jerusalem

How far the ever restless spirit of enterprise had already ventured to cross from the land of the Pharaohs to the latter's powerful protectress on the Tiber we do not know, but we can hardly place the beginnings of a Jewish colony in Rome at a much later date. In short, the influential and wealthy members of the Jewish body must now be looked for more and more in Egypt and the west rather than in the east, which at this time under the Parthian rule was quite severed from civilisation. Accordingly, Judah, which was thrown upon the support of those



JUDAS MACCABÆUS, THE HERO OF THE JEWS, ADDRESSING HIS TROOPS
The famous rebellion of the Maccabees against the rule of the Seleucidæ was begun by Mattathias Maccabæus, and waged most successfully by his son Judas, who defeated the Syrians. From the engraving by Gustave Doré.

who held the same faith, was forced in its policy to incline more to the west than to the empire of the Seleucidæ, now approaching its end.

In conformity with old tradition, it was once more the orthodox party that leaned towards Egypt. The Seleucidæ attempted, with the support of the elements in Jerusalem which were inclined to Hellenism, to secure Judah for themselves. Jason, the brother of the high-priest Onias, was favoured by Antiochus IV. For a time everything in Jerusalem followed the Athenian mode, and the theatre and the palæstra attracted the Jewish youth, who were eager to ape their Greek models. The domestic quarrels of the family of the high-priest with the Tobiadæ, the chief representatives of philhellenism, are of no importance here. The accounts do not tell us how, after the failure of the philhellenic pro-Seleucid party, an open breach with Antiochus IV. was brought about; but Israel is represented as having been an innocent victim. We may see the reason for the intervention of Antiochus in the fact that the orthodox party really had the upper hand and was in sympathy with Egypt and Rome. When Antiochus, in 168 B.C., returned from the expedition to Egypt, which had begun triumphantly and had been so suddenly interrupted by Rome, he called the Jews sternly to account; they must have known the reason well. Jerusalem was stormed, sacked, and devastated, the walls razed to the ground, the inhabitants massacred and dispersed. Only the "renegades" remained behind and were reinforced by pagan settlers; all that could escape fled to Egypt.

Jerusalem Becomes Hellenic

Antiochus Sacks Jerusalem

But the destruction of Jerusalem was not enough. Antiochus knew perfectly well that the power of Judaism did not depend on the existence of the city. He took measures against the entire body of Jews in his dominions, and he must have had deeper motives for his action than his philhellenism. He did not wish to extirpate the Jewish religion, as tradition represents, but to disperse the subject community which had the seat of its power in the enemy's country, and must therefore naturally be in favour of a union with it. His fury was not really directed against the Hebrew religion and its unaccustomed manifestations, and he was no ardent supporter of Zeus. Antiochus did not attack the Jewish religion, but the Jews,

who in his empire courted Egypt and had in their religion a bond which kept them together. It was no accident that the orthodox and the philhellenic parties in the Jewish body collapsed.

Antiochus with his forcible intervention now met the resistance which brutal violence always provokes when opposed to a living ideal, especially that of stubborn Judaism. The Books of the Maccabees tell us of those who sealed their faith with their blood, many of whom have had their deeds extolled in verse down to our days. The more violent the measures taken by Antiochus, the more stubborn became the resistance, which finally found its expression, after the characteristic method of the country, in the formation of a band of men, which grew from small beginnings among the mountains into a force that at last could not be easily suppressed. The famous rebellion of the Maccabees has been assumed to be a glorious monument of Jewish heroism, owing to the method of description adopted by our authorities; but it was nothing extraordinary, and has its parallels by the score in the history of Oriental as well as of other peoples.

Rebellion of the Maccabees

The course of the rebellion, according to the account given us by the First Book of the Maccabees, was as follows: In Modin, a place between Jerusalem and the sea, a priest, Mattathias, of the family of the Hasmonæans, resisted the violent Hellenising measures of the Syrians, and gradually collected a band, which was joined by the pious, and succeeded in holding its own among the mountains. On his death soon afterwards, in 166 B.C., his son, Judas Maccabæus, took over the command, and defeated the detachments of Syrian troops sent against him. Antiochus, meanwhile, had started on his Parthian expedition, in the course of which he died. In the place of Philippus, the intended guardian of his son, Antiochus V. Eupator, Lysias usurped the regency of the empire. This latter now sent a larger army against Judas, to help Gorgias, the commander of the troops in Philistia; but Judas was able by a sudden attack to defeat it also in 165 B.C. When Lysias himself advanced against him in the same year, he had no better success. Judas was now able to reoccupy the pillaged capital, Jerusalem, with the exception of the Akra, which was held by a Syrian garrison. The Temple and divine worship were restored, and in the name of the true God vengeance could now be taken on the "renegades," the adherents of Syria. But we have no particulars of their martyrdom.

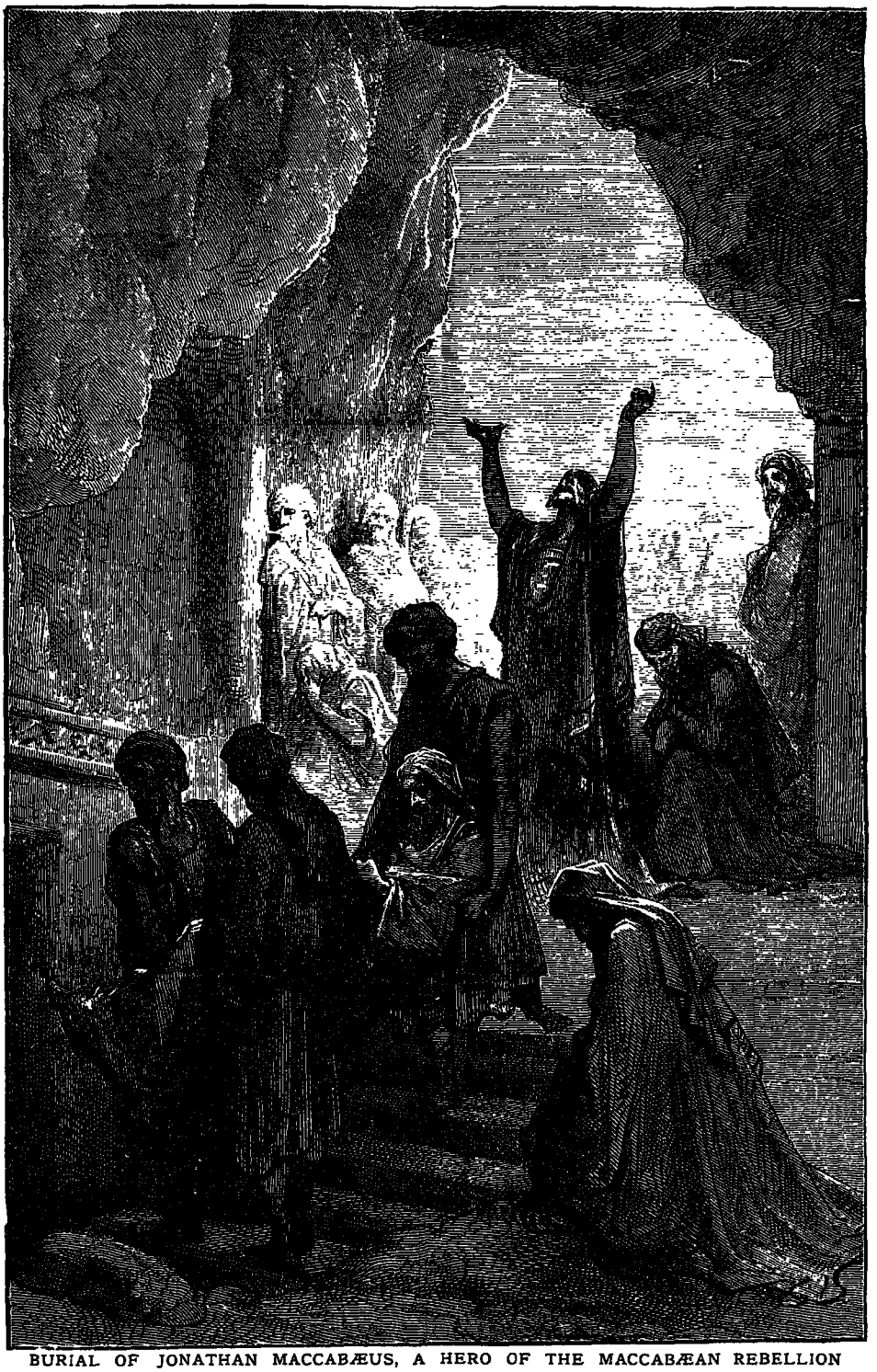
Victories of Judas Maccabæus

For two years Lysias desisted from operations, and Judas ruled with unlimited power as the head of the orthodox party. The country, as may be easily imagined, does not seem to have found this system of administration an unmixed blessing. Numerous attempts at resistance—which our accounts naturally term contemptible raids—were made against the dominance of the minority. It is clear from the records that the country was still far from being Jewish, and that the "liberation" by Judas was in fact a despotism maintained by force of arms, though it championed the cause of right.

It was a fortunate occurence for Judas that Antiochus IV. died on his expedition in 164 B.C., and that Lysias's attention was thus occupied with the arrangement of affairs. Judas proceeded to lay siege to the Akra, which had hitherto been a refuge for the partisans of Syria. The question of active interference was now urgent for the government. Lysias therefore started with a nominally large army, accompanied by his ward, the young king Antiochus V., and marched against Jerusalem from the south. He defeated Judas in the field near Beth-Zachariah, captured Bethsura, and besieged Jerusalem where the temple hill had been fortified. After a long resistance, negotiations were begun which Lysias accepted, since he wished to turn his arms against Philippus, who in the interval had raised claims to the crown in Syria. The contents of the treaty are not known; but since Lysias ordered the execution of Menelaus, the candidate for the high-priesthood who had been previously recognised by him, we may fairly assume that the orthodox party had offered guarantees of their loyalty, and that the trustworthiness of Menelaus had been questioned.

Jerusalem Falls to Lysias

Soon after this, Lysias and Antiochus V. were deposed by Demetrius I., who seems on the whole to have given the Jews in Jerusalem a free hand. He had every reason to avoid a breach with Rome; however, even then the power of the ubiquitous Judaism was making itself felt. His appointment of Alcimus, of the family of the high-priests, as "Ethnarch," proves



BURIAL OF JONATHAN MACCABÆUS, A HERO OF THE MACCABÆAN REBELLION

At the death of Judas Maccabæus, his brother Jonathan held out against the Syrians, and eventually succeeded in founding the Hasmonæan dynasty, which lasted in Jerusalem from 145 to 63 B.C. From an engraving by Gustave Doré.

that the power of Judas had, as a matter of fact, been restricted by Lysias. Alcimus, ushered in by an army under Bacchides, was accepted without resistance; since, however, he was a representative of the Syrian Hellenistic party, it would have been strange indeed if he had not very soon aroused the dissatisfaction of the orthodox. Naturally, according to the version in our account, Alcimus was the peace-breaker: but we may perhaps find a cause for the revolt among the Maccabæans also, who, on his appointment, had certainly been forced to leave Jerusalem. So soon, therefore, as the Syrian army had withdrawn the orthodox party revolted, and Alcimus had once more to fly. He was brought back by an army under Nicanor, and the two were received with acclamations in Jerusalem. The Maccabæans, however, defeated Nicanor at Adasa, in the vicinity of Beth-Horon, in 161 B.C. The country was forced once more to recognise in Judas the "liberator," until Bacchides himself with an army, reputed to have been very large, advanced against him and totally defeated Judas, whose whole following amounted only to 800 men. We may estimate from this his relative importance to the "nation." After a gallant resistance near Elasa, Judas himself was slain. The Hasmonæans thus lost their warlike leader, who had confidence both in himself and his righteous cause.



COINS OF SIMON MACCABÆUS
Simon Maccabæus struck money in his own name, dating it from his accession in 142 B.C. as the year 1.

The Syrian party was once more quit of the blessings conferred by the orthodox, and Alcimus was reinstated in Jerusalem. No sort of restrictions were placed on the exercise of religion. Bacchides restored order in the country and cleared it of the unsettled bands of Maccabæans. A part of them still held out under the leadership of Jonathan, a younger brother of Judas, and lived as nomads in the desert of Thekoa. To these circumstances—namely, the struggle between the religious zealots and the fruitless efforts of an enlightened party to Hellenise the Jews—the most remarkable book which the biblical canon has accepted, Ecclesiastes, owes its origin. The work gives expression to the pessimism of a well-meaning man who, while holding the post of ruler, was anxious to guide his people aright, but at the end in despair lets his hands fall feebly by his side. The suggestion is forced upon us that Alcimus the high-priest was himself the author, and that the book may have been published after his death, with some additions in the same spirit. Owing to its reception into the canon, which could not have been refused to the work of a high-priest, it was afterwards furnished with qualifying rejoinders in the spirit of devout orthodoxy.

How Ecclesiastes was Written

The Work of the High-priest

Alcimus died in 159 B.C. When Bacchides soon afterwards withdrew, the Maccabæans once more caused trouble. A message was therefore sent from Jerusalem to Bacchides imploring help. But since a sudden attack on the castle of Jonathan failed, Bacchides concluded peace with him and acknowledged him as high-priest. Jonathan was probably no longer a zealot for the faith and the interests of Egyptian and international Judaism, but he fought for the establishment of a Hasmonæan dynasty. To attain this end, he ceased to be a "Jew" and made his peace with the Seleucidæ. Jonathan, in the wars between Demetrius I. and Alexander Balas, and under Demetrius II. from 145 to 138 B.C., held his own; and finally, notwithstanding his action against the Syrian party, obtained acknowledgment from Demetrius II. He then joined cause with Tryphon. He at last went to the length of setting aside the influence of the Syrian party with the help of his orthodox followers, and seems to have had the sanction of the court in doing so. At least the influence of Judaism over Tryphon seems to have ceased; and the latter advanced with an army into Palestine. Jonathan now presented himself at Akko to render an account of his actions, and was arrested.

In his place Simon Maccabæus took over the management of affairs. When Tryphon attempted to interfere, the former was skilful enough to frustrate all the designs of the Greek army, including an attempt to relieve the Akra, and he contrived to free the land from it. By means of giving the required hostages in the shape of his brother's sons, he at the same time got rid of any rivals to himself. When the Syrians had left the country, and the walls of Jerusalem had been rebuilt,

he could securely regard himself as prince of Judah. With him the princedom of the hierarchy of Judah—that is, the high-priesthood—was transferred to the Hasmonæans. Simon struck money in his own name, and dated it after his accession the year 1 (142 B.C.). The Syrian party was thus overthrown, and orthodoxy could benefit the people in its own way. The records speak only of tranquillity and happiness in the land.

Reign of Simon the Maccabee

Simon was murdered in 135 B.C. by his son-in-law, who aspired to power; but his son, John Hyrcanus, succeeded in securing Jerusalem and the crown for himself. The rapidly advancing downfall of the Seleucid empire was favourable for him, for he could thus assert his independence. When he had successfully concluded an alliance with the Romans he proceeded to demonstrate the splendour of the new realm and to realise the ideal of his religion—namely, the restoration of the kingdom of David. His comparatively small territory was enlarged by a successful subjugation of Sichem, of Samaria—thanks to Roman intervention—and of Edom.

Hyrcanus was succeeded by his son, Judas Aristobulus, who secured his authority, according to Oriental custom, by the murder of his relations. He died after one year. His widow, Salome, by marriage procured the sovereignty for his eldest brother, who had been kept in captivity by him, Jannæus (Jonathan) Alexander, who held the power from 104 to 78 B.C. The latter first secured his position by the removal of one of his two brothers, and proceeded to complete the conquest of Palestine. As he was besieging Akko he was hindered in the further prosecution of his plans by the intervention of Egypt, and he was saved from the direr consequences of his ambition only by the efforts of the Jewish influence with Cleopatra, mother of Ptolemy Lathurus, in 100 B.C. He then conquered Raphia and Gaza, and secured to himself the country east of Jordan. But Jannæus here came into collision with an enemy stronger than himself, the North Arabian empire of the Nabatæans; and he was defeated by their king, Oboda, in Gilead. When he returned to Jerusalem without an army an insurrection broke out among the orthodox party, the Pharisees, which, after many changes of fortune, ended in the victory of Demetrius Eucherus, who had been called in by the insurgents, over Jannæus in 88 B.C. But the indefatigable Hasmonæan was able to collect a new force around him in the mountains, and, after the withdrawal of Demetrius, to reoccupy Jerusalem. He wreaked his vengeance there, as only Orientals can, in the course of party struggles in 87 B.C. After Jannæus had thus firmly re-established his power, he renewed the war with the Nabatæan king, Oboda; but as the latter had meantime won for himself Coele-Syria, Jannæus was worsted and was forced to make peace. He then strengthened his power once more in the territory east of Jordan, and died there on an expedition. He, like his father, had extended the Jewish dominion, although he did not gain possession of the whole of Palestine. The map of this country, so adapted for petty states, presented even under him a very chequered appearance.

Revolt of the Pharisees

Jannæus always relied on the support of the now powerful party of Sadducees, which tried to harmonise in some degree the unendurable bonds of Judaism with the demands of ordinary life. This led insensibly to a closer sympathy with Hellenism, and the Hellenic culture which dominated even the East. The house of the Hasmonæans, which had formerly entered the war on behalf of religion, thus became a purely Oriental dynasty, which adapted itself to the requirements of religion only so far as was necessary to serve its purposes. Now the state had only been founded to realise this very ideal of a hierarchy in the sense of the "law," and not in order to call into existence a kingdom, on the model of so many others, with a Jewish religion. So long as the state existed, it was constantly brought back to the path which it wished to desert, until such attempts were brought to an end by Titus and Hadrian.

Rise of the Sadducees

On the death of Jannæus a reaction followed. His wife, Salome Alexandra, took over the government, which had been nominally conferred on her by Jannæus on his deathbed. Her son, Hyrcanus II., a feeble character, who was completely under her control, was appointed high-priest, while his capable brother, Aristobulus, was passed over. This state of things lasted for nine years, from 78 to 69 B.C.

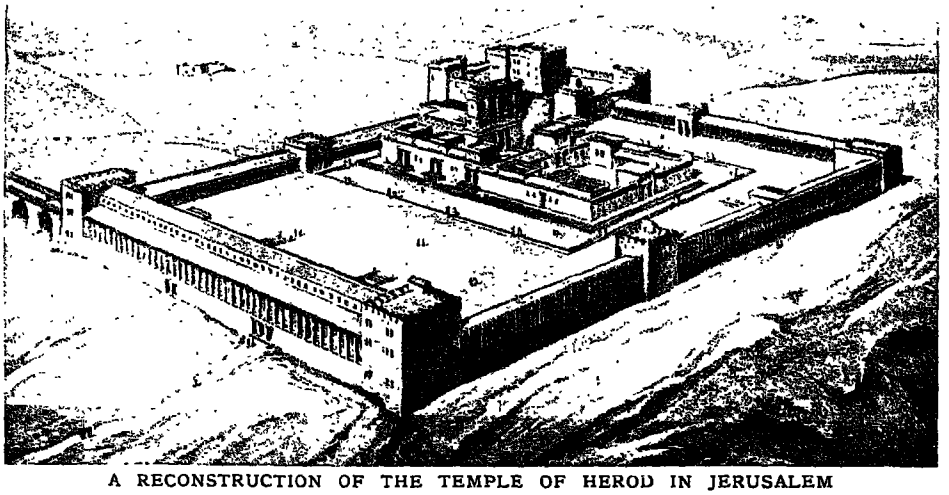
Meanwhile, the Pharisees governed after their own heart and laid no restraint upon themselves.

Intolerable Rule of the Pharisees

The country, however, could not possibly tolerate the Pharisaic rule for long, and Aristobulus gained more and more adherents. After the death of Salome there could be no more doubt to whom the kingdom belonged. The Pharisees had no sort of following in the country. They attempted a resistance and led Hyrcanus, with the mercenary army, against Aristobulus. But at Jericho, where the battle was fought, their troops went over to Aristobulus, and he was able without great difficulty to occupy Jerusalem. He was acknowledged as high-priest and king, and Hyrcanus retired into private life.

Tranquillity, however, did not last long. Jannæus had appointed as governor in Idumæa a native convert to Judaism, Antipater, the father of Herod. This man himself cast longing eyes on the throne of Judah. He followed a policy of his own and induced Hareth III., king of the Nabataeans, to make an expedition in 65 B.C. against Aristobulus, who defended himself in the Temple. The protracted siege was ended by Roman intervention. The Arabians were forced to withdraw from Jerusalem, and Aristobulus momentarily triumphed over Hyrcanus, although the latter had part of the country on his side. When, then, in 63 B.C., Pompey came in person to Palestine, after many prevarications on both sides, he finally decided against Aristobulus. The latter was taken prisoner; his adherents threw themselves into the Temple and gallantly defended themselves against the onslaught of the Romans, until they finally succumbed, and the Temple was taken by storm. This brought the rule of the Hasmonæans to an end, and Judæa became a component part of the province of Syria. Pompey granted the Jews liberty of religion and confirmed Hyrcanus in his office of high-priest. The orthodox party loudly sang the praises of the great Roman; they preferred that Judæa should be tributary rather than non-Pharisaic. The new province, and with it Judæa, received four pro-consuls, until the overthrow of Pompey made Cæsar master of the East and West. Cæsar allowed the Jews religious liberty, and appointed as procurator Antipater, the Idumæan, who was clever enough to make himself indispensable.

Judæa a Roman Province



A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE OF HEROD IN JERUSALEM

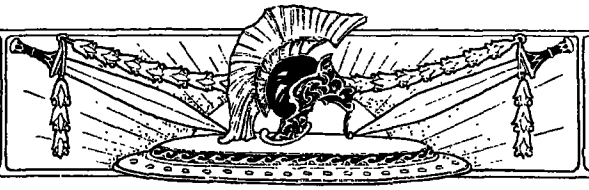
Under the Romans the religious influence of the Jews greatly increased throughout the empire, and although Herod, the Roman king of Judæa, spent much in building the Temple, he never succeeded in winning his subjects' affection.



THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM BY THE ROMANS

From the painting by Francesco Hayez in the Royal Academy of Venice

TO FACE PAGE 1859



THE ROMAN EMPIRE IN ASIA

AFTER the final campaign of Pompey, Western Asia lost its political independence. Nevertheless, the part it played in history during the first six centuries of the Christian era was not insignificant.

The chief of the Roman possessions in Western Asia, Asia Minor and Syria, were retained by Rome throughout their whole extent until the Arabian conquest, and to them were added, during favourable times, portions of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and the South Caucasian districts. Asia Minor was the most tranquil, the best protected, and the most uniformly organised of the Roman Asiatic provinces. Scarcely a trace remained of political independence; but in many of the country districts and towns a certain form of self-government, such as the Romans were in the habit of allowing to their dependencies, still existed. The larger of the settlements in the peninsula were, as a rule, of Hellenic origin.

Greek Influence in Asia Minor

Thickly distributed along the western coast and in the river valleys, more sparsely on the elevated plateaus and among the mountains of the interior, they formed the centres of the Greek influence which had penetrated into the peninsula during an earlier period, encouraged by the Attalidæ, and in later times had been allowed to continue undisturbed by the Romans.

When Rome first took possession of the peninsula, entire provinces exhibited hardly a trace of Greek influence; others, such as Lycia and Pamphylia, had developed an independent civilisation on a Hellenic foundation. In the very centre of the land were settled a Celtic people, the Galatians, who had preserved both their language and their martial spirit, and during the times of the emperors furnished the majority of the recruits from Asia Minor. But gradually these local peculiarities grew less and less apparent, the language and civilisation of the Greeks, slightly Latinised, it is true, became diffused over the entire peninsula; and, finally, even rustic Cappadocia sent to Athens its bands of students, whose rude dialect must, indeed, have caused the cultured professors to wring their hands in despair.

The few politically independent provinces and small states that had survived the period of Roman conquest, as well as a number of unimportant principalities which had once belonged to the empire of Mithradates and were allowed a provisional existence by the Romans, disappeared during the first period of the emperors. The kingdom of the Galatians was transformed into a Roman dependency as early as 25 B.C. Shortly after his accession in 17 A.D., Tiberius put an end to the independence of Cappadocia. The territory of the Lycian league of cities was annexed in the year 43 A.D., and the provinces of Pontus were added to the Roman Empire in 63 A.D. The wildest, least civilised districts of Roman Asia Minor were the Taurus provinces, Isauria and Cilicia. The Cilicians were practically unconquerable so long as they remained in their native surroundings. The thickly wooded mountains that sloped down to the sea soon became the favourite haunt of the dissatisfied spirits and criminals of the Roman Empire, who, together with the native inhabitants of the coast, soon gave themselves up to piracy, which became in time their habitual occupation. Neither the republic nor the empire was able to put a stop to the deeds of robbery by sea and by land, or to subdue the inhabitants of the mountains, among whom several tribes of the Pisidians are also to be reckoned. But in Asia Minor also, with the gradual opening up of the country, customs became less rude; and the mountain dwellers were compelled to cease their warfare, although even a short period of political disorganisation was sufficient to cause them all to return to their old manner of life. In fact, the Cilicians and Isaurians constantly made their appearance as robbers and pirates, until the sturdiest of the wild rabble attained the honour of forming the

Last Independent States

Pirates of the Taurus

bodyguard of the Eastern Roman Emperor; and finally two of them, Zeno and Leo III., succeeded to the imperial dignity itself.

Asia Minor Flourishes

The remainder of Asia Minor became under the Roman emperors a flourishing land with a dense and highly civilised population. The province was governed by the Senate, and was divided into four districts, of which only two—Asia Minor proper, and Pontus together with Bithynia—were situated on the mainland. Cyprus and Crete, to which Cyrene in Africa was added, were accounted parts of the peninsula for purposes of administration. In later times this division was frequently altered; and during the period of Byzantine rule, owing to the constant danger of invasion, the province was separated into a great number of districts and governed according to military law. The inroads of hostile nations began at the time of the Persian wars. In the year 609 A.D. the Iranians first appeared in Cappadocia, and during the following decade they marched through the peninsula several times, finally threatening Constantinople itself. The invasion of the Persians was only the first of many blows dealt to the civilisation of Asia Minor.

The condition of Syria was totally different from that of Asia Minor. Only the eastern boundary of the latter was a frontier of the Roman Empire, and was, moreover, protected by the buffer states Armenia and Iberia. Syria, on the other hand, was directly adjacent not only to that portion of Mesopotamia, for the possession of which continual war was being waged between Romans and Persians, but also to the boundless Arabian desert, over whose anarchic Bedouin tribes a permanent government was never to be established by the Romans. The province itself, however, was exceptionally favoured by its racial and political peculiarities;

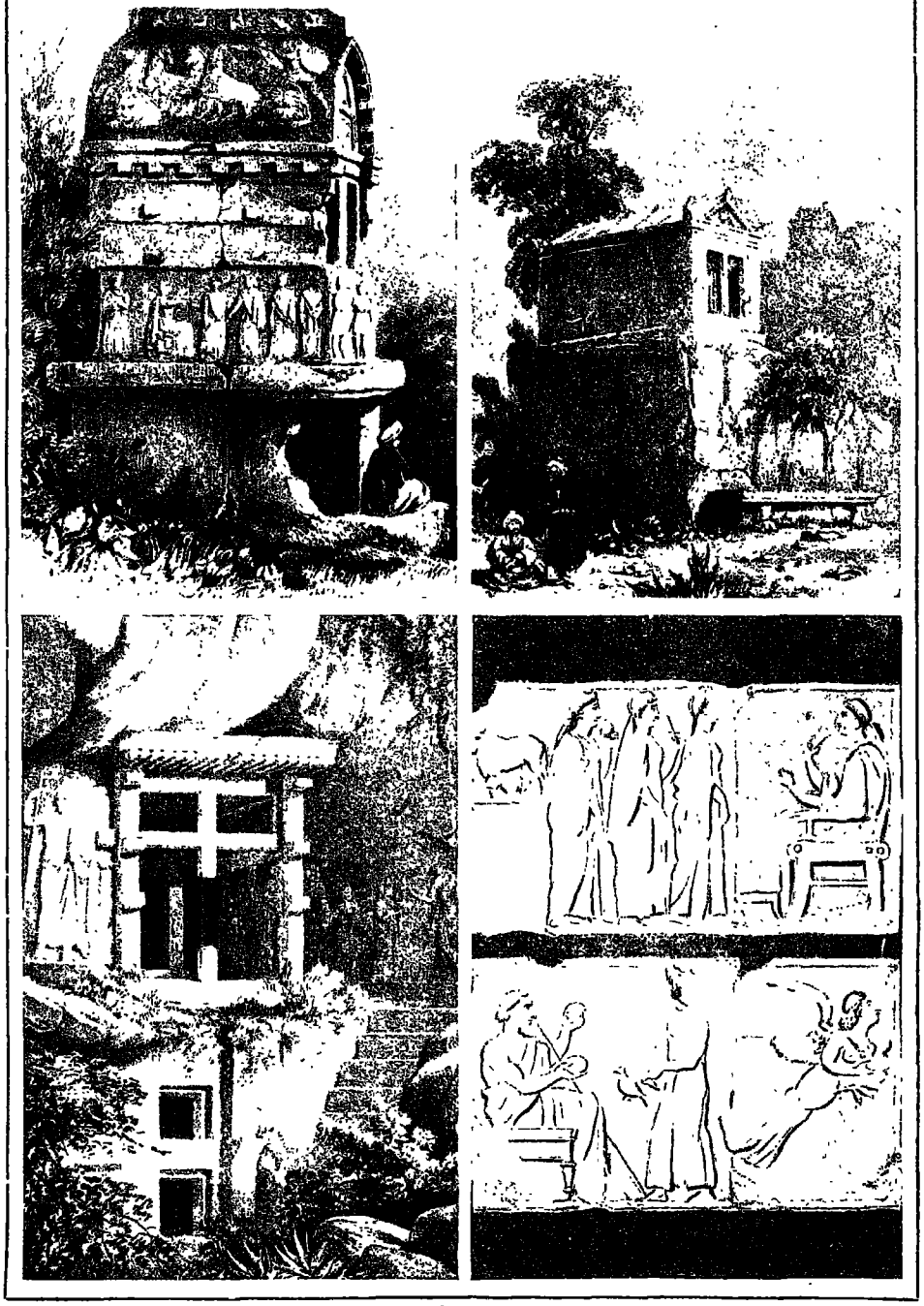
Syria Open to Invasion

then, as to-day, it was a harbour of refuge for an immense number of different peoples and adherents of various creeds. Two of the most remarkable states known to history, the Phœnician league of cities, which occupied a narrow strip of Mediterranean coast, and the kingdom of the Israelites in the mountains of Palestine, arose during an early period on Syrian soil. The prosperity of both had faded when Syria became a Roman province; in fact, Phœnician freedom, if not Phœnician civilisation, so far as commerce and industry were concerned, had long ceased to exist. There were still flourishing settlements scattered along the coast, and commerce was actively carried on; but the civilisation of Phœnicia was that of the Greeks. Hellenism had expanded in all directions from the city of Antioch as a centre during the period of the Seleucidæ; and as for the northern districts of Syria, however undisturbed the native population had been allowed to remain, and however little influenced by Greek culture, they formed at the time of the Romans practically a Greek province. It is true that the infusion of Oriental luxury and effeminacy was of the greatest injury to the Greek spirit; and Antioch as a city of sensuality and pleasure stood in sharp contrast to Alexandria, which had developed under the influence of the Greeks on Egyptian soil. The shiftless inhabitants of the Syrian metropolis contributed little enough to the development of morals; but for all that, Syria long remained the centre of the Eastern Roman Empire. As a

Syria the Centre of the East

result of the dominion of the Seleucidæ and the subsequent process of Hellenisation, Northern Syria fell into the hands of the Romans as a tolerably well-organised province, which even during later periods developed no very marked characteristics, and of which the administration presented no great difficulty. Southern Syria, on the other hand, consisted of a multitude of small mutually antagonistic states. There were some more or less independent principalities in Lebanon, which had ever been a land of promise for the dispersed and conquered races. On the borders of the desert lay the kingdom of the Nabatæans, and Arab tribes were constantly appearing on the steppes and along the Mesopotamian frontier.

The greatest confusion of all, however, was to be found in Palestine. At first the Romans found it to their own interest to increase the number of minor states in order to avoid the risk of united resistance. Many different races and parties were clamouring for a settlement of their political, national, and religious claims. The Jewish ecclesiastical state of Jerusalem, constantly striving for freedom, and yet not strong enough to



ART AND CIVILISATION OF LYCIA AND PAMPHYLIA UNDER ROME

When Rome took possession of Asia Minor most of the provinces and settlements were centres of Greek culture, but a few, such as Lycia and Pamphylia, had developed an independent civilisation on a Hellenic foundation. The outstanding examples of their art are their tombs. The top picture on the right is of a Pamphylian tomb among the mountains. That on the left is a Lycian tomb at Xanthus, some of its sculptures being shown at the bottom right. The remaining illustration shows one of the remarkable rock-tombs at Myra, which occur throughout Lycia.

maintain the independence it so greatly desired, could not be treated as a helpless minor province. Indeed, in dealing with the Israelites of Palestine the Romans had to reckon with the entire Jewish people, already widely diffused throughout the empire and in many districts dangerously numerous, who could not have regarded a violation of their ancient sanctuary as other than an attack on their very existence. Moreover, the religious influence of the Jews was increasing, for the unsettled state of religious thought led numerous proselytes to join their ranks. It even appeared for a time as if Judaism would succeed in overthrowing the belief in the deities of the Greeks. The rise of Christianity, however, turned this phase of development into another channel.

Rome and the Jews

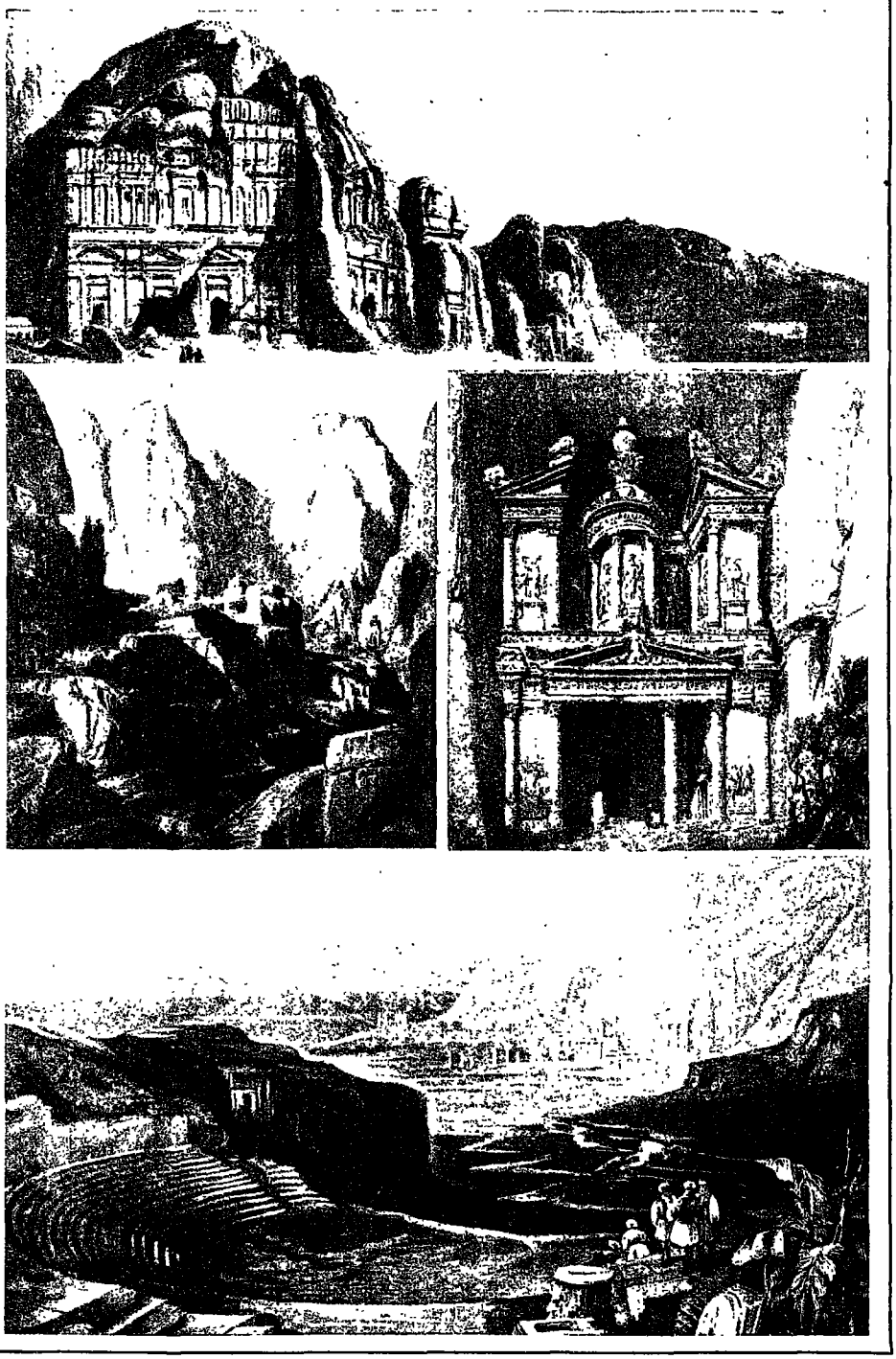
In spite of all the caution exercised by the Romans in their administration of Palestine, the antagonism between the claims of political life and the rigid ritual of the priesthood remained a constant source of complication. In the year 47 B.C. Julius Cæsar appointed Antipater the Idumæan procurator and successor of the Maccabees, and he could scarcely have made a better choice. Nevertheless the numerous champions of the Jewish national spirit were not in the least satisfied; and after the invasion of the Parthians, during which the new dynasty was temporarily compelled to take flight, Herod, the son and heir of Antipater, was obliged to resort to force in order to subdue his rebellious subjects. Herod passed through the period of the great struggle between Cæsar Augustus and Marcus Antonius with singular good fortune; but he was unable to win the affection of the Jewish people. The ruthless manner in which he put to death the members of his own family injured him, however, far less in the eyes of his subjects than his foreign origin and leaning to Hellenism.

Division of Herod's Kingdom

After the death of Herod, in the year 4 A.D., his kingdom, which had been considerably enlarged by the annexation of minor principalities, thanks to the benevolence of Cæsar Augustus, was divided between his three sons: Galilee and Peræa fell to the share of Herod Antipas, the region south of Damascus to Philippus, and Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa to Archelaus. The two northern kingdoms continued in existence for many years; they were united into one state by Agrippa II., a great-grandson of Herod, and remained intact until the time of Trajan. In the south, however, insurrections soon broke out among the Jews. Archelaus proved incapable of government, and it was not long before Cæsar Augustus found it necessary to transform Palestine into a Roman province with Cæsarea as its capital. It is obvious that this time also the Romans desired to spare the feelings of the Jews as much as possible; but a true reconciliation with the subjects of the Jewish ecclesiastical state, whose demands increased rather than diminished with the growing hopelessness of their cause, was impossible. Christianity provided a means for escape from the bigotry that must finally have led to destruction, although it received but little support from the true Jews, among whom the national spirit was at first strongly at work. In general, the Christian religion cannot be said to have played other than a subordinate part in the political history of Palestine.

The hostility between the Roman emperors and the Jews of Palestine gradually increased. The Jews who had emigrated to various parts of the empire also received but little sympathy, as was proved by the terrible riots that broke out in Alexandria during the reign of Caligula—the first manifestation of anti-Semitism in the Roman world. It was unfortunate that the imperial government had not from the very first taken such precautions as would have rendered a rebellion in Palestine an impossibility; instead of ruling with a firm hand, it carelessly allowed events to take their own course. Bands of rebels were in constant activity as early as the year 44 A.D.; Roman soldiers and officials were murdered more and more frequently; and a spirit of sullen hostility gradually spread over the entire province. In the year 66 A.D. an insurrection broke out in Cæsarea; another soon followed in Jerusalem, where frightful scenes of carnage took place; and soon the whole of Judæa was in a state of civil war. Vespasian, the imperial legate, conquered the land anew in a difficult campaign which lasted for several years. The confusion that reigned in the Roman Empire until Vespasian himself ascended the throne in 69 A.D. was of great assistance to the Jews, although a final victory

First Anti-Semite Riots



PETRA, THE ROCK-CAPITAL OF THE NABATÆAN KINGDOM

Nabatæa lay between the Red Sea and the Jordan and even included at one time Damascus. Petra, its capital, situated on a rocky plateau, perhaps flourished most under Roman rule. At the top are shown some of the remarkable cliff structures above the city, and below on the right the most beautiful of the relics, probably a tomb. On the left is the ravine by which the city is entered at the east, and at the bottom a view of the plateau from the theatre.

of the Hebrews was out of the question owing to their fanaticism and lack of unity. In the year 70 A.D., Titus, son of Vespasian, entered Jerusalem, destroyed the Temple, and put an end to all hopes of Jewish independence.

Jerusalem lay in ruins until the time of Hadrian. The Jews of Palestine had but little share in the great rebellion which broke out during the reign of Trajan; and it is a significant fact that the last great insurrection of the Jews in the Holy Land came about owing to the well-meant design of Hadrian to establish a new city on the ruins of Jerusalem. At that time the Jews arose in final despairing revolt under the leadership of Eleazar the priest and the bandit Bar-Kokhba, with the result that their country was completely devastated and lost even its name of Judæa, henceforth being known as *Syria Palæstina*.

The Last Effort of the Jews

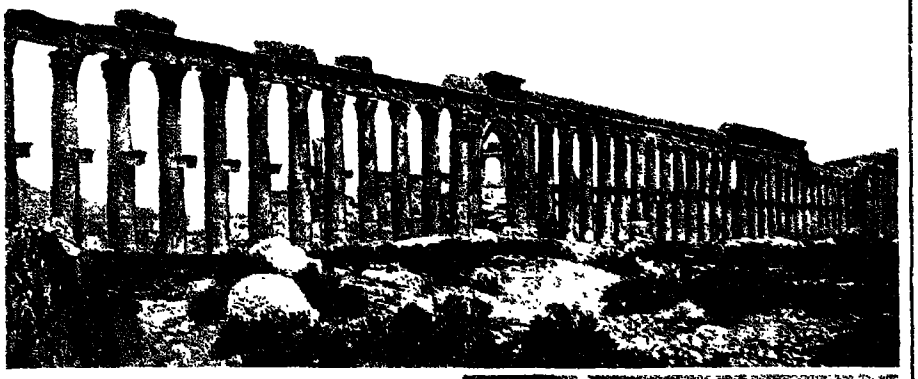
A quiet neighbour, and in later times a dependency of the Roman Empire, was the kingdom of the Nabatæans, which during its period of widest expansion embraced the greater part of the region north of the Red Sea and east of the river Jordan, at one time even including Damascus. The original Nabatæan people in all probability were descended from a mixture of Arabian and Hamitic, or, at least, Syrian elements. A part of their kingdom lay on the north-eastern coast of the Red Sea, and was at the same time a natural junction of many caravan roads; the Nabatæans had thus from the earliest times devoted themselves to commerce, thereby acquiring a culture that rendered them far more capable of developing a permanent state than the Bedouins of the neighbouring steppes, for all their love of freedom and courage in battle. The capital of the kingdom of the Nabatæans and the residence of the sovereigns was Petra, situated on the rocky plateau that lay between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akaba. Nabatæa submitted to Cæsar Augustus, and in spite of various small misunderstandings remained undisturbed until the time of Trajan, when, together with the bulk of the minor Syrian states, it was transformed into a Roman province. In the year 106 A.D., Damascus was annexed to Syria, and the remainder of the kingdom, henceforth known as the "Province of Arabia," was placed under Roman rule—by no means to its disadvantage, as the ruins of its once flourishing cities testify. Roman Nabatæa included only a portion of the northern border of the Arabian desert, and was environed by a number of semi-independent Bedouin states, of which the influence and extent greatly increased when the power of the empire began to weaken.

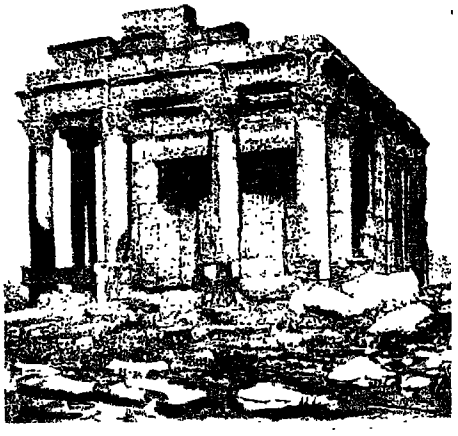
Kingdom of Nabatæa

Remarkable for sudden changes of fortune was Palmyra, a kingdom of the Syrian-Arabian borderland. In early times, before the occupation of Syria by the Romans, a flourishing community arose in an oasis of the great Syrian desert that had long served as a convenient halting place for caravans travelling between Phœnicia and the middle Euphrates. The city was made a dependency of the Roman Empire during the first period of the emperors; but owing to its important frontier situation between Parthian and Roman territory, it retained a certain amount of freedom, and at the same time became possessed of considerable power. The necessity of protecting the caravan routes led to the formation of a well-organised army; and constant feuds with the Bedouins, which, as a rule, terminated in the victory of the Palmyrans, resulted in continual accessions of territory, so that Palmyra finally embraced the greater part of the region between the Euphrates and the Syrian border.

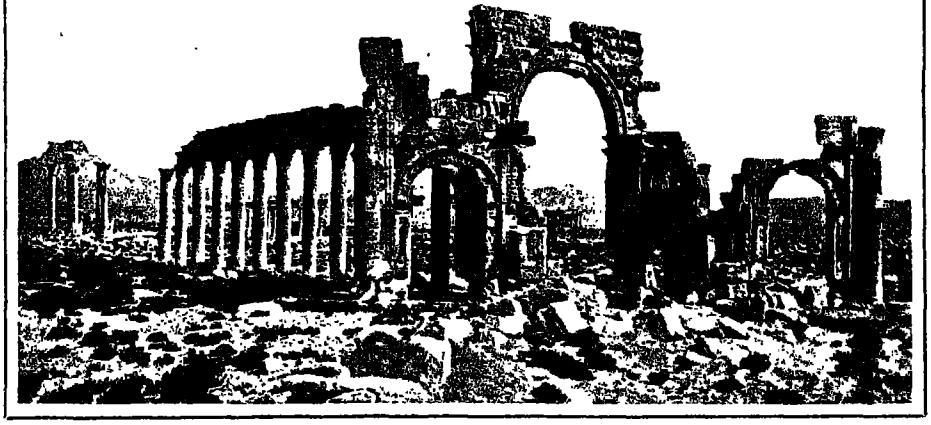
Growth of the Power of Palmyra

The language of the Palmyrans was not the Arabic of the Bedouins, but the Syrian of the agricultural and town-dwelling classes. Originally the city may have been organised as a republic; but the Romans, who were accustomed to choose a ruler from among the native inhabitants of their provinces, created a monarchical form of government that finally became hereditary. No small amount of power lay in the hands of a Palmyran sovereign, who possessed a well-trained army of veterans who had taken part in numerous struggles with Arab tribes, and the hoarded wealth of a strongly fortified city—a city, moreover, that was in addition protected by the desert. Thus it is not surprising that before many years passed an ambitious ruler came to the throne, who resolved to take part in the border wars between Rome and Persia, to seize the balance of power, and to establish a new empire at the expense of both the contending parties.









RUINS OF PALMYRA, THE "MIRAGE" KINGDOM OF THE SYRIAN DESERT

Palmyra arose, before the Roman occupation, in an oasis on the Parthian frontier, and became supreme over Syria. It fell as suddenly as it rose. The ruins of its magnificent city are now one of the sights of Syria. The principal remains are shown at the top and bottom of the page, and in the centre are a temple to Diana and specimens of Palmyran sculptures.

The opportunity for such an undertaking was never more favourable than during the reign of the Sassanian Shapur I. The Roman emperor Valerian was a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, Antioch had been captured, and the whole of Syria, with the exception of a few unimportant strongholds, lay open to the Persians, who, eager for plunder, marched about hither and thither in disorganised companies. As soon as Shapur began to withdraw his forces, the Palmyran cavalry sallied forth, dispersed whole divisions of the scattered Persian army, and returned to their desert city with untold spoils. Odenathus, king of Palmyra, made the most of the prestige won by this daring stroke by immediately espousing the cause of Gallienus, son of Valerian, whose opponents in the struggle for the succession had gained the upper hand in the east. As a result, when Gallienus finally triumphed over his enemies and ascended the throne, Odenathus was rewarded with the title of Augustus, and became practically supreme in Syria. He soon restored affairs to order, strengthened his troops by the addition of the remains of the Roman legions, and marched against the Persians. After clearing Roman Mesopotamia of the enemy, and raising the siege of Edessa, he appeared twice before the walls of Ctesiphon.

Palmyra Supreme in the East

On the death of Odenathus, his wife Zenobia, or Bat Zabbai, seized the reins of government in the name of her son, who was not yet of age. Her energy was quite equal to that of her husband, but she was lacking in the diplomatic skill which had enabled the latter to preserve at least the appearance of being a vassal of Rome, and thus successfully to maintain his difficult position. As "Regent of the East" she laid claim to both Asia and Egypt, invaded the valley of the Nile, and advanced into Asia Minor—sufficient cause for a declaration of war on the part of Aurelian, the new emperor, who realised that unless a decisive step were taken it would not be long before the last trace of Roman power would disappear in the East. Egypt was reoccupied by the Romans in the year 270 A.D., after a severe struggle; and in the next year Aurelian himself appeared in Syria at the head of a powerful army. The forces of Zenobia were defeated at Antioch and at Emesa; but Palmyra, difficult to approach and still more difficult to besiege, still remained in her hands. However, when Aurelian made it clear that he intended to march on the capital, she lost courage; under cover of night she fled towards the Euphrates in order to escape into Persian territory. It may have been that she also hoped to relieve the city with the aid of a Persian army; but she was immediately pursued and taken prisoner by Roman cavalry. Thereupon Palmyra opened its gates to the Romans, and the empire of Zenobia fell. A riot of the citizens in the year 273 A.D. ended with the complete destruction of the city, which never again arose from its ruins. Like a mirage of the desert, this strange empire suddenly arose on the eastern horizon of the Roman world, and as suddenly disappeared.

Fall of Zenobia's Empire

In Armenia, the rugged mountainous country from which the Euphrates and Tigris flow down into the Mesopotamian plain, a warlike, freedom-loving people had developed from a mixture of ancient Caucasian and Iranian elements. The original Armenian race must have been very heterogeneous. The presence of numerous small feudal demesnes and strongholds scattered over a land of ravines and forests caused their country to be from the earliest times a theatre of private warfare and a home for robbers and fugitives of all nationalities. As time passed, the influence of Iranian culture and religion smoothed over the roughness of the native population. The example of the Persian emperors fired the ambition of Armenian rulers, and at the same time aroused the national spirit to the development of unexpected power.

Expansion of Armenian Empire

For a time it appeared as if the Armenians were destined to become the most representative of all the Iranian peoples. Under the rule of Tigranes the Armenian empire expanded with surprising rapidity and power. But the mutual jealousy of the various sovereigns of Western Asia bore bitter fruit. Tigranes did not make the slightest attempt to assist his great western neighbour, Mithradates, king of Pontus, in his hopeless struggle with Rome; and with the same composure the Parthian emperors rejoiced when Tigranes, cast down from his high estate, knelt before Pompey and placed his crown in the hands of the Roman consul.



THE CAPTURE OF ZENOBIA, QUEEN OF PALMYRA, BY THE ROMANS

After the death of Odenathus his wife, Zenobia, reigned. She did not maintain the fiction of vassalage to Rome, and the emperor Aurelian marched on her capital, from which she fled, but was captured by his cavalry.

After the overthrow of Tigranes, there was no longer any hope of Armenian supremacy Several times Armenia was separated into a western and an eastern province, temporarily, as early as the days of the Seleucidæ, and again during a later period, when the Eastern Roman Empire and the Persians agreed as to the division of their spheres of influence. Moreover, the country was usually a patchwork of dominions of minor princes, who seldom refused to accept foreign aid against their own sovereign.

It is scarcely worth while to give a detailed account of all the varying phases of the wars between Rome and Parthia, or to enumerate the constant changes that took place in the dominion of the Romans and Parthians in Armenia. It is, however, important to remember that throughout this troubled period, in spite of all confusion that reigned in political affairs, the Armenian consciousness of nationality constantly increased, and finally produced a spiritually independent people; and that this people, by developing a purely Armenian civilisation, ultimately succeeded in defeating the attempt of the Iranians to acquire a position of intellectual supremacy.

The decay of these world powers, largely brought about by their own fierce rivalry, prepared the way for the advance of Islam. The process of disintegration, which marks the period between the close of the Alexandrian epoch and the earliest of the Arabian conquests, rendered the task of the Mohammedan generals easier than it would otherwise have been, but it does not in itself explain their success. The empire founded by the Arabs after the death of Mahomet was the result of an influx of new blood, brought by the nomads, who once more were pressing forward from the Arabian peninsula, and were beginning to flood and overwhelm the more highly civilised but decaying races of Western Asia. Signs of this expansion had not been wanting in the previous period, as we shall see when we turn later to Arabia itself in order to trace in greater detail the earlier periods of her history, and to define the events which preceded and led up to the victory of Islam.



THE EMPIRE OF PARTHIA

AS a result of the wars of Alexander the Great, the Persian nation was suddenly cast down from its position of supremacy, and placed under Greek rule. The dominion of the Seleucidæ also rested upon a Greek foundation, and found its most powerful support in the Hellenised cities of Syria and Mesopotamia; within Persia, strangely enough, the civilisation of the Greeks took firmer root in the eastern mountain districts and in Bactria than in the western and more ancient provinces of Iran. But the Seleucidæ soon recognised the impossibility of holding their vast empire together, and decided to move the centre of government to the west, and we have seen that a new Power arose in the east, which, unlike the Seleucid empire, was never brought within the Roman dominion.

The New Power in the East

Even during the most gloomy periods, the old civilisation and religion of Iran had not been wanting in a place of refuge. Atropatene, a small Persian state, had all the while preserved its existence in the mountainous country of the north-west, in the neighbourhood of Lake Urumiya. This district was either overlooked or intentionally spared during the stormy period of Alexander; for, according to all appearances, it was the seat of no temporal power, but a region sacred to the priestly class of Persia, a sort of Iranian ecclesiastical state which Alexander did not venture to destroy.

The origin of that religion itself, and the history of its founder, Zoroaster, or Zarathustra, are obscure. It would seem to have been the outcome of an effort to spiritualise the Hindu doctrines at an early stage. Its fundamental tenet is the dualism which sets in opposition, in eternal war, the spirit of Good, Ormuzd, and the spirit of Evil, Ahriman; and undoubtedly influenced later Western conceptions of Satan. Fire and, by consequence, the Sun are the visible manifestations of the good spirit, the emblem of purification. Hence arose the prohibition against burning the bodies of the dead, extended first in the case of the priesthood to prohibition of burial. The Zoroastrians have their representatives at the present day in the Parsees of India, who "bury" their dead on a high tower, where the corpses are consumed by birds of prey.

It is significant that the foundations of the Parthian nation do not seem to have been laid by a man of Iranian blood, but by a Turanian, a member of one of the nomadic tribes, of which many had already won for themselves a secure position in the steppe lands of Central Persia. But the Turanian ruling house that gained the position of supremacy in Iran had already become conversant with Persian customs and culture before its advance to power; indeed, it consciously trod in the footsteps of its great Persian forerunners, tracing its origin back to Artaxerxes III., the Achæmenian.

The early history of the Parthian empire was so devoid of interest that the contemporary Greek chroniclers hardly mentioned the affairs of Persia, and have left us little more than a few bare statements concerning them. Moreover, since all Parthian kings were known by the name Arsaces on their accession to the throne, many changes in the succession must have taken place, of which we now possess little or no knowledge. It is probable that Arsaces I., the founder of the dynasty, reigned but a short time. In the year 248 B.C. he made way for his brother and successor Arsaces II., or Tiridates I., who, profiting by the neglect into which the eastern provinces of Syria had fallen, greatly enlarged his dominions at the expense of the Seleucidæ. Unfortunately, the extent of the territory originally occupied by the Parthians is no longer known with certainty. There can be no doubt that it was situated in the north-eastern part of Persia; and that it must have consisted largely of steppes may be inferred

Territory of Parthian Empire

from the fact that the bulk of the Parthian army was made up of cavalry. Although the Parthians were not of pure Iranian descent, both the language and civilisation of the empire were Persian.

Tiridates I. also added to his empire the province of Hyrcania; this included the greater portion of the Khorassan of to-day, of which the inhabitants were especially nearly related to the Parthians. The rulers of the neighbouring kingdom of Bactria, that remarkable Greek state on Iranian soil, were, naturally enough, at first unfriendly to the new empire. With the assistance of the Bactrian king, Diodotus I., Seleucus Callinicus expelled Tiridates from his kingdom in the year 238 B.C.; but Diodotus II. reversed the policy of his predecessors, joined forces with Tiridates, and compelled Callinicus to withdraw. At the end of these wars the Parthian empire may be looked upon as firmly established.

The mountainous country in the west was also conquered by the Parthians, with the old Median capital, Ecbatana. The ecclesiastical state of Atropatene entered into a close relationship with the new empire, without, however, becoming merged in it. In later periods it even happened that this curious nation of priests at times assumed a position of decided hostility to the Persian rulers, who were never looked upon as true Iranians, and allied itself with the Romans. That Antiochus the Great planned a campaign against Atropatene after crushing the rebellion of the Median governor Molon from 222 to 220 B.C. proves only how dangerous this little state had become now that the Iranians had entered into a conflict with Hellenism and the religious influence of the priesthood was beginning to transform itself into a political agency. Artavasdes, the governor then in office, escaped the storm through timely submission in 220 B.C. The third Parthian Arsaces, Artabanus I. (214–196), was also compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Seleucidæ when Antiochus advanced with a powerful army nto Iran and penetrated as far as India in 209 B.C.; but this acknowledgment was little more than an empty form, and the campaign of Antiochus remained for a long time the last attempt made by the Seleucidæ to maintain their prestige in the east. The vigorous efforts towards expansion made by Antiochus the Great in the west, and the rise of the Bactrian kingdom in the east, were great obstacles to the development of the Parthian state. Not until the accession of Arsaces VI., (or Mithradates I.), who came to the throne in the year 174 B.C., did circumstances become more favourable to Parthia. While the empire of the Seleucidæ was in a state of hopeless confusion, Mithradates invaded the western provinces of Iran at the head of his multitudes of horsemen, and advanced into Media and Persis. He next broke through the mountain passes, subdued the Elimaei, who inhabited the south-western slope of the Iranian mountains, and finally appeared on the broad plain of Mesopotamia—a region that was destined long to remain a field of action for the hordes of mounted Parthians.

A Nation of Priests

Seleucid Supremacy in Parthia



ZOROASTER
From a Persian rock sculpture.

In the east, also, the decay of Bactrian power furnished an opportunity for engaging in a successful war, as the result of which Bactria lost several provinces, and finally acknowledged the sovereignty of the Parthian king. An attempt to reconquer Western Iran, made by Demetrius II., Nicator, terminated in the capture of the Syrian king in 139 B.C. Mithradates gave Demetrius the hand of his daughter in marriage, and then endeavoured to place him upon the throne of the Seleucidæ as a vassal of the Parthians. Although this effort to extend the influence of Parthia failed, the Seleucidæ were unsuccessful in winning back their lost provinces. The vast army which Antiochus VII. assembled in the year 130 B.C. was attacked, and the greater part of it destroyed at its winter

quarters in Mesopotamia, almost without assistance from the Parthians, by the non-military inhabitants of Western Iran. With this event the period of wars between the Seleucidæ and the Parthians ended.

Turks Against Parthia

The former contented themselves with their western provinces until they were overcome by the Romans; the latter were soon obliged to defend themselves against new enemies.

Phraates II., the successor of Mithradates, for the conclusion of the struggle with Syria obtained the aid of troops of "Scythian" horsemen; not Aryan Scythians, but probably Turks. The Turks, however, arrived too late upon the scene, and were told that they would have to return to their Turanian home without receiving either pay or plunder. Thereupon they attacked the Parthians, who sought to strengthen their army by enrolling among their ranks the prisoners captured during the campaign against Antiochus. These recruits went over to the side of the Scythians. The Parthians took to flight, and King Phraates was slain on the field of battle in 127 B.C. The Turkoman Scythians, laden with booty, now returned to their native steppes; but their disappearance was followed by a new and still more serious invasion of the nomads.

Another great movement had taken place among the Central Asian races—a movement similar to the many that were constantly recurring in this boundless region. The nomadic tribes of the Yue-tshi, a mixed Turkish-Mongolian race, driven from their homes in the north of China by the Hiung-nu at the beginning of the second century B.C., had thrown themselves upon the regions lying to the south, but were again dislodged and driven still farther southward by the Usun, a race that had likewise been disturbed by the Hiung-nu. After marching through the plains of Turkestan, the Yuetshi finally descended upon the eastern provinces of Iran, and took possession of the kingdom of Bactria,

Mongols in Bactria

about the year 126 B.C. Thus the Parthian empire also was threatened by a formidable enemy upon its very borders. This danger was not to be warded off so cheaply. The Yue-tshi soon succeeded in establishing their power, and by conquering the northern valley of the Indus as well as a portion of Turkestan, secured for their ends the control of populous territories. Mithradates II., perhaps the most able of all the Parthian kings, was all his life engaged in endeavouring to subdue the Yue-tshi, and also to force back the Scythians, who had again attempted to take possession of the western provinces of Iran. In the west the activities of Mithradates were necessarily limited; but it speaks volumes for his political sagacity that he sought to extend the influence of Parthia over the rising nation of Armenia.

On the death of Mithradates II., in the year 76 B.C., it soon became apparent that the wars in the east had not only weakened the Parthian empire, but had also endangered its position in the west. The kings of Armenia, in pursuance of their newly-instituted policy of expansion, took possession of Northern Mesopotamia, and even of the sacred state of Atropatene; and with the latter they also obtained a certain political influence over the whole of Iran. Tigranes, king of Armenia, at that time considered his power sufficiently great to warrant the assumption of the title "King of Kings,"

Tigranes, "King of Kings"

which, as a highly-valued inheritance of Achæmenid times, had descended to the Parthian Arascidæ; in other words, Armenia made preparations for supplanting the Parthians in their leadership of the Iranian race. Tigranes, however, soon became entangled in the wars of Mithradates, king of Pontus, against Rome and lost his kingdom. When Pompey took control of the affairs of Roman Western Asia there were repeated disputes with Phraates III. (Arsaces XII.), king of Parthia, who laid claim to the Euphrates as the western boundary of his dominions; but the moderation of the Romans and the internal disorders that followed the assassination of Phraates by his son Mithradates III., Orodes, prevented the outbreak of a serious conflict. The attempts of the Parthians to regain possession of the provinces that had also been torn from them by Armenia led to no open warfare. In the year 54 B.C. the civil war in Parthia came to an end; and Orodes, now sole ruler, was in a position to enter into the first great struggle with the Roman Empire.

That Rome was unable to gain any permanent success in this war, and that the Roman legions failed to make their

way to India across the mountainous frontiers of Western Iran, following in the footsteps of Alexander, are facts of vast historical significance. The civilisation of the western world, which had once been carried by Alexander as far as the Indus, was destined for more than a thousand years to be cut off from all contact with the world of the east; for the small flame of Greek culture that shed its feeble rays over Bactria counted for little and was soon extinguished.

When the Parthian empire first made its preparations for war with the Romans no one would have ventured to prophesy that the power of Rome would be unable to penetrate beyond the Tigris, or that the Euphrates was destined to become the eastern boundary of Latin influence. The land ruled by the kings of Parthia was great and populous, it is true; but it was possessed of small unity, being rather a conglomerate of small and more or less independent kingdoms. Everywhere, especially in the mountainous districts, small dynasties had been preserved, and retained their independence throughout the storms of the Alexandrian period. These princes played an important rôle in the struggle between the Seleucidæ and the Parthians for the possession of the mountain regions of Western Iran. In the wars with the Romans, however, they took a less prominent part, because the scene of conflict lay further to the west in the Mesopotamian plain.

Armenia Subject to Parthia

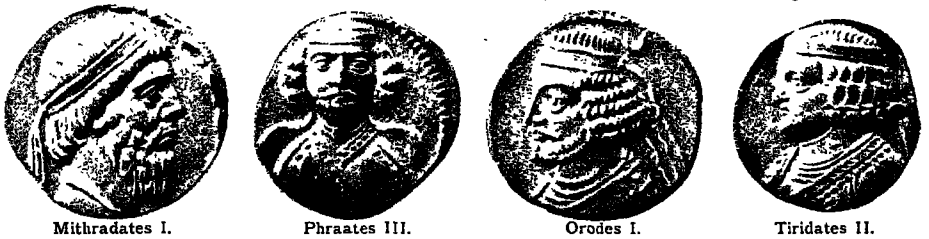
The most distinguished of the minor dynasties—one, moreover, that was frequently independent of Persia—was the Armenian. Here the Arsacidæ had succeeded in placing one of their own family upon the throne. It is worthy of note that in Eastern Persia also, after the government had been overthrown by the Yue-tshi, Arsacid dynasties soon came to the front again, and acknowledged the sovereignty of the Parthian emperor. As in China, the native population, owing to the superiority of its civilisation, despoiled their conquerors not only of their national character, but also of their dominion.

United Parthia Defies Rome

Thus it finally became an easy matter for the Parthians to overthrow the feeble government of the foreigners, and through the installation of a branch of the house of the Arsacidæ, once more to unite the eastern provinces to Western Iran. Hence the Parthian kings were enabled to oppose the Romans with the undivided strength of their empire.

There was also another small kingdom of Arsacid origin in Persia; but of this our knowledge is very indefinite. It appears that on their accession to power the family of the Arsacidæ came to an understanding as to the division of the spoils. One branch obtained the imperial dignity, and the others were granted semi-independent dominions, most of which were situated in the northern part of Persia. Certain hereditary offices also seem to have been given to members of the imperial family—for example, the Suraship, a bearer of which title commanded the forces sent against Crassus in the year 53 B.C. The Sura was also possessed of other important functions, and his title seems to have signified both an office and a family name, somewhat in the way that the name Arsaces was adopted by all the emperors as a title as well as a surname.

The Parthian empire being thus loosely constructed, its military system remained badly organised and thoroughly inefficient. On the outbreak of a conflict each of the separate nations of the empire were called upon to furnish its quota of irregular horsemen. These assembled in helpless masses, differing greatly from one another in armament as well as in methods of battle, and ever ready to scatter in wild flight on the death of their leader. There is also



Mithradates I. Phraates III. Orodes I. Tiridates II.

SOME OF THE RULERS OF THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE

Mithradates I. (174 B.C.) extended the Parthian dominion to Western Iran and Mesopotamia. Phraates III. claimed the Euphrates as his western boundary. He was assassinated by his son Orodes I. Tiridates II. reigned from 33–32 B.C

but little to be said in favour of the Iranian infantry. The strength of the army lay in the mercenary cavalry, mainly Turanian, before whom the Roman legions, for all their uniform equipment, and their magnificent tactics and discipline, were constantly compelled to retreat. Archers, who overwhelmed the opposing forces with a hail of arrows, formed the bulk of the Parthian cavalry, and behind them rode heavily armed lancers, ready at any moment to break through the weakened ranks of the enemy.

It was fortunate for the Parthians that the decisive battles against Rome were fought on the plains of Mesopotamia, where



A ZOROASTRIAN TOWER OF THE DEAD
Zoroastrians are forbidden to bury or burn their dead, but, like the Parsees of India, expose the corpses on high towers where they are consumed by birds of prey.

the hordes of Iranian cavalry found a field well adapted to their peculiar methods of fighting. The effects of the heavy blows dealt by the well-tried Roman legions were completely lost on the endless plain, and the clumsy pilum and short sword were useless against the scattered Parthian squadrons. The latter, fleeing before the legions, poured back upon them a storm of lances and arrows, and returning from all sides, surged over the awkward masses of Roman infantry as storm-tossed waves dash over a sinking ship. The hot sun that beat down upon the arid plain was the best ally of the Parthians, for it placed many a body of hostile troops almost defenceless in their hands, and proved but a small obstacle to the movements of their desert-bred horses. Thus, it was with true nomadic weapons that the Parthians fought and conquered in a region thoroughly adapted to their national methods of warfare. However, the Romans were not completely lacking in allies. There were still remains of former civilisation and abundance to be seen in Mesopotamia along the banks of the rivers. After the conquest of Alexander a number of towns and cities were founded there by the Greeks, the inhabitants of which in later times were by no means inclined to acknowledge the supremacy of the Parthian emperors. As long as the Seleucidæ ruled over Mesopotamia these cities had been the firmest support of their power—indeed it seemed then that the whole land would be Hellenised and permanently united to the culture of the West. After the downfall of the Seleucidæ the Romans became the representatives of the western world. It is true that they were less sympathetic to the Greeks than the Seleucidæ had been; nevertheless, they were far more acceptable to them than the hated Iranian races. That the Romans were able to establish themselves at least in the northern provinces of Mesopotamia was due in a large measure to the influence of the Greek cities.

The Limit of Western Culture

As soon as Romans and Parthians had become close neighbours, a conflict was only a question of time. Julius Cæsar himself looked upon war as inevitable. Nevertheless, the outbreak of the first struggle was due entirely to minor considerations. M. Licinius Crassus was elected consul for the second time in the year 55 B.C., and received from the senate a commission to restore order in the eastern provinces. This important but comparatively humble task promised as little gratification to his ambition as did the plunder to his greed for possessions. Moreover, his being sent to Asia was little more than a compensation granted him by his allies, Cæsar and Pompey, in return for the pitiful part he had already played elsewhere. However, he now resolved to make the most of his opportunities. The deeds of Lucullus, who had returned from Asia with boundless treasure,

Rome Against Parthia

awakened in the vain man a spirit of rivalry, and it was not long before his lively imagination presented to his eyes the vista of a campaign even greater than that of Alexander.

Affairs were not entirely unfavourable to Crassus when he first arrived in Western Asia. The struggle for the Parthian succession between Arsaces XIII. and Arsaces XIV. had just been brought to an end by the assassination of the former, and the new emperor had had as yet scarcely time to seat himself firmly on the throne. King Artabanus I., or Artavazd, of Armenia, voluntarily allied himself with the Romans; and the Mesopotamian cities welcomed Crassus as a liberator. But the consul was unable to take advantage of his position. To

10,000 Captive Romans

shot into the closely formed legions from all sides, as they toiled painfully onward under the hot rays of the sun. After a contest that lasted for two days the remnants of the Roman army took refuge behind the walls of Charran. Crassus was treacherously put to death while negotiating with the Parthian general, and his troops were soon forced to lay down their arms on June 9th, 53 B.C. This unlucky campaign cost the Romans more than 30,000 of their best soldiers, of whom about 10,000 were taken prisoners by the Parthians, and sent to the eastern provinces of Iran. But the Parthians did not follow up the victory, and so lost their natural rewards, Mesopotamia alone falling into their hands. They also failed to



A GROUP OF MODERN ZOROASTRIANS IN PERSIA OF TO-DAY

be sure he crossed the Euphrates in the year 53 B.C. without making a very careful search for a pretext, won several victories over the Parthians, whom he surprised, and occupied a number of cities which offered but little opposition; but in the autumn he recrossed the river in order to seek more comfortable winter quarters,

Parthian Defeat of the Romans

and left the conquered cities under the protection of disproportionately feeble garrisons. The Parthians took advantage of this laxity, and, collecting their forces, marched against the Romans.

The two armies met not far from the city of Charran, on the river Belikh. The Romans were able to effect little or nothing with their short swords in face of the showers of arrows that were reap any advantage from the wars between Cæsar and Pompey, although the latter had prevailed upon them to become his allies. Cæsar's plan to invade Iran was shattered only by his assassination in the year 44 B.C. On the whole, the Parthian successes amounted to very little indeed; everywhere they had been foiled by the stubborn valour of the Romans.

Yet Antony's expedition in 35 B.C. was entirely unsuccessful. He intended to avoid a battle on the Mesopotamian plain, and by invading the mountainous districts of Iran thought to avail himself of the superiority of his infantry. But he neglected to make proper arrangements for provisioning his vast army. When he had advanced as far as Atropatene, he

began to lay siege to the city of Phraspa with insufficient war materials at his disposal, and was soon obliged to retreat and to seek refuge in Armenia, after suffering severe losses. The faithlessness of the Armenians, who did not send the promised reinforcements, contributed not a little to the defeat of the Romans, who soon afterwards—in 30 B.C. —led away the Armenian king, Artavasdes, a prisoner to Alexandria. Shortly after the retreat of Antony, the king of Media and Phraates IV. quarrelled, and as a result the repulse of the Romans led to no further Parthian successes. Antony was even able to form an alliance with the Medes.

Retreat of Antony

During the following years Phraates IV. was fully occupied in maintaining his position on the throne, and consequently he treated the Romans with great deference. In the year 20 B.C. Cæsar Augustus received back from the Parthians the captured insignia and the prisoners of war, to the general satisfaction of the Roman people. Neither Phraates nor his incapable successor took any important part in the Armenian-Roman wars. Several Parthian princes were educated in Rome, not, however, to their advantage, for when one of them, Vonones I., became emperor, his preference for Latin institutions made him so unpopular that he was soon forced to abdicate in favour of a rival, Artabanus III. (Arsaces XIX.), in the year 16 A.D. Artabanus was scarcely more successful than his predecessor; his endeavours to reconquer Armenia failed. A powerful party of his own subjects rose against him with the assistance of the Romans, and finally drove him into the eastern provinces. On his return he concluded a treaty with the Emperor Caligula, was once more obliged to flee, but nevertheless died as emperor in 40 A.D. The civil war continued under his successors also, and disturbances in Armenia and in the East caused the empire to tremble to its very foundations. In the years 58–60 A.D. the Romans and Parthians were once more on such good terms that they finally succeeded in bringing the Armenian question to a peaceful issue. As a result of this the Parthian prince Tiridates went to Rome in 62 A.D., and was there ceremoniously invested with the sovereignty of Armenia, as a dependency of the Roman Empire.

Parthian Sovereignty in Armenia

The decay of the Parthian empire proceeded apace during the years immediately following. The Parthian people became less and less energetic, and the Iranian provinces and principalities gradually gained in independence; indeed, at one time the empire seems to have been divided into several independent states. For many years the Roman emperors showed no inclination to take advantage of the disturbances in the Parthian empire. Trajan was the first to resume the policy of conquest which characterised the age of the Cæsars, and the affairs of Armenia once more furnished a pretext. The great weakness of the Parthian empire was shown by the feeble resistance offered by the Arsaces of the period, Khosru I.; little opposition was encountered except that of the minor princes of the frontiers. Trajan, after the conquest of Northern Mesopotamia, crossed the Tigris, and, with the aid of a rapidly-constructed flotilla, advanced as far south as Ctesiphon, captured the golden throne of the Parthian emperors, and even penetrated as far as the Persian Gulf in the year 116 A.D. Serious disturbances in the newly-conquered region rendered it necessary for the victorious emperor to withdraw his forces after having ceremoniously—but, of course, fruitlessly—appointed a Parthian prince as ruler in his stead.

Trajan Invades Parthia

The death of Trajan, in 117 A.D., brought his unsuccessful undertaking to an end. Hadrian, his successor, hastened to recall the Roman troops from Armenia and from beyond the Euphrates, and thus re-established the old boundary line. Hadrian realised that the days of great conquests were past. Not until the time of Marcus Aurelius was Mesopotamia permanently occupied, and the boundary of the Roman Empire pushed forward to the Upper Tigris. The wretched condition of the Parthian empire finally enticed Caracalla also to seek easily-won laurels through a treacherous attack on Emperor Arsaces XXXI. in 216 A.D. Artabanus V., Macrinus, the next Parthian emperor, was obliged to content himself with the possession of Mesopotamia. Shortly afterwards a complete change took place in the affairs of the Iranian empire, when the dynasty of the Arsacidæ was supplanted by the house of the Sassanidæ.



THE NEW PERSIAN DOMINION

UNFORTUNATELY we have no certain knowledge of the more immediate causes of the change of rulers in Parthia, to which the old name of Persia is restored. The new dynasty of the Sassanidæ was beyond all doubt—as indeed became evident in later times—a more genuine representative of the Iranian race than the Turanian Arsacidæ, who must always have appeared as foreigners to the Aryan Iranians. That the downfall of the Arsacidæ betokened a more or less conscious return to the ancient Iranian spirit was shown by the great importance attached by the Sassanian rulers to questions of religion and unity of belief. The religion of Zoroaster was an exclusively Iranian creation. The early Parthian emperors had never shown the slightest inclination towards religious propaganda; on the other hand, the Sassanidæ were fanatical defenders of their faith. The fact that the Iranian people became more and more enthusiastic in regard to their ancient religion proved only that they too were unable to escape the general tendency of the times. Questions of faith were not only becoming more and more prominent, but were also gradually being transformed into elements of political power. It was during this period that Christianity was beginning to shake the spiritual life of the ancient world to its very foundations; and the waves of this movement had already begun to flow over the frontiers of Iran. If the new religion had struck firm root in Persia, if it had finally won the victory over the worship of fire, then there would have been an end to the isolation of Persia. Iran would have become a member of the western civilised world, just as in later days it became a portion of the Mohammedan empire. The Jewish religion had already penetrated into Persia. There were large colonies of Hebrews in Babylon; and about the year 57 B.C. the king of Adiabene, a dependency of Parthia, within which was included a portion of ancient Assyria, became a convert to the Jewish faith. Toward the end of the first century Christianity had begun to spread over Mesopotamia, and the first Christian missionaries must also have appeared at that time in the highlands of Iran. The priests of Zoroaster were inflamed with anger when they beheld the advance of the new doctrine which diminished their sphere of power in the west, while in the east Buddhism had been at work for centuries in undermining the pillars of their faith. The downfall of the Parthian princes, who had looked upon matters of religion with indifference, may perhaps have come about indirectly owing to the influence of the priests; certainly there is no doubt but that the dynastic change was most welcome to the latter. The very first of the Sassanian rulers appears in history as a religious fanatic, whose accession was especially dreaded by the Jews. Almost immediately after coming to the throne he issued several edicts commanding the suppression of the Hebrew faith. During the following years the Zoroastrian religion became one of the chief means for attaining imperial unity. Its diffusion was the highest duty of the ruler; and the sacred fire remained a symbol of the exclusive and isolated Iranian nationality until it was finally quenched by the waves of Mohammedan conquest. The founder of the Sassanian dynasty, Ardishir Babekan, or Artaxerxes, son of Babek, was born in Persis, the centre of ancient Iran; his family claimed descent from a mythical ancestor, Sasan, and for that reason possessed a hereditary right of priesthood. His father, Babek, seems to have founded a small kingdom in Persis and to have seized the territories of various minor rulers. Although Ardishir vigorously continued his father's policy of territorial expansion, Artabanus V., who

Defenders of the Faith

Iran Rejects Christianity

Founder of the Sassanidæ

died in 224 A.D., permitted him to pursue his way in peace. When it was too late the "King of Kings" took hostile measures against his unruly vassal. Ardishir conquered and put to death Volagases V., the last of the Arsacidæ, on the plain of Hormujan in the year 227 A.D.

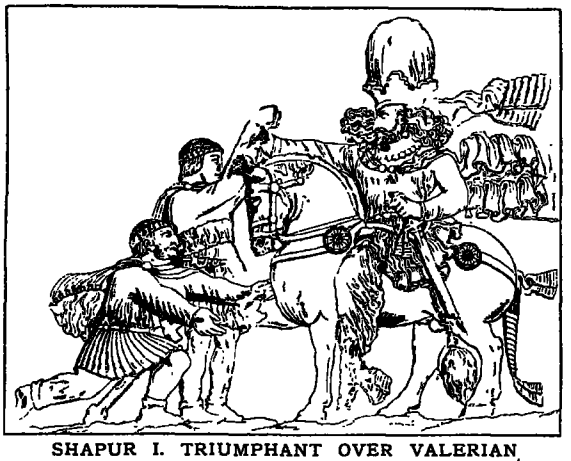


ARDISHIR, THE FIRST OF THE SASSANID KINGS OF PERSIA

Ardishir Babekan extended his power from the small kingdom of Persis until he conquered the last of the rulers of Parthia and formed the Sassanid empire of Persia. From a rock-sculpture showing the king receiving the sacred symbol from Ormuzd.

It was not long before Ardishir was acknowledged as King of Kings by the western provinces of Iran as well as by Armenia; and the east also soon became subject to his rule, the surviving Arsacid princes taking refuge in India. Other branches of the family of the Arsacidæ became reconciled to the new emperor and retained their provinces. A new feature entered Persian history with the appearance of the first of the Sassanidæ. The ancient traditions of the Achæmenian period were brought into prominence once more, and the consciousness of national unity greatly developed. Ardishir had scarcely founded his empire when he hastened to send a pretentious embassy to the Romans, and demanded that they should cede to him the whole of Western Asia. Soon afterwards he sought to regain the lost provinces in Mesopotamia by force of arms. This was in the year 230 A.D. War with the Persians, as the Iranians were once more called in the west, now that the ancient ruling nation had again risen to power, became inevitable—whether welcome or otherwise to the Emperor Alexander Severus. The first campaign, fought in the year 231 A.D., was indecisive. In the interior of Persia, however, the culture of Iran was awakened to fresh life and received the full support of the triumphant priesthood. New towns were founded, schools and temples arose on all sides, the judicial system and the army were thoroughly reformed. Everywhere there appeared evidences of a new development of the true Iranian spirit, and before long the nation deemed itself sufficiently strong once more to enforce its old claims to the sovereignty of Western Asia.

The period of the Persian-Roman wars began with the accession of Shapur I., or Sapor, who came to the throne on the death of his father, Artaxerxes I., in the year 241 A.D. The first campaign opened in the following year; Shapur advanced as far as Antioch, and after several severe engagements had been fought, was forced back to the river Tigris. The Emperor Gordian ceded Armenia and Mesopotamia to the Persians in order to avoid further conflict with a dangerous opponent during a time when serious disturbances were taking place in



SHAPUR I. TRIUMPHANT OVER VALERIAN

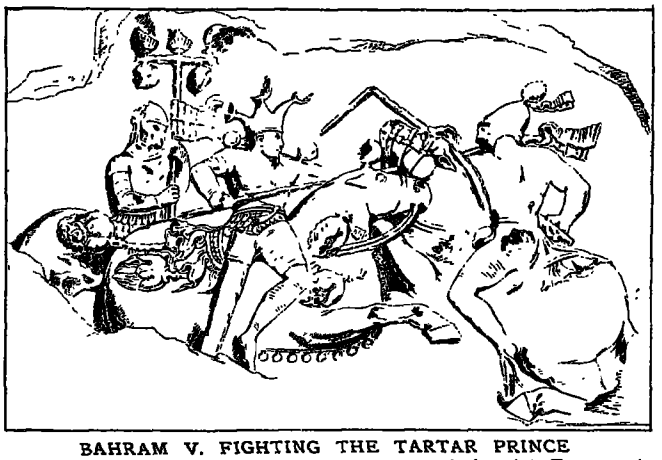
Shapur I. began the period of the Persian-Roman wars; in his second campaign he invaded Syria and took the Roman emperor prisoner.

Rome. The two empires remained at peace with one another until 258 A.D., when the Persian king again invaded Syria, took the Emperor Valerian prisoner together with his army in 260 A.D., captured Antioch, and returned triumphantly to his country with an immense quantity of plunder. The rising power of the Palmyran king, Odenathus, who declared war on Persia and advanced as far as the gates of Ctesiphon, saved Syria from further invasion; for Shapur was no longer in a position to make war on Rome.

The general state of affairs in his own country may also have diverted the attention of Shapur—an enthusiastic believer in the religion of Zoroaster—from matters of foreign policy. As with all the great religions of the world, imitations and degenerate cults were constantly cropping up among the Zoroastrians. An attempt was made to combine the Iranian faith with Christian and Hebrew elements, and thus to crèate a new and uniform belief. The leader of the new movement was Manes, the founder of the Manichæan sect, whose first appearance probably took place in the year 238 A.D. Various accounts have been preserved of his relations to Shapur. It is probable that the emperor, who died in 272 A.D., although at first disposed to treat the Manichæans with tolerance, was finally induced by the orthodox priesthood to take steps toward suppressing the sect. Manes fled to the east, and on his return to Persia in the year 274 A.D., was seized and executed by the son of Shapur, Varanes I., or Bahram, and his followers were dispersed. Thus the danger of a split in the national religion of Persia was avoided. Iran preserved its own character, but became isolated from all other nations, and in the future was obliged to depend entirely on its own resources. There is little to be said about the immediate successors of Shapur, many of whom remained but a short time upon the throne. The war begun by the Emperor Carus in the year 283 A.D., simply because the disturbances in the kingdom of the Sassanidæ seemed to present a favourable opportunity for an invasion, came to an end on the sudden death of the Roman emperor, after his army had advanced as far as Ctesiphon. The campaign of Diocletian in the year 297 A.D. was more successful; after being defeated in one battle the Romans won a brilliant victory over the Sassanian king Narses. A peace favourable to Rome followed. Armenia became a Roman dependency, and several districts beyond the Tigris were surrendered to the victors.



THE SASSANID KING NARSES
In the successful Roman campaign in Persia, Narses was defeated by Diocletian, who obtained a favourable peace.



BAHRAM V. FIGHTING THE TARTAR PRINCE
In the reign of Bahram V. the frontier of Persia was pushed out into Transoxania, the country of the nomads. Tradition alleges a personal conflict with the Emperor of China, which is probably represented in this sculpture from Naqsh-i-Rustam.

The confusion in Persia did not come to an end until the accession of Shapur II., who ruled from 309 to 380 A.D. His was a truly Oriental government with a born leader of armies at the head of the state.

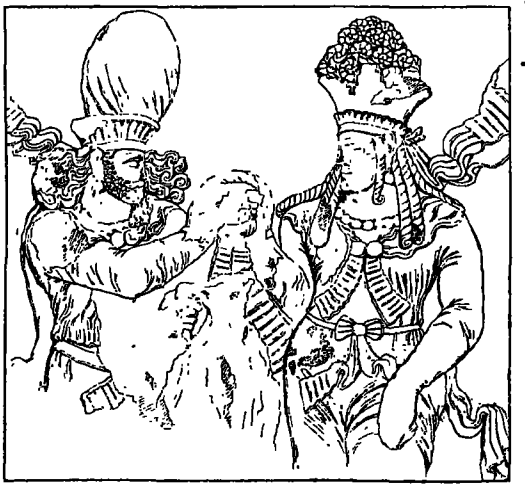
The wars with Rome, now under Constantine, continued, but with little positive result; the first period ended with a futile siege of Nisibis, or Mygdonia, the Roman stronghold of Eastern Mesopotamia, in the year 350 A.D. When the struggle broke out anew in 359 A.D., Shapur captured the strongly fortified town of Amida after a long and severe contest. The death of Constantine was followed by the accession of Julian the Apostate, who also resolved to walk in the footsteps of Alexander the Great. He set out from Antioch with a well-tried army, and without encountering any great difficulties arrived before Ctesiphon in the year 363 A.D.; but owing to a lack of supplies, he had to fall back pursued by the main body of Shapur's cavalry. Soon after Julian was mortally wounded in a battle, and his successor, Jovian, whom the soldiers had elected from their midst, was compelled to make peace on humiliating terms, in order to save his army from annihilation. Shapur recovered Eastern Mesopotamia, together with Mygdonia, and, thus in possession of a favourable strategic position, was enabled once more to turn to Armenia.

Shapur Defeats the Romans

Armenia was the chief scene of the religious - political struggle that was then taking place along the entire western frontier of the Persian empire; it was a struggle between Christianity and fire-worship, Roman influence against Persian. When, on the accession of Constantine the Great, victory was assured to the Christians in the Roman Empire, the rulers of Armenia and Iberia hastened openly to adopt the Christian faith. They naturally encountered opposition from the adherents of the older religion, who immediately endeavoured to win the support of the Persians, while the Christians looked to Rome for protection. Even the influence of Julian the Apostate was insufficient to prevent the struggle between Persia and Rome from becoming more and more of a religious war; and, as a result, it followed that until its downfall the Persian empire, in spite of many brilliant successes, was always on the defensive, never once appearing as a conquering nation.

The sweeping victory of Christianity in the west rendered it impossible for the Iranian faith permanently to keep pace with the Persian dominion in Armenia and Mesopotamia. The Iranian emperors had to content themselves with the persecutions of the Christians, begun by Shapur II., and thus at least to ward off the danger from their own territories in the east. The diffusion of Christianity in the west was, therefore, the fundamental reason why the victorious expeditions of the Persians into Roman territory remained so unfruitful; in effect they were little more than sorties from a besieged fortress, or invasions of robbers on a large scale; they were certainly not wars of conquest. After a struggle that kept him actively employed all his days, Shapur succeeded in establishing Persian rule in Armenia; but he was unable to do away with the Christian religion. Under his successors it was in 388 A.D. finally agreed that Armenia should be divided into two parts, one Roman and the other Persian, each of which was to be ruled by a native prince. We have little definite knowledge of the war in which Shapur was engaged on the north-eastern frontier of his kingdom. It is certain, however, that the Persians had to keep a sharp look-out on the nomads of Central Asia, whose frequent migrations were a constant source of danger.

Why Persia Made no Conquests



BAHRAM V. AND HIS QUEEN

Bahram V. reigned from 420 to 438 A.D., most of his reign being occupied with border wars against the Turanian nomads.

Of the immediate successors of Shapur, the most distinguished was Yesdigerd I.

(399–420 A.D.), called by his subjects "the Bad," who at first seemed to lean towards the Christian faith, but during his later years became an orthodox believer in the religion of Zoroaster, and a fanatical persecutor of the Christians. In consequence of Yesdigerd's barbarity, war was declared by the Romans, and continued through the second year of the reign of his successor, Bahram V. (420–438 A.D.). On the other hand, the Oriental accounts of an alleged conflict of Bahram with the Emperor of China are wholly without foundation, and were, no doubt, derived from an exaggerated report of one of the frequent border wars against Turanian nomads. It is almost certain that during this period the north-eastern boundary of the Persian empire was pushed out further and further into Transoxania, and that the Persians were actively engaged in diffusing their culture and religion among the Turanians, endeavouring to subdue them by the same method that was employed with such marked success by China on her nomadic neighbours. During the Arabian conquest a small nation of Zoroastrians was discovered in the Bokhara of to-day; it bravely resisted the advance of the Moslems, and must at one time have been an advanced post of Persian civilisation in the land of the Mongols.

Wars With the Turanians

The Persian emperors were soon compelled to turn their attention to the passes of the Caucasus also; troops of Huns and "Scythians" had already broken through into Iran, for the inhabitants of Caucasia either could not or would not check their advance. The most important event of the reign of Yesdigerd II. (442–459 A.D.) was the occupation and fortification of the passes of Derbent, near the Caspian Sea. Unfortunately the emperor also permitted himself to be drawn into an attempt to crush the Christians in Armenia, which led only to ruinous wars and remained without permanent result. The Persian kings were well aware of the importance of maintaining their position in the Caucasus; the Emperor Peroses even requested contributions from the Byzantines for the support of the mountain garrisons, on the ground that the closing of the passes was to the interest of Persians and Romans alike. Peroses successfully made war on the nomads, who advanced from the west of the Caspian Sea; but he encountered great difficulty in subduing the Cushans and the Hephtalitæ, who had established a kingdom in Turania, losing his life during the struggle in the year 484 A.D.

The period of Kobad I., who occupied the throne from 488 to 531 A.D., was remarkable in many respects. During his reign there developed a new reforming sect of the fire-worshippers, who were at first favoured by him, but who subsequently involved the empire in serious complications. Although a change in the orthodox belief had been avoided through the suppression of the Manichæans, nevertheless the practical lesson taught by the development of Christianity had produced an effect which was only the more powerful because concealed. The orthodox priesthood became more and more unpopular as time passed; and, as is almost invariably the case in popular revolutionary movements, extreme political and social opinions were united with ideas of religious reform; finally both tendencies found their most definite expression in the doctrines of Mazdak. The religious principles of the reformer, which were in the main a continuation of Manichæan ideals, were far less radical than his plans for a social revolution, of which the fundamental idea, a community of goods—even of wives—was received with the utmost enthusiasm by the people. For a time Kobad seems to have regarded the new doctrines as an excellent means for combating the feudalism into which his empire had fallen, and the overwhelming influence of the priesthood. It was not until later that he learned to his sorrow that communism is not precisely the best foundation upon which to build up an Oriental despotism. Mazdak no doubt meant well; but his methods of improvement were adapted only to the capacities of model citizens, and deteriorated greatly in the hands of his followers. The enemies of reform took advantage of the first opportunity offered them for bringing about a successful reactionary movement. Kobad himself was imprisoned, and for several years deprived of all share in the government. Finally, with the assistance of a tribe of nomads, he succeeded in recovering his crown, but was obliged to repeal all laws which had been framed in accordance with the views of Mazdak.

Reform of the Priesthood

An Early Persian Communist

Kobad's second period of rule was occupied chiefly with wars with the Romans, in which he found a good means for diverting the attention of his people from domestic affairs. For the first war the refusal of Rome to pay the customary contributions toward fortifying the passes of the Caucasus furnished a satisfactory pretext. After this quarrel was settled, a second soon followed. During the very last days of his life Kobad was compelled once more to lead an army to the west, this time in order to maintain the influence of Persia over Lasistan, an important South Caucasian kingdom, whose prince had become a convert to Christianity and an ally of the Byzantine empire.

Renewed Wars With Rome

After the death of Kobad the usual quarrels as to the succession arose, and finally ended in 531 A.D. with the accession of Khosru I., or Anushirvan, whom Kobad had looked upon as the most capable of his sons. Khosru was a champion of the ancient Persian spirit, a friend of the priestly class, and an irreconcilable enemy of the reformers of the school of Mazdak, who had chosen one of his numerous brothers as their imperial candidate. During his reign the Persian empire attained to the height of its splendour; indeed, the government of Khosru I., "the Just," was both equitable and powerful. But it must not be forgotten that it also signified the final victory of reaction and the cessation of all development. Nor did the brilliant feats of arms accomplished by Khosru alter this fact, of which the results were, one hundred years later, suddenly to become manifest, with most disastrous effects.

One of Khosru's first acts was to make peace with the Romans, who agreed to pay a large contribution towards the fortification of the Caucasian passes, which the Persian emperor began anew on a great scale; the Byzantines, however, retained Lasistan. In addition to strengthening the Caucasus, Khosru also sought to fortify the north-eastern frontier of his empire by constructing a great wall after the Chinese model, at the same time substantiating by force of arms his old claims to a portion of North-western India. But he soon turned his attention again to the west; for during the reign of Justinian I. the Byzantine empire had suddenly awakened to new life, overthrowing the dominion of the Vandals in Africa and annihilating the Goths in Italy. The impression made by these events on the Christian inhabitants of his kingdom was alone sufficient to cause Khosru to take measures of defence; and of all defensive measures, the very best, according to the opinion of the Persians, was a sudden campaign of aggression. Consequently, war against the Romans followed in the spring of 540 A.D., without being preceded by the conventional declaration. The Romans had no army with which to fight the Persians, and Khosru, who did not entertain any thoughts of permanent conquest, plundered as many Syrian towns as possible during a short campaign, and exacted from others exorbitant ransoms. He also captured Antioch, which was very badly defended, and refused to return to his own dominions until a large sum of money had been paid him by the Byzantines, and an annual tribute promised. During the next few years he met with less success, and in 545 A.D. a peace was concluded. In Lasistan, however, the war with the Romans still continued; for Khosru was most anxious to acquire possession of this country, which extended as far as the Black Sea, and he even formed a scheme for building a fleet there, in order to attack Constantinople by water. On the other hand, the Romans considered themselves to be the natural allies of the Christian inhabitants of Lasistan, and looked upon the province itself as a bulwark of defence against the encroachments of the tribes of the Caucasus, as well as of the Scythians and Huns, who were ever lying in wait beyond the mountain wall. The struggle ended disastrously for the Persians, and Lasistan was surrendered to the Byzantines in the year 556 A.D. During the last few years of this war the attention of Khosru had been directed chiefly to Central Asia, where affairs had once more assumed a threatening aspect. The kingdom of the Hephtalitæ had fallen before the attack of the Turks, who burst forth from Eastern Turkestan in 555 A.D., and founded a powerful empire in Transoxania. Owing to the skilful diplomacy of Khosru, Persia escaped the consequences of this storm, and was itself able to take part in the sharing of the plunder. During the following years there were

Khosru, a Splendid Reactionary

Raids on Byzantine Dominions

no further military operations on the western frontier; but the spiritual war between Christianity and fire-worship still continued. That Khosru was greatly interested in the religious life of Western Asia was proved by his interference in the affairs of Yemen, whither Christianity had penetrated through the agency of the Abyssinians. With the help of a Persian army the latter were driven out of Arabia in 575 A.D., and a Persian protectorate, which lasted until the time of Mahomet, was established in the south-western part of the peninsula. Towards the end of the reign of Khosru war broke out anew with Rome; Persian troops advanced as far as Antioch, and a number of indecisive battles were fought in Armenia.

Under Khosru's successor, Hormuzd IV. (573–590 A.D.), the boundary dispute continued. One of the results of this constant state of war was that the Persians dethroned their emperor, who was most unpopular and apparently of disordered intellect. His son, Khosru II., was installed in his place, but was straightway compelled to flee the country by Bahram, a general who had risen in revolt. With the help of the Byzantines —who were, of course, well paid for their good offices—Khosru II. finally succeeded in expelling the usurper from his provinces. But the friendly relations with Byzantium were not of long duration; in fact, an insurrection that broke out in Constantinople gave Khosru, or Aparvez, "the Victorious," a welcome pretext for declaring himself in favour of the losing side, that he might set out on a plundering expedition through Syria and Mesopotamia. Although these campaigns of robbery, which began in the year 604 A.D., and constantly increased in radius of action, were of little benefit to the Persians and cost them dearly in troops, they had a marked effect in preparing the way for the Mohammedan conquest. It was owing to these same expeditions of Khosru that the power of Roman Syria and Mesopotamia was broken. The Arabs of the steppes, however, who assisted both Persians and Romans, according to the whim of the moment, became trained in war and pillage, and were constantly being stirred up to the highest pitch of excitement, until finally the hand of Mahomet welded their various tribal elements into a power that Western Asia was totally unable to resist.

Plunder of Syria and Mesopotamia

Preparing the Way for Islam

Persia arrived at the height of her military glory during the years 614–622 A.D. Damascus was captured and plundered in 614 A.D.; Jerusalem, together with the whole of Palestine, yielded in 615 A.D.; Egypt was conquered in 616 A.D. The armies of Persia then advanced into Asia Minor; and finally Persian troops encamped on the shores of the Bosphorus, within sight of Constantinople, at the very same time that a Scythian army was threatening the city from the European side. Heraclius, the Roman emperor, resolved to avert the danger by making a counter attack on Persia. His plan was wholly successful; he advanced through Armenia to Atropatene, destroyed the temple of the Zoroastrians, and compelled Khosru to return to Persia in 623 A.D. During the following years, also, he held the Persians in check, threatened Ctesiphon in 627 A.D., and finally brought matters to such a pass that Khosru was deserted by his own subjects, who had become thoroughly embittered, owing to the excessively heavy burdens of war. The army, which until this time had been encamped opposite Constantinople, retreated in disorder to Persia, and found that Khosru had already been dethroned and put to death in the spring of 628 A.D. The fact that it finally became necessary



KHOSRU II. RECEIVING THE ROYAL DIADEM

Khosru II., one of the last Sassanid kings of Persia, was surnamed Aparvez, "the Victorious." He broke the power of Roman Syria and Mesopotamia and thus prepared the way for the Mohammedan conquest.

to enrol even women in the ranks of the Persian forces is a proof of the terrible loss of life occasioned by the ambition and insatiable greed of the king.

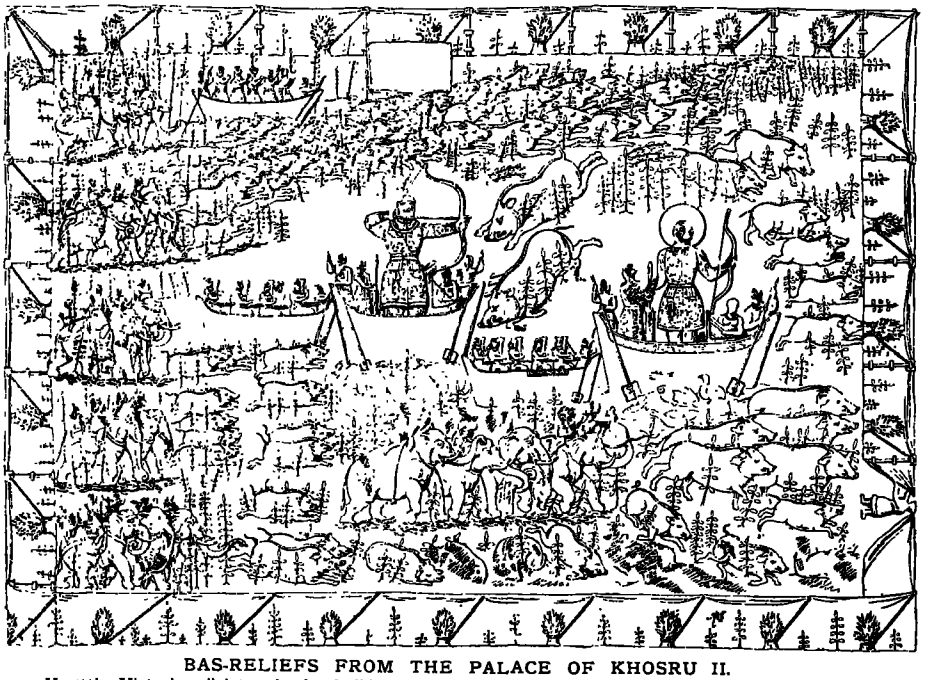
Khosru was succeeded by Kobad II., who reigned seven months only—from February to September, 628 A.D.—and made peace with Heraclius. The reigns of Kobad's successors also were short. Among them were two daughters of Khosru, who came to the throne on account of the lack of male princes, and the grandson of Khosru, Yesdigerd III. (632–651 A.D.), the last of the Sassanidæ. The wars with the Arabs broke out during the first years of Yesdigerd's reign, and at the same time the gradual dissolution of the empire began.

Lack of Male Soldiers and Princes

It has already been mentioned that the exhaustion of the Persian empire—a result of the incessant wars with the Byzantines—contributed greatly to the victory of the Arabs: but that the Persians were so swiftly and thoroughly conquered by the Moslems was due almost entirely to the isolation into which both people and prince had fallen, and to the stubbornness with which they held fast to their obsolete religion and culture. All that was progressive in the teachings of Manes and Mazdak had been forcibly suppressed; and while the most profound religious conceptions were developing in other lands the faith of Zoroaster became utterly ossified.

Practically nothing had been accomplished in either science or art; and when Khosru II. determined to build a city that should surpass Antioch in splendour, the result was little more than a grotesque imitation of Roman models. The pagan philosophers, who sought refuge and sympathy at the Persian court, returned bitterly disappointed to Roman territory. That Persia proved incapable of becoming an active member of the western civilised world, but obstinately preserved its own worst characteristics, only to be compelled finally to exchange them for an even less efficient religion and culture, was one of the greatest misfortunes in the history of Western Asia. How far Christianity would have continued in its victorious course had it not been for the barrier of Iran is hard to determine; at any rate, the great success attained by the one Christian sect that was tolerated by the Persian emperors, the Nestorians, proves that it would have made great progress.

Persia's Lack of Culture



BAS-RELIEFS FROM THE PALACE OF KHOSRU II.

Khosru II., "the Victorious," determined to build a city which should surpass Antioch in its splendour, but the result was little more than a grotesque imitation of Roman models, and this relief from his palace seems to bear out the view.

ARABIA BEFORE ISLAM

THE name Arabia or Aribi did not originally belong to the whole peninsula, but, in the Assyrian inscriptions where it first meets us, designated only the northwestern portion, substantially the Syrian desert and the adjoining districts; that is to say, the region occupied by the nomads who came into contact with the inhabitants of the countries on the Euphrates and of Syria. There, after 1000 B.C., the fourth great migration settled, that of the Arabs themselves, after whom the land henceforth was called.

The Syrian desert stretches along the hinterland of Northern Palestine in its widest extent towards the north. Here to the east and the south of the district of Damascus was one of the most suitable points of attack for Arabian tribes. Here, then, we find Arabs mentioned for the first time. In the great army which Bir-idri of Damascus put into the field against Shalmaneser II., the Arab "Gindibu"—the name is quite regular in the Arabian form, Jundub or Gundub—was also forced to furnish his contingent. We must regard him as an Arab sheikh, who lived within the sphere of Bir-idri's power, and stood in a dependent relation to him, a position which we shall repeatedly find after this time. The mention of this fact signifies the beginning of the Arabian immigration into those parts; that is to say, the beginning of the same great movement which culminated in the spread of Islam.

Beginning of Arabian Immigration

Our next notice is that Tiglath-pileser IV. made expeditions to Arabia and forced various Arabian tribes, whom he enumerates, to pay tribute. He was acquainted with a "kingdom" of Aribi in the north, in the Syrian steppe, which was ruled by queens—for instance, Zabibi and Samsi—who paid tribute and acknowledged the suzerainty of Assyria, as he definitely records, in 738 and 733 B.C. The subject condition of Aribi or Arabi, occasionally enforced by fresh chastisements, is recorded under Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon.

Further to the west, in the land which adjoins the district of Southern Philistia and comprises the borderland of Egypt, or Musri, Tiglath-pileser IV. appointed a Bedouin sheikh as Assyrian "overseer." The district, which hitherto had been subject to Egypt, thus became an outlying Assyrian state under native princes, appointed by Assyria. A theory, according to which there were two "Musris," the one being Egypt, the other an unknown country in Northern Arabia, has lately been put forward. It is sufficient to say that the case made out for this view is wholly inadequate. The Musri over which Tiglath-pileser appointed the Arab sheikh Idibi'ilu as warden of the marches is the borderland of Egypt, not a hypothetical country in Northern Arabia. Idibi'ilu did not hold his own for long; for under Sargon we find that the governor of Musri, who is no longer appointed by Assyria, but is dependent on the "king of Melukhkha," is no other than Pharaoh, king of Egypt, or Pir'u of Musri. The king of Melukhkha is, without question, the Ethiopian monarch with whom Egypt was allied, probably Kashta.

Arabia Under Assyria

Until the year 670 B.C. only the kingdom of Aribi was kept in strict subjection to Assyria. Esarhaddon then, in continuance of his Egyptian policy, attempted to bring additional parts of Arabia under his dominion. The discord between Assyria and Babylonia, which was accentuated by the victory of the military party and the accession of Ashurbanipal, destroyed all these successes won in the spirit of Babylonian influence. Shamash-shum-ukin sought help against Assyria where he could, and summoned into the land the Bedouins, who had been so long kept in check on the frontiers. Other tribes and peoples under their "kings" now meet us as allies of the Babylonians. Besides the kingdom of Aribi, which played

a less aggressive part, there were in particular the Kedar, nominally a vassal people of Aribi, and west of these the Nebaioth of the Bible, or Nabaiati of the cuneiform inscriptions. The Nabaiati possessed the Syrian desert up to the borders of the Assyrian province; they harassed the vassal states, Moab and Edom, situated on the border of the steppe and roamed northward as far as Damascus. They were, it is true, chastised by Ashurbanipal's expeditions, and driven out of the region of civilisation; but it lies in the nature of the circumstances that they would be kept back only as long as they continued to fear a power which at once anticipated every encroachment. When, therefore, with the death of Ashurbanipal and Nabopolassar's declaration of independence, the beginning of the end drew near, the Arabs had a splendid opportunity. Naturally they immediately advanced once more. According to a notice in the book of the prophet Jeremiah, which may perhaps be traced to the annals of the kings of Judah, Nebuchadnezzar undertook an expedition against the Kedar and punished them by destroying their stronghold Hazor.

Raids of the Arabs

The want of native accounts from the Persian era deprives us also of any notices as to the relations of Persia with Arabia. The few materials, however, that we possess are at least sufficient to corroborate the idea which we should naturally form from the preceding and the subsequent periods. So long as the Persian empire was firmly consolidated and adopted a strong foreign policy, even the Arabs had to curb their eager passions. At a later period they were restrained more by concessions and payments. When Cambyses marched against Egypt they were compelled to supply him with the means for his march through the desert, more particularly the camels. Darius mentions North Arabia — the Assyrian Aribi — among the countries subject to him; but since it is uncertain whether some other names of subject peoples refer to Central and Eastern Arabia, we do not know how far his sovereignty extended. In any case the advance of the Kedar against Palestine, begun under Ashurbanipal and Nebuchadnezzar, assumed wider importance. In Yemen the kingdom of the Sabæans was now flourishing; in the north political organisations, like those of the Aribi, Kedar, and Nabaiati, were the medium of trade. We do not know when these peoples were replaced by others; and after all it does not signify what the names of the sheikhs were who maintained relations with the Persian officials. The rule over the wild sons of the desert certainly was secured to them by this alliance, and yet they remained in all their sympathies and ideas no less Bedouins than their countrymen. They cannot indeed be compared with the Bedouin sheikh, who is distinguishable from his poor fellow-tribesman, his "brother," only by a larger share of cattle; they had by this time thoroughly well civilised themselves, so far as it was a matter of filling their purses.

Persia and Arabia

An inscription from Teima, which belongs to the Persian or the New Babylo-Assyrian time, gives us a picture of the life and organisation of the North Arabian towns and states with their sanctuaries. This resembles far more the picture which some of the towns of Palestine and Israel present during the time of the kings than that which the later Islamitic tradition has given of the conditions of the pre-Islamitic time. There is a city sanctuary with a specified domain, which is reserved for the maintenance of the cult and its priests. The hierarchy, at all times ready to open the doors of the temple to new divinities, was bound then to take measures for their support. The necessary means were derived partly from the temple income, partly from the royal revenues; even the king, therefore, had his "fiscal" domain. The language of the inscription is not Arabic, which was not written until Mahomet, but Aramaic. This result of civilisation was therefore borrowed from Assyria or Babylonia, where Aramaic was the written and spoken language of commerce; the portrait of the high-priest Salm-ushezib shows Assyrian finish, and he himself bears a name constructed on Babylonian analogy. With the written language were borrowed also the political and fiscal terminology.

Life in Early Arabia

The fall of the Persian empire would have been a welcome opportunity for the Arabs to invade the civilised countries had not more energetic opponents soon arisen in the Hellenistic states. In addition to this, civilisation had already

taken a somewhat firmer hold of these countries. The beginnings, traces of which may be seen in the kingdoms of Aribi, with the inscription of Teima, developed during the Hellenistic era into the kingdom of the Nabatæans, which now exists for some three centuries as a marvellous creation of the mixed civilisation of North Arabia, thoroughly preserving its national Arabian character, on the borders of a civilisation which was once Oriental but now impregnated afresh with Hellenism. Of this kingdom an account has already been given.

The annexation of Nabatæa by the Romans resulted in the prosperity of a new Arabian commercial state—namely, Palmyra, for which also we may here refer our readers to a previous section.

With the fall of the restraining state of Palmyra (273 A.D.) the Saracens, a name by which the Arabs inhabiting the steppes were usually designated by the Romans, found the civilised country open to them whenever the Roman power was unable to protect the frontiers with a firm hand. In the wars of the Romans, Byzantines, and Sassanidæ, they played an important part as lords of the desert, and as valuable allies in the struggle for the broad districts on the Euphrates so easily traversed by them.

Rise of the Saracens

Both Byzantium and the court of the Sassanidæ were unable to extend their frontiers further than the region of civilisation, and were compelled, like the Assyrians and Persians, to allow the Saracens to retain their territory. As usual, it was thought to be enough if the sheikhs of the adjoining tribal districts were won over and brought into loyal relations with the empire. Just as Idibi'ilu was appointed by Tiglath-pileser to rule over the frontier district of Egypt, and the Nabatæans were the allies of the Romans, so now the Byzantines and Persians favoured the formation of Arab states on their frontiers, the "kings" of which, by their support from the Great Power, and with titles conferred on them by it, ruled over the sons of the desert. With an organisation superior to the Bedouins, they formed a protection both for the Persians and Byzantines against the advance of subsequent tribes. In this way both the princely house of the Ghassanidæ, on the Byzantine frontiers in Syria, and the Lachmidæ, on the Babylonian frontiers, ruled under Persian supremacy as the connecting link and barrier between civilised country and steppe. They discharged this function, perpetually warring against each other, both on their own initiative and in the service of their liege lords, with ceaseless skirmishes and raids, which the earliest Arabian poets known to us have sung. Finally, the pent-up power of the tide of nations in the heart of the country broke a way through, and, under the flag of Islam, once more flooded the countries of civilisation, helping the "Arabian migration" to force its victorious way, and at the same time rolling on the last wave of the Semites which the history of the world knows. In the ninth century B.C. we found the first Arabs on the frontiers of civilisation pressing on after the Aramæans; in the seventh century A.D., 1,600 years later, the Islamitic movement inundated the East. Since then 1,200 years have elapsed, and we cannot perceive any new movement in the cradle of the Semitic nations, which is, to a great extent, depopulated.

Last Semitic Migration

We now turn to Eastern Arabia, with the coast districts on the Persian Gulf, and their mysterious centre, Yemama. The Chaldæans, or Kasdim, whom we meet in the civilised zone first in South Babylonia, probably came hence into the light of history. So far as they became Babylonians, they no longer concern us here. But as the western districts, already occupied by "Arabs," present, even in the time of Ashurbanipal, distinct traces of their earlier Aramæan inhabitants, we may equally conjecture that remains also of the Kasdim were left in Arabia itself, until they were absorbed by the onward movement of the Arabs. The Bible is acquainted with Arabian Kasdim, who are to be found in the East—that is to say, toward Yemama; in these may fairly be seen the first stratum of the great migration. Later they are regarded in the introduction to the Book of Job on the basis of ancient tradition as being, with the Sabæans, the rulers of Central Arabia.

Chaldæans in East Arabia

A part of the Kasdim must have occupied the Arabian maritime districts of the Persian Sea. As the Chaldæans of the South Babylonian "sea country" were masters of all that was still left of Babylonian navigation and commerce on the Persian

Sea, so these Chaldæans also must have occupied the island of Dilmun, or Bahrein, which in ancient times was in close connection with Babylonia. Under Sargon, their king Uperi, after the capture of Babylon, entered into the same relations with the Assyrians which he had hitherto kept up with Merodach-baladan, the king of the "sea country" and of Babylon. Whether this king was an Arab, or still a Chaldæan, must remain uncertain. Esarhaddon records his expedition into the interior of Eastern Arabia, called by him Bazu, the biblical Buz; it can hardly be looked for elsewhere than in Yemama. Eight "kings" and queens are enumerated whose "towns" had been captured. If ever information should reach us from this still unexplored corner of the earth, we may become acquainted even there with the traces of a culture of which notices are found in Arabian writers.

Yemama Invaded by Assyria

Strabo, following old accounts, can speak of Chaldæans on the sea, whose capital and seaport, Gerrha, formed the emporium for the trade with the interior. Antiochus the Great, after the rebellion of Molon, once more secured the eastern provinces of his empire and resumed friendly relations with the Indan kings. Further, on an expedition undertaken against the maritime districts of the Persian Sea, in return for a very considerable "present," he confirmed, in 205 B.C., the independence of the Gerrhæans, who were all-important for the commerce on the Persian Sea and with the interior of Arabia.

Under the dominion of the Parthians, who did not trouble themselves about such trifles as the command of the sea and trade, a successor of the former Chaldæan "sea country" arose in the shape of Messene. This was a state which, about the beginning of the Christian era, ruled the delta of the Euphrates and Tigris, as well as the adjoining coast districts, and thus controlled the trade with Babylonia, so far as it yet existed on the Persian Sea, and did not go through Yemen. From some notices of classical writers and from coins, we are acquainted with a series of kings of Messene, who were subject to the influence of Hellenism and Parthia, and had a preponderance of Aramæan subjects, but nevertheless are certainly to be claimed as Arabs. Possibly, the head of the dynasty was a certain Adad-nadin-akh, whose inscription has been found upon bricks in a late addition to the palace at Tello, the town of the old Babylonian kings and patesis of Lagash; he had, therefore, built his palace there. The inscription is bilingual, being written in Aramaic and Greek.

State of Messene

The most important part, as the seat of a peculiar civilisation, was played in antiquity by the south, or rather the south-west corner of Arabia, the so-called Arabia Felix. This name was, perhaps, originally given, owing to a misapprehension, which took the Arabian meaning of Yemen, the land lying to the right of the Arab looking toward the east, in the sense of the augur, to whom the right side was the propitious quarter. The country, a lofty mountain plateau, with isolated higher elevations and better watered than the north, although only by mountain streams, was always carefully cultivated in the times to which the inscriptions refer. Here also the rivers forced the inhabitants to take measures to dam up the precious water in times of brimming streams, and to store it against the dry seasons. The dam of Mareb, the ruins of which are still standing, appeared to the Arabs of the desert as something marvellous.

Civilisation of Arabia Felix

Numerous ruined sites have been already discovered, the old names of which are mentioned in inscriptions still visible; but little has been done towards furnishing science with what is on the surface, to say nothing of all that is hidden in the earth, to which these remains bear witness. Where only copies of the inscriptions themselves, hastily made by an intrepid traveller at the risk of his life, are forthcoming, it is impossible to form any idea of the remaining ruins; and the temples and buildings to which the inscriptions refer, and the site of which they record, exist for us only in name. These do not enable us to draw a connected picture of the political development.

The most ancient inscriptions which we possess belong to an age which ends in the eighth and seventh centuries. A proof that a connection already existed with the great civilised countries is shown by the character of the script. This alphabetical writing, which has been developed from the general Semitic alphabet,

with the invention of some additional symbols for the greater variety of sounds in this South Arabian Ma'initic or Minæan language, may perhaps be taken to represent in the perfection of its form a completely independent effort, as compared with the North Semitic alphabet of the Aramæans and Canaanites. Alphabetical writing was invented in Phœnicia. There the Canaanites and Aramæans became acquainted with it; and thence it made its way to Yemen. It is evident that the same, or perhaps a still brisker intercourse was then maintained with the regions of civilisation from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean than in the times on which light is gradually being cast by inscriptions. We found indications of this intercourse in the ancient Babylonian inscriptions of Gudea and Naram-Sin. The very same streams of nations, which can be traced from the south of the peninsula so far as the civilised countries of the Mediterranean during the Islamitic age, were flowing at the time when the "Canaanites," and later the Aramæans, flooded the East. The tribe of the

Sabæans Masters of Yemen

Sabæans, which submitted to Assyria, is mentioned as early as the reigns of Tiglath-pileser and Sargon. Of all the Arabian tribes then mentioned, it is the one which dwelt farthest to the south. Later on, the Assyrians were no longer able to re ain their hold upon the country. In the north, therefore, "Arabs" became masters of the country. At the same time, in the south also, inscriptions mention attacks of "Arabs." These inscriptions, however, are not composed in the language of the Minæans, but in a dialectic variety. The new masters of the south are the same people whom we have recognised as allies of the Assyrians—namely, the Sabæans. Approximately about Esarhaddon's time the Sabæans became masters of the country in place of the Minæans. For a half century, therefore, we now meet with "kings of Saba" as masters of Yemen and its civilisation.

The "treasures of Arabia," henceforth, according to Oriental ideas, belong to the Sabæans; Sabæans now meet us in the Hebrew inscriptions, in place of the Minæans, and the intercourse with the south is now maintained by the Kedar. It is seen that Assyria had once more to her own advantage separated the masses of nations in Arabia. The position of the great Minæan nation, which had dominated the south, was now taken by two peoples of different stock—the Kedar are "Arabs," but not the Sabæans—who, being enemies, acted as a counterpoise to each other and rendered it easier for Assyria to rule. Esarhaddon had shown

Assyrian Policy in Arabia

himself here, in continuation of his Egyptian policy, to be one of the acutest of Oriental statesmen. If finally the "Assyrian policy" had not prevailed over the "Babylonian," the trade of Arabia would have been carried on under the control of Assyria. The struggle between Assyria and Babylon destroyed all this: for although the Kedar could be chastised, any influence over the south was lost. The Sabæans were able to withdraw from this Assyrian guardianship and to assert their independence. The realm of Saba had its most important towns situated south of the Jof country of the Minæans. The capital is Mareb, as it appears up to the Himyaritic conquest. The kingdom remained purely Sabæan for several centuries. Then other nations obtained the supremacy, and their rulers styled themselves "kings of Saba."

The period of Ma'in and Saba, down till about 300 B.C., was that of Yemen's greatest prosperity: and for a considerable time it commanded the trade with India. Babylonia was then cut off from the Persian Sea by the Chaldæans. Egypt was not in a position to hold the Red Sea, and thus it was a prosperous time for the intermediate trade, which went through Arabia from Yemen by land northward to the Philistine towns, or from the ports of Western Arabia to the harbours of Egypt. On the caravan route which led from Kuser, or Leukos Limen, on the Red Sea to Thebes and Koptos, the main line of communication of the Thebaid to the sea, Minæo-Sabæan inscriptions, besides numerous Egyptian ones, have been cut on

Greatness of South Arabia

the face of the rocks, testifying to the former commercial greatness of South Arabia. While the Sabæans were dependent for their intercourse with Palestine and the Euphratean countries on the services of the North Arabian Kedar, and afterwards of the Nabatæans, through whose land they passed, the Minæans had reached those districts directly; in Warka, or Uruk, in South Babylonia, a monument of these relations has been found in a

Minæan inscription. When once more the Orient came under a dominion which embraced the old seat of culture in Babylonia, and at the same time was able to revive the Babylonian ideas in place of the Persian feudal economy, the conditions were then altered to the disadvantage of South Arabia. Sabæan interests must have been greatly prejudiced when the Ptolemies really set free the sea route round Arabia, and actually utilised it for trade, while the Seleucidæ reckoned with the Nabatæans and Gerrhæans as middlemen. Ptolemy II., Philadelphus, in his wars with the Seleucidæ circumnavigated Arabia and made an attack on the Seleucid possessions on the Persian Gulf. He and his successor founded on the western coast of the Red Sea, as far as the straits of Babel-Mandeb, Egyptian colonies, which sapped the vitality of the Sabæan commerce with Abyssinia and Egypt. These colonies undoubtedly formed stations for a direct Indian trade. In Adulis, or Zulla, where the communications between Saba and Habesh, or Abyssinia, crossed, Ptolemy III., Euergetes, erected an inscription commemorating one of his victories. Thus it was not a revived Babylon of Alexander that became mistress of the Indian trade and the ruin of Saba, but Alexandria.

Sabæan Commerce Ruined

We must place in the third or second century B.C. the internal commotions to which the realm of Saba was exposed. These brought another people into power, the Himyarites, who had settled originally in the south-west corner of the peninsula and occupied the capital at this time. Their kings, just like their predecessors, style themselves "kings of Saba," but add to this title "and of Raidan," the name of their Himyarite ancestral fortress. Thus, then, no longer Sabæans but Himyarites rule in Saba.

At the same time, or soon afterwards, the lords of Abyssinia, whither formerly the Sabæans had sent colonies, began, as the Egyptian power dwindled, to extend their dominion beyond the seas. Starting from the reoccupied Adulis, where one of their kings, Zoskales, son of Alizanes, had his inscription cut by the side of that of Ptolemy Euergetes, they crossed to Arabia and first gained a firm footing on the coast. There they had possessions as early as the first century B.C.; that is, the sea, or at least intercourse with Abyssinia, was barred for the rulers of Saba, who were exposed to continual attacks from the Abyssinian governors. The same king, who perpetuated his name as Adulis by the side of Ptolemy's, then subjugated the whole Arabian coast to Leuke Kome, the former seaport of the Nabatæans, and Yemen, so far as the Sabæan royal title, which became gradually wider, laid claim to it. From that time, from the second or third centuries A.D., Sabæa is subject to the suzerainty of Abyssinia.

Extension of Abyssinia

This sovereignty did not escape opposition; the South Arabian Himyarites made many, and occasionally successful, attempts to eject the Abyssinians from the country. They succeeded, indeed, for a considerable time in once more winning their independence under the standard of Judaism, which in the last centuries before the Christian era conquered Arabia and led to a revival of power in the old state of Yemen. Our information does not go so far as to enable us to recognise the political parties and currents from which the new prosperity was developed; from the nature of things, however, the general condition of affairs may be approximately ascertained. Judaism was a power to be reckoned with in all the great empires of civilisation, played a foremost part in the kingdom of the Nabatæans, and was especially prominent in Egyptian business life. In its still eager desire to proselytise it was spread by commercial connections into South-west Arabia, whither the civilised empires could not go with their armies, although they had long cherished a desire for the land, the possession of which would have put the Indian trade into the hands of its masters. The prevailing religion there was that of the old Sabæans. The shrewd Jewish men of business were opposed to this heathenism. While the ruling nobles who owned the land clung to the old religion, the missionaries of Judaism found receptive hearers, where it was possible for men to appreciate in their own persons the value of their promises of happiness—namely, among that section of the population which was engaged in trade and industries. In contradistinction to the nobility, it must have been the town population which received Judaism. By its connection with Judaism this population acquired new

Judaism in Yemen

strength; the land-owning nobility lost more and more in influence before the increasing wealth and power of the commercial class. Finally the kingdom saw itself compelled, as, for example, in Adiabene also, either by peaceful or by violent changes to side with the merchant class rather than with the nobility, and to accept Judaism; that is to say, the organisation of the feudal state formed by the Himyarite conquest had been transformed into that of a mercantile community. This reorganisation put Yemen in a position to expel the Abyssinians from the country. For some centuries now Jewish rulers held the dominion as "kings of Saba."

Such independence did not benefit Rome. The Roman attempts under Augustus to obtain possession of Yemen had been made in a period when the Himyarites were weak, and yet they had failed. Judaism had led to a recovery of strength; then the spiritual power could be opposed only by another spiritual power, and this was found in Christianity. Even the dominion of Judaism in Yemen had its dark side and could not but meet with a period of decline. Christianity, the religion of the poor, which followed on its track, here found its path made easy. Just as Judaism had once formed the standard under which the vigorous components of the people rallied against a ruling class which was no longer competent to discharge its duties, so all who were excluded from the government joined forces under the sign of the Cross.

Jewish Kings in Yemen

The legends of the Christian saints recount terrible sacrifices of human life, which the movement against the ruling class entailed. Despite all the zeal of the Christians in the lands of civilisation, they could not win an unaided victory. The attempt had to be made indirectly. After about the fourth century Abyssinia was won for Christianity from Egypt. The relations maintained with the Ptolemies were once more resumed, and were kept up by the Church, for Abyssinia always received bishops from the patriarch in Alexandria. Since Egypt was Byzantine, the kings of Abyssinia were on friendly terms with the court of Byzantium, and both shared in the common desire for the treasures of Yemen. But at Byzantium the lesson once taught to Augustus had not been forgotten, and it was recognised that the desired goal could only be reached by the former conquerors, who had been driven out by Judaism; an attempt was therefore made to incite these to a new attack. In the year 525 A.D. the Jewish-Sabæan empire fell, after a valiant resistance by the last Jewish king, Joseph dhu Nuas, who is represented in the martyrologies as a monster, but is better appreciated in the otherwise obscure Islamitic tradition. Yemen became more Abyssinian and was governed by an Abyssinian viceroy, who was very independent. Tradition tells of four rulers, the reign of one of whom is recorded in inscriptions. This state of things lasted some seven hundred years.

Fall of the Jewish Kingdom

The Jewish monarchy fell, but the old nobility was not yet destroyed; the latter was forced naturally to place its hopes on the opponents of the Byzantines, the Persians. A descendant of the noble families went first to Babylonia and then to the Persian court in order to obtain help from that quarter. Khosru Anushirwan crossed over to Arabia and drove out the Abyssinians about 575 A.D. Yemen became first a vassal state of Persia, then a province under Persian governors. Christianity and Byzantine influence were thus overthrown. The old nobility and paganism once more enjoyed a brief renaissance until, some fifty years later, the great union of all Arabia under Islam was completed.

In the rise of the power of Mahomet also the opposing forces which were at work are recognisable; the threads which ran to Byzantium and the Sassanian court can be taken up in Mecca. The nobles of Mecca, who commanded the trade of the important caravan station, were closely connected with Yemen. Mahomet, however, having failed to find help from Judaism, looked for support against the Meccan nobility, strengthened by the paganism of Yemen, from the Abyssinians who, even then, had possessions on the Arabian coast. But the old forces and contrasts of civilisation outlasted the conqueror and his bandits. The party of the nobility reached the throne, and the contrast between Northern and Southern Arabia is continually reappearing in the history of the following centuries.

The Rise of Mahomet

HUGO WINCKLER
LEONARD W. KING

MECCA, THE HOLY CITY OF THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD, SHOWING THE PILGRIMS AT THE KAABA

Mecca was the religious centre of the old pagan tribes of Arabia. It grew up around the Kaaba, a square temple, in the wall of which was inserted the famous Black Stone. Although Mecca was hostile to Mahomet in his early days and had to be conquered by him he preserved the sacred character of his birthplace and its temple, adapting it to his monotheistic religion.



WESTERN ASIA FROM THE TIME OF MAHOMET

BY DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ & LEONARD W. KING, M.A.

THE HEROIC AGE OF ISLAM

THE inhabitants of Arabia are separated into two distinct classes as a result of differences of occupation and manner of life. Even during the period of temporary union at the time of the Mohammedan conquests, the cleft caused by these differences was but superficially bridged over. The free Bedouin nomads who dwell in tents on the pasturages of the steppes, whose possessions are their flocks and herds, look down with hatred and contempt upon the agriculturists, who cultivate the scanty fertile regions—"dragging the plough with their own hands like slaves"—and crowd together, with labourers and menials, in the villages and towns. On the other hand, the agricultural classes, superior to the Bedouins both in numbers and in education, return the predatory nomads of the desert their dislike in full measure. Nevertheless, the Arabians never succeeded in making a mark in history until both elements forgot their differences, and were welded into temporary unity by a higher power. No unifying force can emanate from the Bedouins, for their whole endeavour is towards disintegration; moreover, the poverty of their land is in itself an insurmountable obstacle to their joining together in large bodies. The tribal sentiment, which transcends all other instincts and emotions, excludes the conception of nationality, and constant feuds only increase antagonisms, and hinder all mutual understanding. Even the possibility of the scattered races being forced into union by the sword of an ambitious ruler is small; for every attempt of this nature has first to reckon not only with the independent character of the Bedouins, to whom servile obedience is unknown, but also with the all-powerful clan interests, before which the very idea of individuality vanishes. Before the time of Mahomet, however, the thought had never occurred to any Bedouin that he might make use of religious fanaticism as a means for union; few races of Western Asia are so completely devoid of the religious emotions as are the inhabitants of the Arabian steppes. In this respect the Arabs stand in sharp contrast to their Semitic relatives, the Jews of Palestine, as well as to the ancient Semites of Babylonia, whose ability, first to extend their influence over the lands of Sumerian culture, and finally to attain a position of supremacy, seems to have been due almost entirely to their advanced religious development. There was no such thing as a perfected mythology in Arabia. Nothing more than a cult of rude images—which originated, no doubt, in the worship of ancestors—and a veneration of certain stars and trees.

together with an indefinite belief in a supreme being. Allah, was exhibited by the Arab of early times. Even to-day the true Bedouin has but little interest in matters of belief, and is far enough from being a fanatic; to him the prohibitions and dogmas of the Koran seem scarcely to be in existence. This scanty development of religion and insuperable indifference to matters of faith is an outcome of the poverty of imagination of the Arabian people, a characteristic which has also left unmistakable traces in the later civilisation of the peninsula. Glowing passion, a tendency toward romantic unrestraint, and finally the gift of brilliant oratory, easily conceal in the Arabs their lack of creative genius. Herein lies the most profound difference between East and West.

Bedouins' Scanty Religion

Europe is a continent of discoveries and of unlimited progress, a land of nations that constantly endeavour to extend their influence and power; on the other hand, the Mohammedan East, imperturbable in its self-sufficiency and composure, is a region that recognises neither labour nor war as other than a means for obtaining sensual enjoyment and undisturbed pleasure of life. Thus the Oriental and, above all, the Arab of the steppes conceal behind the veil of romance a spiritual inactivity which they are never able to overcome. The only art that is cultivated in the desert, the poetry of the Arabians, is very different from the poetry of Europe. The Arabs have never succeeded in the free and imaginative forms of composition that seem to be the peculiar gift of Aryan Indians and Persians, as well as of Europeans—he is fettered to the actual; to present facts in bold comparisons and images is his greatest glory, and dexterity in the manipulation of metre and rhyme is to him an indispensable requirement. The Arabian mind is distinguished chiefly by its mastery of dialectic; and, naturally, this feature is also reflected in Arabian verse. The poet is a warrior in the world of intellect; with biting metaphor and satirical play on words he falls upon the enemy of his clan. He proclaims in triumph the glory of his tribe, and with mingled praise and scorn spurs on the soldier to heroic deeds. In this sense, at the time of Mahomet, poetry was almost a common possession of the Arabs, and the ability to make verses was even more necessary to the success of a leader than his sword and lance. The development of Bedouin poetry played an important part in the unification of the Arabian tribes, and had its beginnings about a hundred years before the birth of Mahomet.

Poetry the Art of the Desert

Before the birth of the Prophet it seemed impossible that a vast, passionate, spiritual movement, capable of bearing an entire people along with it, could arise in such a race, yet nothing short of such a movement could have rendered the inhabitants of the Arabian peninsula a danger to the neighbouring world. And it was at the very centre of the Arabian world that precisely such a movement arose—at first of a religious nature, but later national — which gave to the people of Arabia a dominion over Western Asia that was to last for centuries. This movement began in Mecca, and its leader was Mahomet.

The rise of Mohammedanism was closely connected with the character and history of two cities, Mecca and Medina, both of which are situated in the steppe lands of Western Arabia, the former not far from the coast, the latter further inland, and close to the elevated plateau. The two cities differed from one another in every respect, and seemed to have been predestined to rivalry from their very origin. The doctrines of Mahomet could have arisen only in Mecca, and it was simply the hostility between Meccans and Medinans that saved them from destruction.

The Holy Cities

Mecca was the Rome of Arabia, the central point of the feeble religious life of the old pagan tribes. In a barren, desolate valley, that was but seldom exposed to the ravages of sudden rain-floods, was situated a very ancient sanctuary, the Kaaba, a square temple built of unhewn stones, in the wall of which was inserted the famous "black stone"—a meteorite, believed once to have been white, and to have descended from Paradise. According to a later legend, accepted by Mahomet, the temple was known as the oldest house of God; and was supposed to have been built by Adam and restored by Abraham. For a long time the Kaaba, like so many other Arabian sanctuaries, may have been only occasionally visited by the Bedouins who dwelt in the neighbourhood, until finally a small settlement



CARAVAN GUIDE



BEJA ARABS



A MOUNTAINEER



GROUP OF BEDOUIN HORSEMEN ARMED WITH THEIR LONG LANCES



BEDOUIN TRIBESMAN



A GROUP FROM PETRA



BEDOUIN SHEIKH

TYPES OF THE NOMAD BEDOUIN RACE OF ARABS

Photos Underwood & Underwood

arose, the existence of which in the midst of the desert was rendered possible probably through the discovery of a spring called Zemzem. The water of this spring, which in later times became one of the most venerated objects in the Mohammedan world, is at the present day drinkable, indeed, but strongly impregnated with mineral salts. Perhaps the water was originally valued on account of its medicinal properties; it is possible, however, that the presence of foreign elements may also have been due to the bad drainage of the city that gradually grew up about the spring.

The Sacred Zemzem Spring

In the middle of the fifth century A.D., under the leadership of Kuzai, the Qurais forcibly obtained the custody of the sanctuary and settled down about the Kaaba, which at that time had long been an object of pilgrimage. The restless, predatory Bedouin tribe soon found a rich means of livelihood in sheltering the pilgrims and in supplying them with food and water, and was thus led to exchange its old nomadic pursuits for commerce. In a short time the favourable location must have greatly furthered the prosperity of the city. The pilgrimages to the Kaaba—in which no fewer than 360 tribes placed their clan deities under the protection of the black stone—had during early times led to the custom of looking upon certain of the months of the year, the first, seventh, eleventh, and twelfth, as sacred, during which every feud must cease, and the pilgrims be permitted to travel undisturbed to the places of worship; at the same time a way was opened up for inland trade and intellectual communication between the isolated Arab tribes. Long before the city of Mecca was founded, the pilgrims had been in the habit of assembling at certain places during the holy months for the purpose of holding fairs, where they exchanged not only material wares, but also products of the intellect. The most celebrated market was at Okaz. Even when the rise of Mecca caused a falling off in the commercial prosperity of this city, as late as the time of Mahomet, the boldest and most eloquent men of the tribes of Arabia assembled there in order to recite poems, competing with one another in singing the praise of their clans and celebrating the deeds of their countrymen, or striving to win the prize offered for the best love songs. The sheikhs of the tribes, under the presidency of a "king of the poets," were the judges in the competition, which took place during the months of peace, and of which the result was awaited with intense interest throughout entire Arabia.

Founding of Mecca

Thus during the months of the pilgrimages the attention of the whole peninsula was directed towards the sanctuaries, of which there were several in addition to the Kaaba. But as soon as the inhabitants of Mecca began to take advantage of their opportunities for commerce, their city became the centre of Arabian life, the single point at which a union of the scattered tribes could take place. There are many indications leading to the conjecture that in the course of time a monotheistic belief, either the Jewish or the Christian, would gradually have taken possession of the sanctuaries and have filled the pilgrimages with an entirely new spirit, had it not been for the fact that a strange religion displaced both; a religion that, although it arose from external sources, became essentially Arabian in nature, having its development in Mecca, while through it the politically unimportant land of Arabia was suddenly assured dominion over a boundless empire. In contrast to Mecca, a settlement of Bedouin nomads of the Mahadite race, who are not townsfolk at all in the ordinary sense of the word, Medina was inhabited by various tribes of the hostile group of stationary Arabs, called Yemenites, after the most important of their provinces. Medina is situated in an oasis on the innermost terrace of the elevated plateau, copiously watered by springs that flow down from the neighbouring mountains. At the time of Mahomet's birth the people of Medina were industrious peasants, who guided the plough with their own hands and irrigated their own date groves, but showed little interest in either cattle-raising or commerce.

Medina, the Prophet's Refuge

There was a further ground of difference. Several of the stationary tribes dwelling round Medina had turned to the Hebrew religion; and although the bulk of the population of the city remained faithful to the old animistic belief and joined in the pilgrimages to Mecca, nevertheless the inhabitants of Mecca, ever watchful of their own interests, looked upon the Medinans with increasing apprehension.



ARAB MERCHANTS OF THE HOLY CITY OF MECCA



EXAMPLE OF ARAB DIGNITY



YOUNG ARAB WOMAN



MOHAMMEDAN WOMEN OF ARABIA WITH THEIR CHILDREN

TYPES OF THE ARABS WHO ARE SETTLED IN TOWNS AND VILLAGES

inasmuch as they had discovered signs of Jewish propaganda in their own city. The Medinans certainly showed themselves to be true Arabs; there were constant feuds between the two chief tribes of the city, and thus all united action was rendered impossible. Not until Mahomet arose did these dissensions end. The religious-military movement that began after the appearance of Mahomet was at first limited for the most part to a severe struggle between the two cities, the true Bedouins of the desert appearing on the scene only as predatory spectators, or as auxiliaries; never once did they have the decision of an important battle in their hands. Owing to their closer concentration, the town dwellers possessed a vast superiority over the scattered Bedouin hordes. Judging from the size of the army that fought under the flag of Mahomet at the time of his attack on Mecca, the population of Medina and its immediate neighbourhood could not have exceeded 16,000 souls. Even to-day, in spite of the advantage of processions of pilgrims and consequent traffic, the number of inhabitants of the same territory can scarcely amount to over 20,000. Mecca, on the other hand, had been exceptionally favoured from the very beginning, and apparently possessed a somewhat denser population. Of the other towns of the Hedjaz, Tayef, to the south-east of Mecca, alone seems to have been of any importance. In fact, Mahomet had first looked to Tayef as a place of refuge instead of Medina; but his plans fell through because of the determined hostility of its inhabitants.

Rivalry of the Cities

The conjectured date of Mahomet's birth is April 20th, 570 A.D. His family, although old and distinguished, had become impoverished at the time of the Prophet's birth, and had fallen into the background. Mahomet's father, Abdallah, who died two months after his son was born, left to his heirs a very modest fortune; and when Amina, the mother of the future Prophet, died a few years after, the boy was thrown mainly upon the charity of relatives, one of whom, his uncle, Abu Talib, although himself poor, treated him with the greatest kindness. For a long time Mahomet was unable to better his condition; he was compelled to hire himself out as a shepherd, and even, later, when he first entered the service of Kadija, the widow of a rich merchant, he seems to have accepted a very humble post. Although opinions are divided as to whether or not Mahomet made various commercial journeys to Syria and Southern Arabia with his uncle, it is beyond doubt that after his twenty-fifth year he several times accompanied the caravans of Kadija, and was thus brought into closer touch with the adherents of more developed religious beliefs. In the meanwhile the chief sources of inspiration for his doctrines were to be found in Mecca itself, where there was no lack of proselytes to Judaism, and whither germs of Christianity—to be sure in a very garbled form—had been brought by traders and slaves from Southern Arabia and Ethiopia. Mahomet, who was decidedly unpractical by nature, seems not to have been a success as a merchant, but was suddenly freed from his material cares by an unexpected event. Kadija, although considerable older than he, chose him for her husband, and married him in spite of the opposition of her relatives. Until his fortieth year the Prophet lived the life of a quiet citizen in Mecca; and how little he thought of an attack on Arabian polytheism during these years was shown by the fact that he named one of his sons Abd Manaf—that is to say, servant of the deity Manaf, It may be remarked here that of the numerous children Mahomet had by his several wives, all, with the exception of a daughter, died before him and consequently do not figure in the history of Islam.

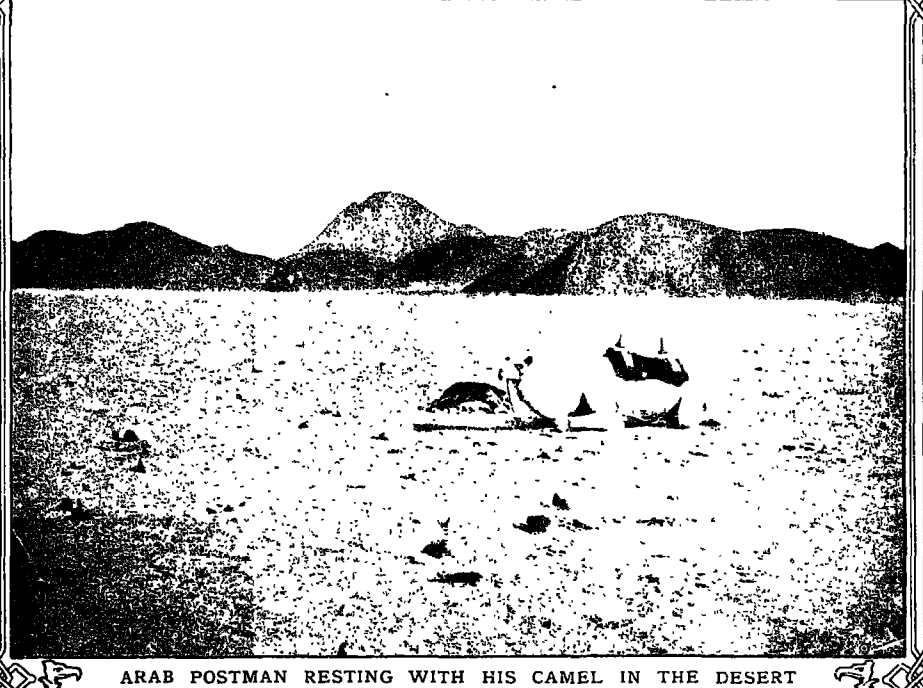
The Prophet's Family

Mahomet's Early Life

Finally, Mahomet, whose inquiring mind had eagerly absorbed ideas from both the Hebrew and Christian religions, became convinced that he was called upon by Allah to do away with the polytheistic worship of the Arabians, to transform the Kaaba—to which as a true citizen of Mecca he held fast with unshakable faith—into a temple of the One God, and to construct from the fragments of Christian and Hebrew doctrines, with which he had happened to become acquainted, a new and purely monotheistic form of belief. His activity was, therefore, confined to the simplification and re-establishment of that which was already in existence rather than to creative reconstruction, for which as an Arab he lacked the necessary intellectual



AN ENCAMPMENT OF NOMAD BEDOUINS ON THE PLAINS



ARAB POSTMAN RESTING WITH HIS CAMEL IN THE DESERT

SCENES IN THE DESERT LIFE OF ARABIA TO-DAY

Photos Underwood & Underwood

qualifications. The imaginative descriptions that appear in the Koran concerning either the delights of Paradise or the terrors of Hell, are nothing more than confused echoes of the folk-tales and myths of other races which were employed by the Prophet chiefly in order to supply a historical foundation for his doctrines, such as is possessed by the Old Testament. The scoffing assertion of unbelieving Meccans, who claimed that many of the sayings of Mahomet were clumsy imitations of those fabulous Persian stories which in later times formed the nucleus of the "Thousand and One Nights," and had just then penetrated to Arabia, was significant enough. In general, the revelations of the Prophet concerned matters of practical life and civil morality—in fact, the simple ethical code of the Koran is the best and the most powerful portion of the Mohammedan faith.

Code of the Koran

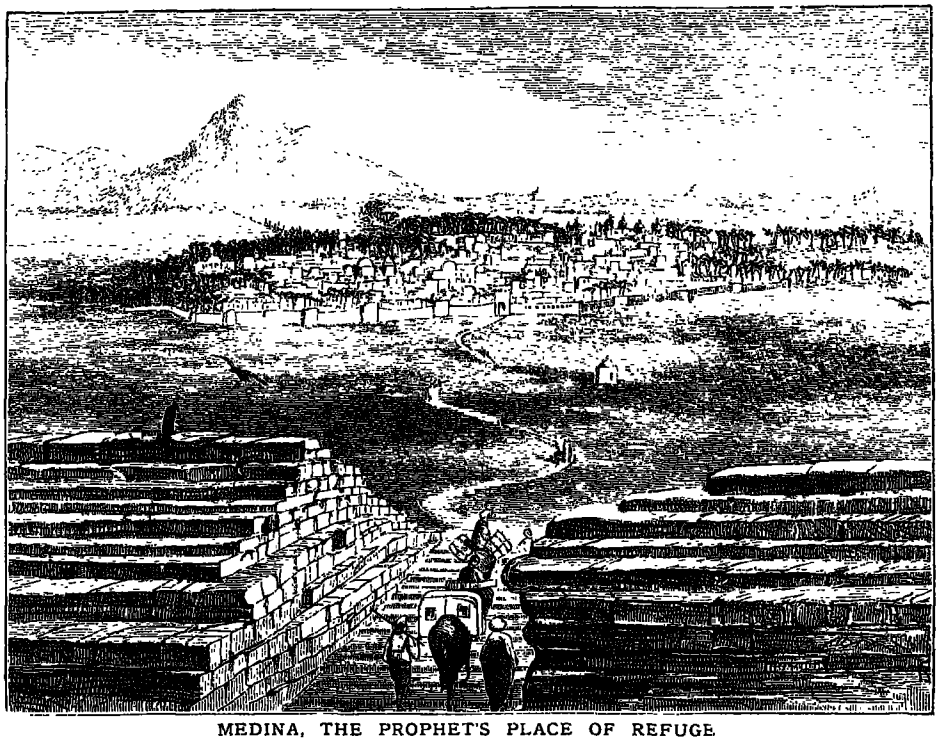
When, in the fortieth year of his life, Mahomet experienced the vision in which he alleged that the archangel Gabriel revealed to him his mission, a portion of the inhabitants of Mecca had already received a certain preparation for a reform in their belief through their intercourse with Jews and Christians. However, the personality of the new prophet aroused at first but little confidence. His family, the most important factor in the life of an Arab, had a good name to be sure, but nevertheless was impoverished. Mahomet himself, although distinguished in appearance and of benevolent nature, did not possess such characteristics as were likely to make the greatest impression upon Arabs. He was a bad poet, and the smallness of his right to boast of warlike virtues became more and more evident as time went on. "Couldn't God have found a better prophet than you?" was the cry that greeted him on his first appearance in Tayef. He had the mystical qualities of his nature to thank for his final victory; and although these very characteristics were ultimately to be traced back to an epileptic complaint, they were always looked upon by him as a gift from heaven, and announced as such with evident sincerity.



MAHOMET'S ARRIVAL AT MEDINA

Mahomet's migration to Medina, in 622, was the first step toward the unification of Arabia, for it meant the triumph of religious over tribal sentiment. From that time the Arabian empire began, Mohammedans reckoning time from that year.

He himself was the first convert to the visions and dreams in which his constant meditations on the true faith became plastically embodied. He learned how to heighten his states of ecstasy through fasting and long hours of prayer, and gradually succeeded in developing the tenacity of purpose and undaunted confidence which rendered his personality irresistible, and were a constant attraction to new adherents. At first he had no thought whatever of deception; but as time went on, the inner voice frequently showed a



MEDINA, THE PROPHET'S PLACE OF REFUGE

Medina, the second city of Arabia, is situated in an oasis on an elevated plateau. When the hostility of the orthodox drove Mahomet from Mecca he sought refuge there, and made it his centre until he conquered Mecca.

most remarkable docility in respect to the Prophet's personal affairs and intentions.

Nevertheless, the Mahomet of later years was no mere impostor. No longer a prophet, he was then the ruler of a vast and constantly growing empire; and it was the necessity that arose from his position which forced him into a half involuntary combination of sincerity and dissimulation, a characteristic that finally becomes a second nature to all leaders of multitudes. In later years, also, his visions were associated with serious attacks of an epileptic character, which he could scarcely have simulated. Personally the Prophet was modest in his requirements, setting aside the sensuality which constantly led him to increase the number of his wives, and prepared for him many a mortification. Fortunately for him the Arabians, like most Oriental peoples, are very lenient in regard to this point. Simplicity in food and drink undoubtedly appealed to him; but in sexual matters his sympathies were by no means with the ascetics.

Simplicity of the Prophet

It was with no finished dogmatic system that Mahomet first appeared. For a long time his position in respect both to Christianity and Judaism, neither of which he thoroughly understood, was undecided; in fact he even displayed a passing inclination to recognise, as a matter of policy, the chief gods of the Meccans, at least in the form of intermediary spiritual beings; though he soon hastened to withdraw that concession. The germ of his teaching was from the very beginning a pure monotheism bound up with a simple but impressive doctrine of immortality. Beyond doubt, the minute descriptions of heaven and hell produced a deeper impression on the pagan Arabs, whose conceptions in regard to the life beyond were extremely meagre than did any other portion of his doctrines.

By thus combining the visionary accounts of what was to take place in the future with his easily understood ethical teachings and the indispensable prescriptions of ritual, Mahomet succeeded in creating a religion that was throughout adapted, by reason of its simplicity and

directness, not only to awaken the interest of a half-civilised people, but also in a certain measure to subject them to discipline. The Koran, which gradually arose as a firm pillar of the religious edifice, was not written by Mahomet himself—indeed, it is doubtful whether the Prophet knew how to write at all; it was not until after his death that the fragments of his revelations and sayings were united into a book. Owing to his innate bashfulness, it was long before Mahomet could summon up enough courage to appear in public. His first disciples were the members of his own family. The prophet's wife Kadija, his daughter, his nephew Ali, later his slave Zaid, and finally a friend, the honest Abu Bekr, were the earliest converts, to whom as time passed other adherents, such as Othman, who later became caliph, and, above all, Omar, the true representative of the Mohammedan policy of aggression, joined themselves.

Mahomet's First Disciples

Not until the fourth or fifth year after his first revelation did Mahomet resolve to preach to his fellow-tribesmen: and his first efforts were attended with very small success. All the while his family protected him after the Arabian custom, at least from the ill-usage with which the innovator who attacked the worship of the gods, and therewith the commercial prosperity of Mecca, was constantly threatened. The greater portion of his disciples, many of whom were members of the lower classes or slaves, and who, through their defiant behaviour had aroused the anger of the citizens of Mecca, fared far worse than he, and in all probability were the cause of the at first cool, not to say hostile, attitude of the higher ranks of society. For a time a number of the converted turned to the Christian Abyssinians—an incident that was perhaps not without its influence on the later doctrines and views of the Prophet. Mahomet himself, although safe from bodily harm, was in a most disagreeable situation. Especially unpleasant were the jeers of scoffers who demanded miracles or benevolently offered to send for a celebrated physician to cure him of his lunacy. After the death of Kadija and of his uncle Abu Talib, his position finally became unbearable. He was compelled to look about for a place of refuge where men were not unalterably hostile to his teachings.

Mahomet Driven from Mecca

After having been driven from Tayef, where he had sought assistance, Mahomet's choice fell upon Yathrib, the jealous rival of Mecca, which he afterward named Medina. Pilgrims were in the habit of making annual journeys to the Kaaba from Yathrib, as from almost all other parts of Arabia. The Prophet, who possessed relatives in Medina on his mother's side, had established connections with some of these Medinan pilgrims, and was favourably heard by them, for they had already become partly estranged from the worship of a plurality of gods, owing to Jewish influence; moreover, unlike the inhabitants of Mecca, they were not prejudiced against his doctrines by apprehensions for their material interests. A Mohammedan community arose in Medina, which soon far exceeded the settlement at Mecca in number; and finally the Prophet himself determined to emigrate thither with his followers, although at first he, as well as every other true Meccan, was an object of hatred and of suspicion to the people of the rival town. Thus was the first great step taken toward the unification of Arabia. Religion was victorious over tribal sentiment; and from the very moment that Mahadites and Yemenites joined together under the banner of the Prophet the period of Arabian empire began. It is not without reason that Mohammedans reckon time from this year of the Hegira, or "the Flight," A.D. 622.

Arabian Unification Begun

The number of emigrants capable of bearing arms who gradually arrived from Mecca could scarcely have been over one hundred; but the accession of the greater part of the inhabitants of Medina, who placed themselves under Mahomet's orders as *ansâr*, or "helpers of the Prophet," furnished him with an army at one stroke, and rendered his final triumph certain. The Prophet met scarcely a single irreconcilable opponent in Medina; but, on the other hand, he had the greatest difficulty in establishing even a moderate amount of unity in the loosely banded community that practically acknowledged no chief; and he was at first obliged to be content with reconciling so far as was possible the two principal tribes into which the population was divided. This he accomplished by means of his great influence, and through the erection of a mosque, the first centre of the Mohammedan faith. However, all his attempts to convert the Jewish

inhabitants of the region, in whom he had placed great hopes, failed; even the concession first granted to the Jews, permitting men in prayer to turn toward Jerusalem instead of toward Mecca, remained without effect, until finally the favour of the Prophet turned to hatred, and he resolved on the destruction of the Jewish tribes.

Mahomet was soon entirely absorbed by the quarrel with Mecca. He saw the absolute necessity of subduing the inhabitants of the spiritual centre of Arabia if he ever expected to gain any great influence over the widely scattered tribes which forgot their disputes only during the months of pilgrimage to the Kaaba. The fact that Mecca, as an artificial settlement, was dependent upon its traffic and the importation of food products opened to Mahomet the possibility of worrying and injuring his unbelieving countrymen by watching the roads and making sudden descents on caravans in the usual fashion of Arabian private warfare. He had but little success at first; but on one occasion, having missed a caravan to Mecca, which he had determined to attack, his band encountered an armed force that had been sent out from Mecca for the protection of the threatened caravan; and thus the first pitched battle took place—at the wells of Bedr. Although greatly outnumbered, the Moslems won; and Mahomet, who had viewed the struggle from a distance, sent rich spoils and triumphant news of victory to Medina. This was in the year 624.

Mahomet's First Battle



MAHOMET, THE PROPHET OF ALLAH

Mahomet was born in 570 A.D., and it was not until he was forty that he started the destruction of Arabian polytheism which ended in the unification of the Arabian race and their subjugation of the Near East.

The wealth and distinction obtained by Mahomet through the victory at Bedr enabled him to establish still more firmly his position in Medina, and above all to come to a settlement with the irreconcilable Jewish Bedouin tribes of the neighbourhood. First of all the Benu Kainukah, who were able to put 700 armed men into the field, and possessed a strong fortress not far distant from Medina, felt the weight of the Prophet's wrath. They called in vain for assistance from one of the chief clans of Medina, with whom they had been once allied. Only a safe conduct to Syria was granted to them; their possessions fell to the Moslems.

Bedouin Jews Expelled

In the autumn of 624 the believers finally succeeded in capturing a Meccan caravan on the road to Babylon. But in the spring of the next year the grave tidings reached Medina that an army of Qurais, strengthened by the addition of several Bedouin tribes, and numbering some 3,000 warriors, was advancing against the city under the command of Abu Sufiyan, a sheikh of Mecca, tacitly chosen to be leader, who was now determined to wash away the ignominy of the defeat at Bedr in the blood of the Moslems. Mahomet would gladly have awaited the attack within the walls of Medina, but the impatience of his companions, who saw that their fields were being laid waste, soon necessitated his setting out against the Meccans at the head of about 1,000 fighting men.

The Prophet met the enemy near Mount Ohod, and was immediately deserted by

300 of his followers, who fled at the very sight of the enemy. The battle ended in the rout of the Moslems, and the Prophet, who wore a coat of double chain mail and an iron helmet, and this time had himself taken part in the struggle, escaped being made prisoner by a mere chance. The battle resulted in the loss of some seventy of the faithful, and of about twenty of the Qurais, and in spite of its insignificance was a severe blow to the reputation of the Prophet. The Meccans, delighted with their triumph, straightway marched back to their native city.

Rout of the Prophet

Mahomet then sought to awaken fresh courage in his followers by an attack on the Jewish tribe Nadir, and succeeded in compelling them to emigrate to Syria. Thus the Prophet was now in a position to reward his faithful disciples with possessions of land; and all had time to settle themselves in their new homes, an expedition that had been planned against Mecca falling through owing to the unusual dryness of the next few years.

This delay gave the indefatigable Abu Sufiyan an opportunity to form a league against Medina, which was joined even by tribes of Central Arabian Bedouins, who had been roused to action by the Jews, and were also well aware how greatly their liberty was threatened by the growth of Moslem power. The religious influence of Mecca was in this instance of the greatest assistance to the Qurais. The Quraidhah, the last Jewish tribe that had been permitted to remain in Medina, were also concerned in the alliance.

This time Mohammed's plan of remaining on the defensive met with no opposition; a deep ditch was dug for the protection of the single vulnerable side of Medina, on the advice of a Persian freedman, and behind it the Prophet and the 3,000 armed men then at his disposal took their position. This primitive fortification, the first defensive work ever seen in Central Arabia, was completely successful in preventing the hostile army, three times as large as that of the defenders, from undertaking any serious operations; and the approach of winter finally rendered it necessary for Abu Sufiyan to withdraw his forces. The Qurais had no sooner disappeared than Mahomet marched forth and fell upon the Jewish Quraidhah; the men to the number of 700 were beheaded.

Siege of Medina

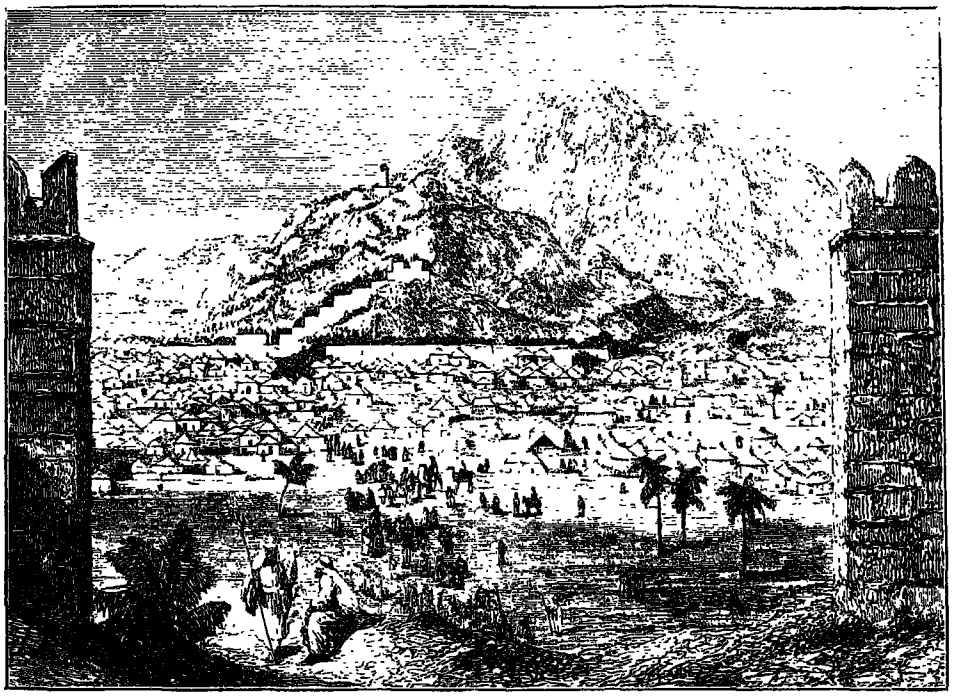
and the women and children were sold to the Bedouins.

All the while Mahomet was, and remained at heart, a Meccan. While he was resolved to win the victory for monotheism, he saw that it would be better for his cause not to destroy the beginnings of a common Arabian cult, such as existed in the sanctuary at Mecca, but rather to adapt the latter to the requirements of his own faith. His attachment to Mecca sufficiently explains the fact that he had always retained in view the object, first, of becoming master of the sacred city without any unnecessary bloodshed, and secondly of obtaining the right to take part in the general pilgrimage of Arab tribes to the Kaaba at the head of his Moslem followers. Early in the year 628, during one of the sacred months, the Prophet appeared with a small force before his hostile birthplace; but it was in vain that he demanded entrance to the sanctuary. Nevertheless the expedition was a decided success. The Meccans, weary of the constant injury suffered by their trade concluded a ten years' truce with the Prophet, and on his promising to withdraw this time, granted him permission to visit the Kaaba with his followers the next year. Thus was the first step taken toward the peaceful conquest of Mecca; the Qurais yielded the very point they had been most anxious to defend.

Peaceful Conquest of Mecca

During the truce Mahomet was not idle in extending his power. The oasis of Kheyber, about sixty miles north of Medina, into which a portion of the expelled Jews had retired, was conquered. The land was divided among his followers, who now united with the Islamites who had previously emigrated to Abyssinia. The number of believers constantly increased; the Prophet's growing sense of importance found expression in his sending letters to the sovereigns of neighbouring regions, in which he demanded that they should submit to his rule and embrace his doctrines. These messages were not, as a rule, received in a way likely to arouse any sanguine hopes of success.

More important was the pilgrimage to Mecca that took place in 629. The Qurais retired from the city for several days in order that there might be no cause for trouble with the Moslems while the latter were fulfilling their mission. It became more and more apparent that there was no



MOUNT ARAFAT, WHERE MAHOMET PREACHED HIS LAST SERMON

In 632 Mahomet took his last pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies then employed became a model for all time. Afterwards he delivered an address from Mount Arafat summarising and establishing in their final form the moral laws of Islam.

one in Arabia capable of withstanding for any length of time the steadily increasing power of the Mohammedans. One after another the Bedouin tribes surrendered, and soon the Prophet turned his eyes toward Syria, where the Arabs, having received a smattering of higher culture owing to the proximity of the Byzantine empire, had here and there united into small states. An army sent out against one of the minor Arabian rulers of the region to the south of the Dead Sea was severely defeated at Muta. The time for conquests beyond the borders of Arabia had not yet come.

On the other hand, Mecca fell into the hands of the Prophet without a struggle. A trifling dispute furnished him with a pretext for suddenly putting an end to the truce with the Qurais; he immediately summoned his adherents in full force, and appeared before the astonished city in January, 630. Resistance was not to be thought of; soon the most distinguished Meccans stood before the victor imploring grace and repeating the customary Mohammedan confession of faith.

Mecca Falls to Mahomet

Reason and love for his home led the Prophet to impose mild conditions on peace upon his humbled foes. He angrily took away the banner of a Medinan sheikh, who had announced in triumph that the day of reckoning had come, and that no one would be spared, and he commanded that pardon should be granted to all Qurais, with the exception of a few opponents for whom he cherished especial hatred. The Kaaba now stood open to the conqueror, who knocked the idols to pieces with his staff and permitted the black stone alone to remain in its place as a symbol of the One God. The Meccans came forward in crowds to repeat their confessions of belief, and thus to take their places among the ranks of the Prophet's adherents. It was now recognised by all that Mahomet had no intention of destroying the holy city, but was striving rather to exalt it.

The Idols Destroyed

The work of Mahomet as a prophet was crowned by the act of taking possession of and purifying the Kaaba. The permanence of his doctrines was now assured, at least in Arabia, inasmuch as

he had succeeded in transforming the centre of the old religious life into a sanctuary of the new belief. It was also evident that sooner or later all the tribes of his race would be compelled to recognise his teaching, and that even his death could not check the progress of Islam. Immediately after the fall of Mecca, the Prophet, assisted by a levy of Meccans, set about reducing the neighbouring regions to subjection. During a fight with the Bedouin tribe of Havayins, the result of which hung in the balance for many hours, the Qurais acted in a decidedly suspicious manner; indeed, a true conversion could not yet be looked for from the greater portion of the Meccans; but Mahomet once more put his old tribesmen to shame by his magnanimity, allotting to them a larger share of the plunder than was received by his own Medinan followers.

Permanence of Islam Assured

The inhabitants of Tayef, who had more than once insulted the Prophet during his earlier years, again bravely withstood the Moslems, and refused all proposals for capitulation. Not until many months had passed were they forced to come to terms, owing to the complete isolation of their city after the conversion of the tribes that dwelt in their neighbourhood. Their ambassadors naturally sought to obtain the most favourable conditions from Mahomet, and expressed, moreover, the remarkable desire that they might be permitted to worship their favourite goddess, Allat, for another year. The Prophet would have agreed to these conditions had it not been for the influence of Omar, the most energetic and fiery of his adherents. The Tayefites were ordered to surrender unconditionally, and Allat was destroyed amid the woeful howls and lamentations of the women and children. During his long career, Mahomet had to contend against the satirical rhymes of the poets of his enemies. How greatly embittered he was by these attacks was shown unmistakably at the capture of Mecca, when he went to the length of sentencing to death a woman named Sara, who had delighted the Qurais with her derisive verses on the new prophet. It actually happened that the conversion of a certain tribe came about through a poetical competition—Mahomet, who possessed neither voice for song nor the gift of making verses, choosing the best poet among his adherents to be his representative. This extraordinary event took place in the year 630. The envoys of the Beni Tamina assembled before the house of the Prophet and sent in a formal challenge; the singers of Mahomet capped the climax of their opponents' blustering with a still greater display of bombast, and fairly shouted them down. The challengers thereupon owned, with great mortification, that the Moslem public speakers and poets were better than theirs, and that their voices, too, were much louder; and forthwith made their confession of faith. Gradually all the poets of Arabia united their voices in praise of Mahomet, and it was only from the tents of distant Bedouin tribes that now and then a poisoned dart of song was launched against him.

Conversion by Poetic Contest



MAHOMET'S TRANSLATION TO HEAVEN

From a Persian MS. representing the Prophet's ascent to heaven, his face being covered with a veil to hide his glory.

The increasing feebleness of the Prophet, who had again taken up his residence in Medina, allowed him to participate only in one more warlike expedition against Southern Syria, the region by which the Arabian Peninsula is connected with the rest of Western Asia. The campaign began in the year 630, and was attended with no decided success, apart from the subjection of a few frontier tribes. The pilgrimage to Mecca in 631, although not led by Mahomet, but by Abu Bekr, nevertheless signified a further step in the conversion of Arabia to Islam. The Prophet

commanded it to be announced in the Kaaba that from this time forth unbelievers would no longer be permitted to take part in the pilgrimages, and that all men who desired to approach the sanctuary must first make a confession of faith. This showed how certain Mahomet was of the final success of his cause. In fact, at that time the whole of Arabia, with the exception of some of the most distant regions, formally acknowledged the supremacy of the Prophet. The minor princes of Arabia Felix and the Persian governors, who, after the expulsion of the Abyssinians by a Persian army, ruled a portion of Yemen, also gave notice of their submission, and so did numerous chieftains of the Syrian frontier.

Mahomet's last pilgrimage to Mecca, the ceremonies of which became a model for all time, took place in the year 632. The Prophet solemnly walked round the Kaaba at the head of countless believers, performed the rites with scrupulous care, and delivered an address to the assembled multitude from Mount Arafat, in which he summarised and established in their final form the moral laws of Islam. The words with which he recommended to his followers his cousin and favourite, Ali, against whom various complaints had arisen, played an important part in the later history of Islam: "He who loves me will choose Ali for a friend (*maula*). May God be with them who protect him, and desert those who are his enemies." Since the word "maula" may signify either friend or ruler, the claims of the sectarian Shiites, who recognised Ali as the lawful successor of the Prophet, rested above all on this statement.



BLINDED AFTER SEEING THE SACRED PROPHET'S TOMB
After praying at Mecca it was not unusual for pilgrims to destroy their sight by gazing at white-hot bricks, so that they might never look on earthly objects again.

Three months after his return from Mecca, Mahomet fell ill with a fever. The damp, malarial climate of Medina, which had caused the death of many a Meccan fugitive, also proved injurious to the health of the Prophet, already enfeebled by the constant exertions and excitement of the last twenty-four years of his life. The sick man was able to withstand the disease but a short time; on July 8th, 632, the twelfth day of the third month in the year 11 of the Hegira, Mahomet who had been looked upon by his followers as immortal, and who himself had not opposed this belief, died in the apartment of his favourite wife, Ayesha.

The faithful were filled with confusion, and a great uproar immediately arose: but the work of the Prophet had been

accomplished, and was no longer to be destroyed. The Arabian nation arose in the place of the visionary, and countries in which no man had ever heard of Mahomet during his lifetime soon became subject to the dominion of his heirs.

The Sacred Koran

The new religion derived its firmest support from the sayings of the Prophet, which had been written down by his most trusted followers, at first circulated merely in fragmentary transcripts, but later collected and arranged by scribes at the command of Abu Bekr, the first Caliph. The 114 chapters, or "suras," of the Koran when chronologically arranged fall into two groups, the Meccan and the Medinan. Owing to the fact that in many cases these chapters were closely connected with the life and adventures of the Prophet—who frequently endeavoured to obviate difficulties among his adherents by means of well-timed revelations—and also by reason of their numerous contradictions and repetitions, they form a remarkable commentary on Mahomet's chequered career and final triumph.

The style and substance of these revelations underwent a striking change as time passed: the earlier, composed in short rhymed lines in the vague, obscure language of the Prophet, occasionally display true poetic power, and bear witness to the genuine inspiration of their author; the later suras are more prolix and tedious, and were obviously intended to produce a shrewdly calculated effect. The reason for this is very plain. During his life in Mecca, Mahomet attacked the polytheistic belief of the Arabs with clear and powerful arguments in favour of the unity of the Divine Being—such arguments as immediately presented themselves to his simple and ill-trained, but ardent and ingenious mind. In Medina, the Prophet's time was largely taken up with polemical utterances delivered against the Jews and Christians; moreover, it was also necessary for him to exercise all his powers of intellect in order to govern and control the unruly, warlike community by which he was surrounded. It was entirely owing to the already mentioned necessity of governing his followers that Mahomet's most lasting work—his moral and legislative doctrines, which, together with the ritual, the prayers, ablutions, and fastings form the skeleton or framework of the Mohammedan religion—arose. The simple, in no wise profound, but nevertheless admirable moral code of Islam is the most valuable gift which the followers of Mahomet brought with them to less civilised peoples. In the main these doctrines rest upon a foundation of old Arabic custom, refined, however, through the influence of Jewish-Christian precepts. Many a fundamental principle was a result of the personal inclinations of the Prophet; for example, the unfavourable position that he assigned to woman was not in reality in harmony with the true Arabian spirit, but originated in Mahomet's own sensual, jealous nature. His attitude in regard to the deeply-rooted Bedouin custom of infanticide, which he immediately prohibited, was more deserving of praise. Moreover, on grounds of mere national economy he was wise in his action. The position of the Prophet at Medina gave rise to a new religious impulse. Mahomet soon found it necessary to harmonise his doctrines of immortality with the injunction to wage a religious war, as well as with the doctrine of fatalism, which, under different circumstances, he would scarcely have made so prominent in his teachings. Although the glowing descriptions of the delights of Paradise promised to the champions of the faith did not prevent Islamite armies from taking flight upon occasion, they proved to be an excellent means for awakening fanaticism in simple minds. And this was all the more important, for, owing to their small numbers, the Arabs were soon obliged to draw upon all men capable of bearing arms who dwelt in the conquered regions.

Doctrines of Mahomet

The Religious War

Thus the Koran gradually became the nucleus of Moslem power, and the centre of the spiritual life of all nations that subjected themselves to its law. Its effects were not immediately shown. The more Islamite scholars devoted themselves to the study of the sacred book the greater became the differences of opinion in regard to doubtful passages and obvious contradictions; and a separation of the believers into numerous sects was an inevitable consequence. Indeed, there were other considerations besides these which in very early times contributed to the division of the Mohammedans—above all the question, who was to be the legitimate successor of the Prophet,

THE COMPANIONS OF THE PROPHET
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF CONQUEST

MAHOMET'S one surviving child was his daughter Fatima, the wife of Ali, who as cousin and perhaps earliest disciple had always enjoyed the especial affection of the Prophet; and it was to Ali that a more or less obscure declaration of Mahomet in regard to his successor seemed to apply. Had this claimant triumphed, a hereditary monarchy would have been established. The coveted position, however, was obtained by another; with the result that the Mohammedan government became an elective sovereignty, which was more in harmony with the democratic spirit of the Arabian people. The affairs of the time were favourable to Ali, but unfortunately he was not the man to take advantage on them. During the course of his life Ali had constantly shown that, for all his courage in battle, he possessed a weak character and inferior intelligence. He was invariably put aside by others, even when he believed himself to have been the determining factor. This time also he neglected to make the best of his opportunites, wasting his time in useless occupations, and entirely losing sight of his political goal—the attainment of which he believed to be absolutely certain.

Ali the Unready

Since the choice of a caliph was intimately connected with the general condition of affairs that had arisen in Arabia on the death of the Prophet, a certain insight into these conditions is indispensable to a correct understanding of the history of the period. Although Mecca had once more come into favour, its temple being recognised as a sanctuary, and although the majority of the Arabs had at least externally adopted the new faith, it was nevertheless certain that Medina was the centre of Mohammedan power, and consequently the place where the election of a successor should be held. The class differences that had caused the people of Arabia to be divided into sects and parties on this occasion had but small influence on the decision in regard to the caliph, for the choice lay in the hands of the original and most faithful adherents of the Prophet. These "Defenders" nevertheless proved themselves to be true Arabs, inasmuch as it was not long before they gave the elements of discord that existed between the separate groups, and had been but superficially effaced by Mahomet's personal influence, an opportunity for reasserting themselves with renewed power.

Electors of the Caliphs

The eyes of the Prophet had scarcely closed when the party of Meccans who had left their native city and the inhabitants of Medina independently made up their minds each to choose a successor, in order thus to obtain political ascendency. Ali, on whom both parties might have agreed, was not present at either election. The Meccans chose Abu Bekr, the old friend of Mahomet and father of Ayesha, his favourite wife, to be their candidate; while the Medinans selected for the position their influential leader Zaid.

The prudence and foresight of Abu Bekr, who knew well how to turn the old enmity that existed between the two chief tribes of Medina to his own advantage, obviated the risk of any serious rivalry between himself and Zaid; and this in the very nick of time, for the news of the illness of the Prophet alone had been sufficient to cause rebellions to break out in various parts of the peninsula, and as soon as Mahomet's death became known, the whole of Arabia revolted, threatening utterly to destroy the life-work of the Prophet. The faithful who had been installed as commanders of troops and governors of provinces fled to Medina from all sides; and to make matters worse, there was no army at the disposal of the Moslems; for, in fulfilment of one of Mahomet's last commands, and perhaps to rid himself

Whole of Arabia in Revolt

of the presence of the discontented Medinan tribes. Abu Bekr had, immediately after his election, despatched all the available fighting men to the Syrian border.

The insurrections in Arabia were a demonstration of the profound impression which the appearance of Mahomet had made upon his countrymen. It was no longer a land of pagans that arose against the caliph. The most dangerous of the rebels were under the leadership of new prophets, who sought to imitate or to excel their prototype. Even before the death of the founder of Islam, tidings were brought to Medina that in Yemen Abhala the Black had assembled a powerful army and brought almost the entire region under his dominion. Soon afterward Musailma, another prophet, raised afoot the banner of insurrection in Yemama; and in Nejd the discontented tribes collected about a leader of their own race, called Tuleiha. In the neighbourhood of Medina such serious disturbances had taken place that an attack on the city itself was feared; for here also, although no "prophet" had made his appearance, the dissatisfaction with the new political conditions, and, above all, with the taxes that, at Mahomet's command, had been imposed on all believers, was sufficient to occasion a revolt.

Rise of New Prophets

Abu Bekr's most striking characteristic was an unshakeable belief in the future of Islam. He was a man who had never once lost faith in the Prophet; and for this very reason during these times of trouble, when even the boldest of his adherents despaired, he was the one leader most fitted for the situation. Fortune also aided him. The most dangerous of his enemies, the prophet in Yemen, was murdered by his followers, who then acknowledged the sovereignty of the caliph; and a small campaign against the revolted tribes of the neighbourhood of Medina met with decided success. The army returned from the Syrian frontier; the caliph was in a position once more to begin the subjugation of Arabia. Khalid, a man of vast energy but of doubtful character, to whom Mahomet himself had given the name "the sword of God" (Saifallah), was appointed commander-in-chief of the Moslem forces, and directed his first campaign against Tuleiha, the prophet of Nejd. After a severe struggle Khalid routed the army of his opponent, and killed the prisoners and wounded with the utmost brutality.

Wars of the First Caliph

Khalid then turned to the district of Yemama, in the southern part of Nejd, where a still greater army of rebels had collected about the standard of Musailima, after having defeated two bodies of Mohammedan troops. Their resistance was stubborn in the extreme, and the position of Khalid would indeed have been desperate had he not succeeded in separating Musailima from the main body of his troops, compelling him to retreat to a walled estate; there, after the gate had been burst open, he caused the entire garrison to be murdered in cold blood. Never before had so many Arabs fallen in battle. The Moslems also lost such a great number of men that Abu Bekr is said to have immediately resolved upon the collection of the scattered fragments of the Koran before any more of the old companions of the Prophet, who had stored up his sayings in their memories, had lost their lives.

While Khalid was engaged in subjugating the interior plateau of the peninsula, other divisions of the caliph's army succeeded in enforcing obedience from the districts bordering on the Persian Gulf, Bahrein, and Oman, and in once more establishing the supremacy of the Mohammedans in Yemen and Hadramaut. Neither the wounded nor the defenceless were spared; entire tribes were annihilated, until finally the whole of Arabia fell into a palsy of terror. The victory of Islam was complete. But no sooner had Abu Bekr the entire peninsula once more under his control than he again took up the plan that Mahomet had already sought to follow during the last years of his life—namely, the dissemination of the Mohammedan religion, and the establishment of Moslem rule over all countries bordering on the peninsula of Arabia.

Terror of Islam

During the following period of expansion forces and influences that had apparently been hidden or conciliated during the lifetime of Mahomet again asserted themselves. Mahomet had indeed temporarily succeeded in stifling the ancient feuds and disagreements between the Arabian tribes; but he had not been able entirely to destroy them. The single clans still preserved their prejudices and mutual hatred. The great chasm separating agriculturists from shepherds and Yemenites

from Mahadites, which appeared to have been bridged over by the affiliation of the fugitives from Mecca with the agricultural people of Medina, soon showed itself again with effects even more far reaching than before. Mahomet himself had with difficulty suppressed his inborn dislike for cultivators of the soil, and while still in Medina he once permitted himself to be so far overcome by his feelings on seeing a plough as to utter the words: "Never does such an implement come into a house without bringing disgrace."

To these old prejudices new ones were soon added. The ancient tribal nobles of the Arabian race were suddenly confronted with a new aristocracy set above them, which laid claim to political supremacy, and had now succeeded in overcoming all opposition. This aristocracy was composed of the faithful friends of the Prophet, the "Defenders" and the "Emigrants," the flower of the devout, who we may be sure were not wanting in intellectual pride and ambition, though by no means united among themselves.

Naturally, the warlike devotees were looked upon with but little favour by the freedom-loving Bedouins. But the inhabitants of Mecca, the Qurais, who, as guardians of the Kaaba, exercised an immense influence over the whole of Arabia, soon showed themselves to be the most dangerous enemies of the new régime as soon as they had begun to recover from the effects of the humiliation that had been inflicted upon them by Mahomet. Ever since they had ceased to oppose Islam they had been endeavouring to place themselves once more at the head of the religious movement. The importance of the sacred city and the old influence of the Meccan nobles, now under the leadership of the Omayyad family, proved irresistible, however much the first Caliph strove to suppress their aspirations and to exclude them from participation in the government of the empire. It was not long before men who during Mahomet's lifetime had overwhelmed the Prophet with hatred and scorn stood at the head of Moslem armies and provinces. The nobles of Mecca, who were not too scrupulous as to the fulfilment of the precepts of their religion, and who ever held aloft the ideals of old Arabian life, were far more sympathetic to the common people than were the gloomy fanatics of Medina; and all the while that the faithful were stretching forth their hands toward world dominion a storm was gathering over their heads, and the blessings of the Prophet proved to them finally a curse. But, at the outset, an endless vista of victory and plunder opened itself to the comrades of Mahomet. The armies of Abu Bekr departed from Arabia—finally subdued after unspeakable horrors had taken place—in order to throw themselves upon the rich possessions of the Persians and Byzantines. The exhaustion of the Eastern Romans and the Persians did not of itself occasion the triumph of the disciples of Mahomet. Had it rested, indeed, only with tribes of Arabia proper, small in numbers and recently weakened by the losses sustained in the conflicts following the death of the Prophet, to achieve the aggressive expansion of the new faith, the victory of Islam would have been a matter of great doubt. But the area occupied by Arabs had long ceased to be limited to the peninsula of Arabia.

Danger from Mecca

War Against the West

Although the Bedouin tribes had never combined into a united people, they had extended their habitat from Sinai to the Tigris; had fought, as pleased their fancy, for Rome or for Parthia; had occasionally established a kingdom such as that of the Nabatæans or of Palmyra: and had learned the practices of organised warfare. It was on this expanded Arabia that Islam was to rest its power. The moment the champions of Islam succeeded in awakening enthusiasm for the new religion among their compatriots in Syria, Irak (ancient Babylonia), and Mesopotamia, they had at their disposal a numerous and in part well-trained and armed body of fighting men, whose onset the inhabitants of the towns and cultivated districts were totally unable to withstand. Mahomet himself had been well aware of all this, as was shown by the remarkable persistency with which he sent army after army into the Dead Sea region, the central province of the Nabatæan kingdom, even planning a new expedition during the very last days of his life.

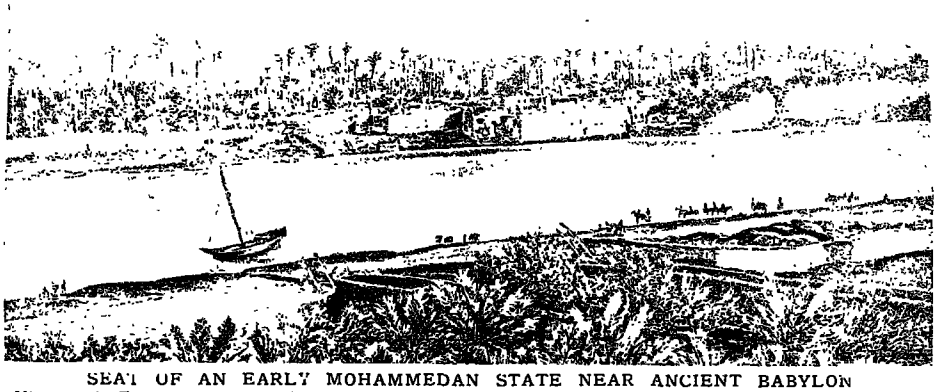
Mahomet's Last Project

After Abu Bekr had quelled the disturbances in Arabia, he immediately made preparations for continuing Mahomet's policy of conquest. That he resolved to direct the first blow, not against Syria,

but against Persia, was natural enough. Mahomet's range of political vision had in the main been limited to Western Arabia. Syria was the only foreign country with the affairs of which he was to some degree familiar. On the other hand, Abu Bekr was at this time well acquainted with the political situation, not only in Arabia, but also in the surrounding nations. There was no possibility of his failing to recognise that the unusually dense Arabian population in Irak, who had naturally followed the course of events in Arabia with great interest, would be far more favourable subjects for the propaganda than the inhabitants of the Syrian frontier. In spite of the fact that, by reason of their inaccessible position, the Arabs of Irak had suffered much less than other peoples during the Persian-Roman wars, they had, nevertheless, long been thoroughly weary of Persian oppression. Their land, still fertile, and constantly enriched through commerce with India, had been for many years a favourite source of revenue to Persia, and the demands of the Persian rulers had become more and more exorbitant ever since the king of Hira had been superseded by a Persian satrap. Only a slight impetus was necessary in order to destroy completely the sovereignty of Persia in these regions.

Islam Against Persia

In March, 633, the Mohammedan general Khalid advanced with his army of veterans from the interior of Arabia against Persia. The Arabians, whose number soon increased to 18,000, at first encountered Hormuz, the military commander of Obollah, in Irak, who had placed himself at the head of a hastily assembled army. On receiving the command of Khalid to accept the Mohammedan faith, Hormuz forthwith replied with a challenge to a duel; and when Khalid succeeded in overcoming his opponent in sight of both armies, the Persians, true to their ancient Oriental custom, immediately dispersed in all directions. Other armies were subsequently sent out under various Persian commanders, without either order or method, only to meet with a fate similar to that of the forces of Hormuz. The fortified towns also offered but little opposition. Hira, in the neighbourhood of the Hillah of to-day, and other cities were captured, and the region west of the Euphrates cleared of Persians. Khalid had not yet ventured to cross that river, when in the next year he was recalled and transferred to the command of the Syrian army.



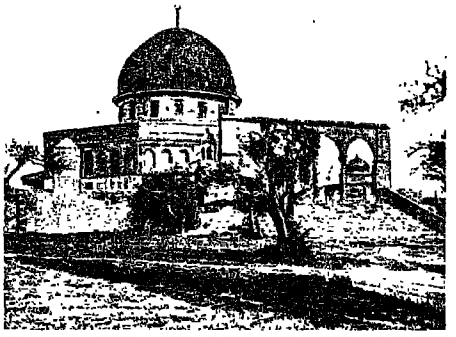
SEAT OF AN EARLY MOHAMMEDAN STATE NEAR ANCIENT BABYLON
Hira, on the Euphrates, now Hillah, near the site of Babylon, was one of the earliest states formed by the Arabs.

Khalid arrived in Syria at the very time he was most needed. As soon as he had been able to form a new army out of the soldiers who were returning from the various scenes of civil war in Arabia, Abu Bekr had immediately commanded an attack on the frontiers of Palestine, and by sending out several reinforcing divisions he increased the number of Syrian troops to 36,000. But the opposition everywhere encountered by the Arabs was unexpectedly great; and the spirit of discord that had arisen between the commanders, who had already divided the conquered districts among themselves, and were no longer to be moved to common action, proved a complete bar to the success of the campaign. Khalid, however,

Conquest of Palestine

succeeded in putting an end to all discord, and also in defeating a Byzantine army greatly superior in numbers after an exceptionally severe struggle on the Yarmuk, not far from the Lake of Gennesareth.

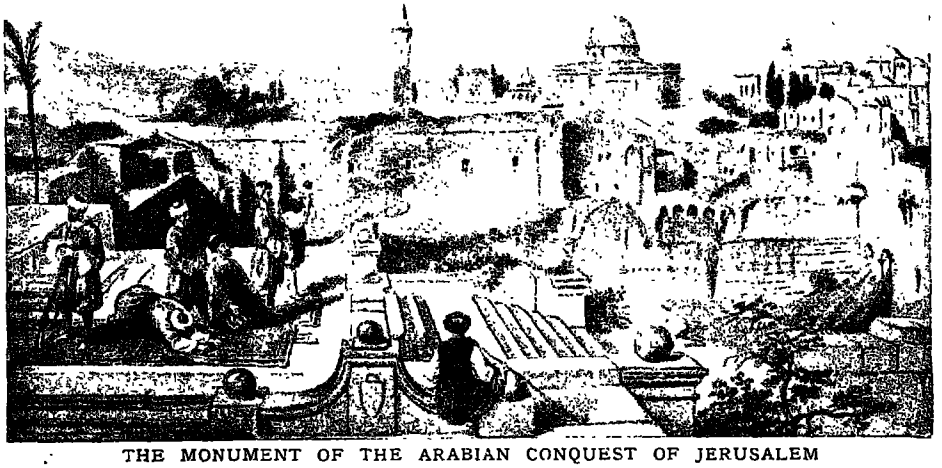
The messengers despatched from the field of battle with trophies and tidings of victory were received by a new caliph on arriving in Mecca. The old friend and most faithful disciple of the Prophet, to whom the dominion of Arabia had fallen as a result of the incapacity and dissensions of the followers of Ali and the Medinan party, had lived to fill his difficult office only for the short space of two years (632–634). During this time Abu Bekr had remained what he had always been, a simple, kindly man of exemplary piety, a model of what a true Islamite should be, according to the opinion of Mahomet, and a blind reverer of all the sayings and commands of the Prophet. His whole course of action during his short period of rule was nothing more than a continuation of what Mahomet had begun. Through him the spirit of the Prophet still cast its shadow upon the world of the living. Much more important than any of Abu Bekr's personal deeds was the fact that through his election the adherents of Ali, who had striven for a hereditary monarchy, received a blow from which they never recovered. Under Abu's immediate successors the caliphate remained an elective monarchy, with all the merits and defects of the system.



THE MOSQUE OF OMAR AT JERUSALEM

For some years the merits preponderated. Before his death Abu Bekr succeeded in bringing about an agreement to the effect that Omar, the most energetic of the old disciples of Mahomet, a man peculiarly adapted for the leadership of a conquering people, should be his successor. Opposition was at first encountered; but as soon as Omar had laid firm hand on the government, resistance was out of the question. Even Ali, who was indeed quite conscious of his own incapacity, accepted the new sovereign with good grace as soon as his own party had ceased to goad him to further resistance.

In truth, Omar now did little more than openly assume the leadership, which he had



THE MONUMENT OF THE ARABIAN CONQUEST OF JERUSALEM

After the conquest of Persia the victorious troops of Omar broke the power of the Byzantines in Syria, all the strongholds of Palestine, including Jerusalem, where the mosque named after the caliph was erected, falling before them.

already held during the days of Mahomet and Abu Bekr. The warlike policy of the Prophet had been in the main his work, and a large number of the laws and "sayings" could be traced back to his influence. Nothing could be more characteristic than the words with which he addressed the assembled people on entering into his new duties: "By Allah, the weakest among you shall be in my sight as the strongest, until I have obtained for him his rights. But him that is strongest will I treat as the weakest, until he submits unto the law."

Omar the Great

Omar proved that his inaugural address had been spoken in earnest; for, in spite of all the authority he possessed as sole ruler, he never denied the tendency towards equality which, received by the first followers of Mahomet as a heritage from the Bedouins, had also been one of the prime secrets of Moslem success. To his love of justice Omar added great abilities in organising the military power of Arabia. A fifth part of all the spoils that fell to the share of the caliph was set aside as a nucleus for a public treasury. It was not mere fanaticism that caused Omar to order all Christians and Jews dwelling in Arabia either to become converts to Islam or leave the country. The command sprang rather from a desire to transform the peninsula of Arabia into an absolutely secure base of operations.

The next step was to reinforce as largely as possible the Arabian troops in Persia, who were now encountering stubborn opposition. Recruiting was by no means an easy task; the older provinces of Arabia neither would nor could place an unlimited number of warriors in the field. During the first year of his reign, for three days Omar had stood in the pulpit at Medina exhorting men to enroll themselves as volunteers for the Persian war, and not until the fourth day did his efforts meet with the slightest success. All considerations of orthodoxy had to be laid aside; even the faithless, the tribes that had been subdued by Abu Bekr, and all the former adherents of false prophets, whom Abu Bekr had sternly excluded, were now embodied in the army.

Omar Recruits His Army

Omar, however, took good care that, in spite of the accession of troops less firm in faith, his army should not deteriorate in religious fervour; for he added to the ranks of each command a large number of priests, whose office was to recite the sayings of the Prophet amid the tumult of battle, and thus arouse the enthusiasm of the warriors. Omar also allowed the army to retain the form of organisation which had long existed in conformity with the quotas supplied by the various tribes, each tribe having its own leader; the caliph appointed only the commanders of the larger divisions. An alteration of this earlier form of organisation, proved by experience to be thoroughly adapted to the Arabian national character, would have been neither desirable nor possible.

For a long time the war with the Persians occupied the whole of Omar's attention. After the withdrawal of Khalid, his successor, Motanna, was obliged to act solely on the defensive; for in the meanwhile the disturbances which had been taking place in the interior of Persia, to the great benefit of the invading Arabs, had come to an end; moreover, Rustum, an able field-marshal of the empire, had been placed at the head of the Persian forces. It is true that after the arrival of Abu Obaid with reinforcements the Arabs succeeded in defeating two armies of Persians. But when, intoxicated with their victory, they crossed the Euphrates and offered battle with the river at their backs, they were completely defeated, Abu Obaid together with a large portion of the army losing their lives. However, the struggle for the Persian succession in Ctesiphon prevented the Iranians from following up their victory. Motanna maintained his position on the Euphrates, annihilated a Persian army in 634, and even undertook minor campaigns in the region that lay between the two rivers. But when Yesdigerd III. ascended the throne, and with the help of Rustum assembled all the forces of his kingdom, the Arabs were compelled to retreat to the borders of the desert. Messenger after messenger appeared in Medina imploring aid; it appeared as if all the advantages won by the previous victories had now been lost.

Persian Victory over Arabia

But Omar, in the meanwhile, had exerted every effort to collect new troops of believers, and to arouse them to the highest pitch of enthusiasm. He had at first taken the supreme command himself, but finally decided to appoint Zaid, an old companion of the Prophet, commander-in-chief. This time, in 636, the struggle

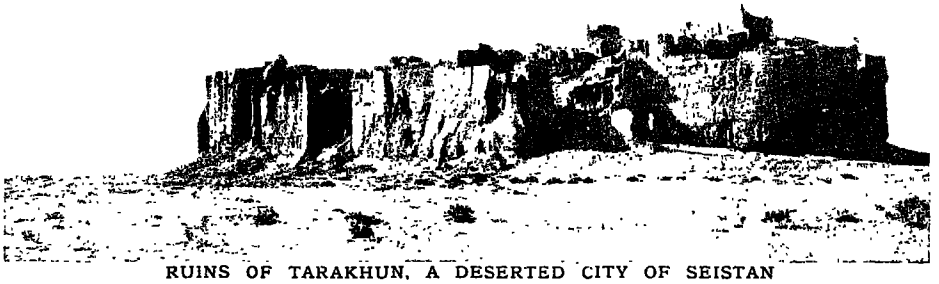
took place at Kadesia, on the right bank of the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of the Bagdad of to-day. For three days the battle continued: it was a confusion of hand-to-hand conflicts, accompanied by an incessant advancing and retreating of the engaged forces: even during the fourth night Arab and Persian troops were still here and there engaged in desultory combat. A single incident—the death of Rustum, the Persian general—decided the day in favour of the Moslems, who had also been greatly assisted by the wind, that drove stinging sand into the faces of the Persian soldiers, unused to desert warfare. This victory brought the region west of the Tigris into the hands of the Mohammedans, who immediately proceeded to build the city of Basra, on the Shatt-el-Arab, and thereby shut off the Persians from all traffic on the River Euphrates and trade with India.

The next year Yesdigerd III. evacuated Ctesiphon, which was already surrounded by Arabian cavalry, and withdrew to his second line of defence, the mountain region of Medo-Persia, not, however, without suffering severe losses during his retreat. Unfortunately, he had no army capable of defending the passes; and the Arabs at once succeeded in taking possession of the most important of the mountain roads, as well as of a portion of Chusistan. At Yesdigerd's call for aid, once more the Iranian forces assembled in Media, ready to engage in a final struggle for their ancient religion and nationality. Chusistan and Farsistan, the two southern provinces that had been cut off from the rest of Persia by the advancing Arabian army, likewise continued their opposition. Hormuz, the governor of Chusistan, threatened the new city of Basra; and not until many difficulties had been overcome did the Arabs succeed in compelling him to take refuge in Shuster, and in taking him prisoner, after a siege of six months.

The Final Iranian Struggle

The Persian army arrived too late to derive any benefit from the resistance that had been offered in Chusistan; for two months it remained encamped in the mountain country to the south of Hamadan, near Nehavend, facing the Arabian forces, until finally a strategic blunder on the part of Firuz, the Iranian commander, led to an engagement followed by a total defeat. Thus, in the year 641, the dominion of the Sassanidæ came to an end. Nevertheless, a struggle of several years' duration had yet to be fought before the single provinces were completely subjugated. Yesdigerd, "the Hapless," escaped to Khorassan, where he hoped to form a new army out of Turkish mercenaries. But fortune had deserted the cause of the Sassanidæ, and in the year 651 the last of the Persian emperors met his death at the hands of an assassin. In the meanwhile the power of the Byzantines in Syria and Mesopotamia had also been broken. After the flight of the Syrian militia, at the battle of Yarmuk, resistance was offered by the larger towns alone, and they, too, were soon forced to capitulate. The fact that immediately after his accession Omar, the Mohammedan puritan, recalled the victorious Khalid, who was, to be sure, the "sword of Islam," but at the same time an accomplished rake, had practically no influence on the course of the Syrian war. Damascus capitulated in the year 635. The withdrawal of some Arabian troops to reinforce the army in Persia gave Heraclius, who had hastened to Jerusalem, a short respite, during which, however, he only became convinced that it would be impossible to check the advance of the enemy with the means at the disposal of his exhausted

End of the Sassanidæ



RUINS OF TARAKHUN, A DESERTED CITY OF SEISTAN

Tarakhun, said to have been founded about 1000 B.C., and deserted since 1000 A.D., was the birthplace of Rustum, the Hercules of Persia, and almost the only Persian general who succeeded in combating the Arabian advance.

province; for a new Syrian army was not to be thought of. When, in the year 636, the emperor left the country, he took with him from Jerusalem the most sacred relic of the Christians, the true cross: a plain indication of the desperate straits into which his land and his creed had fallen. Still, some years passed before the resistance of the Syrian cities was finally overcome. Several of the centres of Christian Hellenism defended themselves to the uttermost, but the Aramaic inhabitants of the land looked upon the struggle with stolid indifference. The cities of the north, Emesa, Haleb, and Antioch, were the first to fall; then followed the strongholds of Palestine. The conquest of Jerusalem was no easy task for the Moslems: but the city finally opened its gates to the caliph, who had been by no means loth to arrive in time for a triumphant entry. The seaport Cæsarea was defended with still greater bravery, but it, too, finally fell in 640. In the meantime Northern Mesopotamia had been conquered, and Edessa captured. Not until the Arabian forces had penetrated as far as the mountains of Armenia and the Taurus did their victorious advance come to an end.

Syria Abandoned By Rome

To these extraordinarily rapid successes a newer and still greater conquest was added. Egypt's feeble powers of defence had already been exhibited when the country was plundered by a Persian army in 616. The native population, who had never been friendly to the customs of the Greeks, and who had also become completely estranged from their political masters owing to the formation of numerous Christian sects, had then been of no assistance whatever to the Byzantine generals in resisting the enemies of the empire. The danger of an Arabian invasion had long been appreciated, and the Egyptian governors were the only rulers who had replied to Mahomet's messages with even a semblance of courtesy. Nowhere had sectarianism, the curse of the Eastern Roman people, struck such firm root and become so intimately united with national antipathies as in the Nile valley. In vain had Heraclius endeavoured to reconcile the "monophysitical" Egyptians with the "monotheletic" Greeks through the introduction of a conciliatory formula of belief: the burning national hatred, which merely hid itself beneath a cloak of religion, rendered all his well-meant efforts abortive.

Sectarian Curse in Egypt

The kings of Persia had already intentionally shown favour to both Monophysites and Nestorians, and during their wars with the Byzantines had obtained great benefit from this policy; Omar adopted the same course, and brought the conquest of Egypt to a successful issue, even before the last battle had been fought in Persia and Syria. Amr ibn As, the caliph's field-marshal, invaded the valley of the Nile with a force of but 4,000 men. After several engagements had been fought the Arabs obtained possession of the right bank of the river, and the arrival of reinforcements made it possible for them to cross the stream; still, the Christians in reality lost but little ground until their army was weakened by the wholesale desertion of the native Monophysites. The result was a brilliant victory for Amr and for the policy of Arabia.

All the troops that the Greek generals were able to collect from the various Egyptian fortresses were placed in the field against the Arabs; but the Byzantines soon found themselves driven to take shelter behind the walls of Alexandria, the centre of Hellenic influence. The dying Heraclius had done all that he could to strengthen the last bulwark of Byzantine power from the sea, and at first it seemed as if the Arabian army would bleed to death before the walls of the strongly fortified city. In the meanwhile, however, a wretched dynastic quarrel broke out on the death of Heraclius. The imperial court of Byzantium was filled with confusion; and the longed-for ships bearing provisions and reinforcements to Alexandria did not arrive until the siege had lasted fourteen months, and the defenders were completely exhausted. The wealthiest of the inhabitants left the unfortunate city by sea; the remainder of the population surrendered to the Arabian general in December, 641.

Arabian Conquest of Egypt

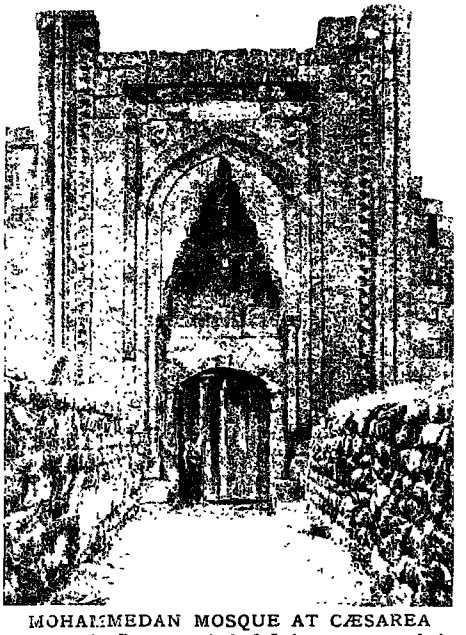
As usual, the conquered were treated with comparative leniency; it is true there were scenes of disorder, but the alleged systematic crusade of the Arabs against the treasures of science and art has been proved to have been purely mythical. Alexandria was not chosen to be the capital of the country by the Arabs as it had been by the Greeks; but a new city,

Fostat, the Cairo of later times, was built on the right bank of the Nile, not far from the Delta, in the neighbourhood of ancient Memphis. From this it became quite evident that the new rulers of Egypt intended to make use of the land in an entirely different manner from that of either the Greeks or the Romans, who had looked upon the country merely as a source of wealth.

The conquest of the Nile valley was not enough for the Arabs, who, as true children of the desert, were but little impeded in their advance by the sterile regions of North Africa. Amr swiftly marched upon and captured the Pentapolis, and even Tripolis was surrendered by its surprised garrison.

During these many wars Omar had remained at home in Medina. Such an energetic man as he must have chafed greatly under his self-imposed restraint; but he could have adopted no policy better suited to the state of affairs of the time. Its results were of the greatest value to the future of Islam, for during the storm and stress period of Mohammedanism nothing was more necessary to the success of the Arabian cause than a secure and powerful base of operations. Instead of going into the field himself, Omar was content to take upon his shoulders the more modest task of making preparations for war, collecting reinforcements, and replenishing the national treasury with money that had been captured in battle, and with the tribute of the conquered lands. Furthermore, he organised the newly acquired dependencies, especially Irak, where he commanded the city of Kufa to be built on the borders of the desert in the neighbourhood of the right bank of the Euphrates, as a centre for the Arabian population, while the already semi-Arabian Damascus was made the capital of Syria. Omar did not favour the settlement of the conquered territories by Arabian troops; for he looked upon a ceaseless continuation of the religious war until both Pagans and Christians were completely overthrown as the labour of his life, and held the camp to be the true home of his companions in faith.

During the last years of his life Omar adopted extraordinary measures for the benefit of the State treasury, as we have learned from his remarkable correspondence with Amr, whose consignments of money from Egypt did not come up to the caliph's expectations. Omar was neither just nor courteous to his general, who deserved all praise; and in his treatment of the conquered his avarice showed itself in a most unpleasant light. In fact, this smallness in his nature was the indirect cause of his death by the hand of an assassin. A Christian artisan of Kufa, who had journeyed in vain to Medina in order to beg that his relatively inordinate taxes might be decreased, struck down the caliph in the mosque in November, 644, just as the latter was about to begin his morning prayer. Omar still possessed strength enough to name a successor; but as Abd ur-Rahman, whom he had chosen, absolutely declined to accept the difficult office, he called upon the six oldest companions of Mahomet to choose a new caliph from among themselves—a method of escaping the difficulty which led to evil results.



MOHAMMEDAN MOSQUE AT CÆSAREA

Cæsarea, the Roman capital of Judæa, was one of the last strongholds to fall in the extraordinarily rapid conquest of Palestine by the victorious Mohammedans.

Once more Ali, who, together with Othman, Abd ur-Rahman, Zubeir, Talkha, and Zaid ibn Wakaz, had been called upon by Omar to elect a new caliph, stood at the head of the list of candidates, and again he experienced a bitter disappointment.

Zubeir, Talkha, and Ali contested the position; the other aspirants stepped into the background. Mutual jealousy prevented all reasonable agreement, and the upshot of the affair was that the choice finally fell on Othman, who of all the candidates was least fitted for the position. He was a good-natured old man of seventy years, and had been one of the very earliest companions of the Prophet; but personally he was a complete nonentity. On his first attempt to address the assembled people after his election, he made a pitiable exhibition of himself, since, after a painful pause he could only murmur the words, "The beginning of all things is difficult," and then descend from the pulpit with a sigh. Othman was not the man to curb the violent efforts which the various parties were making in order to increase their power: the strong hand of Omar had long held them in check, but now they burst forth again, threatening to bring confusion to the entire Mohammedan world. He was also totally unable to effect a reconciliation between the quarrelling and deeply embittered tribal groups of the Arabian people. During his reign the personal influence of a sovereign was replaced by the ineradicable antagonisms of tribes and provinces, which were only increased by new enmities and rivalries that had developed during the period of conquest; and all Mohammedan leaders who lived in the time of Othman were compelled either to make allowance for these elements of disturbance, or—often without being conscious of it themselves—to be moved and guided by them.

A Caliph of Seventy

The old comrades of Mahomet still remained the most powerful of the political parties. Generals and governors of provinces were selected from their ranks, and a large amount of the treasure that had been won in war found its way into their strong-boxes. They knew well that they were not popular; but so long as they were able successfully to claim the election of the caliph as their right, it was a difficult matter to thrust them down from their position of supremacy. Now, however, the lack of unity in their leaders, which had enabled the feeble Othman to come to the head of the state, had opened up the way to their destruction.

The Old Comrades of Mahomet

Othman was, indeed, one of the companions of the Prophet, an "emigrant" from Mecca; but he had been far too weak and good-natured to break completely with the past, and to join himself without reserve to the new community of fanatical believers that had formed itself about Mahomet. He was much too favourably inclined toward his old Meccan relatives; already during the Prophet's lifetime he had come forward in their defence, and at the capture of Mecca several of the most deeply compromised of Mahomet's enemies owed their lives to his intercession. Now that he had become caliph, he was soon surrounded by the neglected aristocracy of Mecca as by a swarm of hungry locusts; first one and then another managed to persuade him to hand over a post as governor, a position as commander, or this or that well-paid office. With increasing anger the earlier believers beheld the success of these intruders, whose fathers had not only fought against the Prophet with weapons in their hands, but had also wounded him with the poisoned darts of satire—these Meccans whose religious faith and manner of life were more than suspicious. Their angry looks were soon directed even against the caliph; they clung all the closer to Ali, whose time seemed at last to have come. But even now he was unable to bring the members of his party into harmony with one another.

The Meccans' Opportunity

The rivalry between Medinans and Meccans was not the only rift that extended across the Arabian world. The ancient enmity between nomads and agriculturists, Mahadites and Yemenites, still smouldered beneath the ashes, only again to burst forth into flame in later times; but at the present moment the antagonisms that had been called forth by differences of geographical situation—a result of Omar's conquests—were of greater importance. To Omar Arabia had still been the heart of the Mohammedan empire; all his measures had for their object the strengthening of the peninsula and the development of the Arabian military forces. But as soon as the great neighbouring lands of Syria and Irak had been subdued by Islam this policy could not be continued. The new territories were far more populous than desert Arabia, and the greater culture of their inhabitants gained for them, slowly

but surely, a preponderance of power. In fact, it may be remarked in anticipation that Arabia had already fallen from its supreme position at an early period in the history of Islam, and had now become little more than an insignificant appendage of Western Asia.

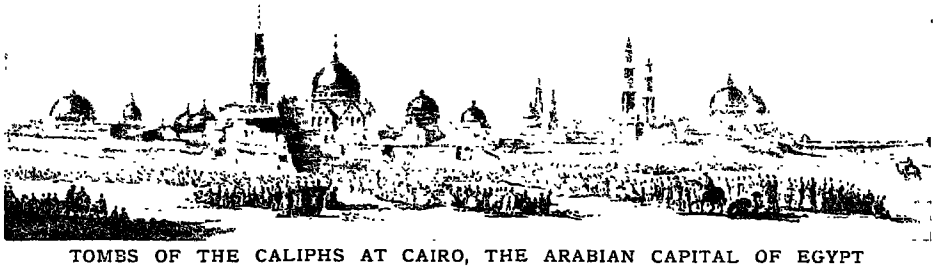
Hence, Irak and Syria, the two chief centres of Mohammedanism, soon entered the lists in hostile competition for the leadership. Their inhabitants were not on friendly terms with one another. The serious, determined Bedouins of Syria looked upon the effeminate, restless inhabitants of Irak with hatred and contempt. They particularly despised the people of Kufa, in whom all the evil characteristics of an over-refined race seemed to have been united—true dwellers of great cities were they, lions at home, lambs in the field. Whoever gained the friendship of one of these rivals made sure of the hostility of the other. Owing to the fact that the Omayyads looked to the Syrians for aid during the civil wars, they won the victory over Ali and his companions, who turned to the fickle inhabitants of Irak for support.

In the meanwhile, however, under Othman's government the new Mohammedan empire became more powerful and increased in area. An attempt of the Greeks, who had managed to recapture Alexandria, to extend their power once more over Egypt failed completely; Alexandria was severely punished, and in like manner various insurrections were crushed in Persia. It was also during Othman's reign that a Mohammedan fleet of warships was constructed with astonishing rapidity on the Phœnician coast with the object of conquering Cyprus; this same fleet also became a serious menace to the safety of Byzantium. The wars were successfully continued in Northern Africa, the Greeks losing Carthage; in the east, the Omayyad Muaviya, to whom Othman had entrusted the command of an army, spread desolation in Asia Minor.

Extension of the Empire

Thus, so far as the Arabian policy of conquest was concerned, Othman was a by no means unworthy successor of the victorious Omar. As a matter of course, these successes in arms were insufficient to reconcile the angry early adherents of the Prophet, who beheld with increasing bitterness Muaviya, whose mother had been a deadly enemy of Mahomet, winning victory after victory and rich spoils in Asia Minor. To his great mistortune, Othman finally placed just such a weapon in the hands of the "companions" as was required by those models of piety: he undertook a revision of the Koran on his own authority and endeavoured to enforce its acceptance by the old believers. But, instead of calling forth a melancholy wail of lost influence from the "emigrants and defenders," he was assailed on all sides by the enraged cries of men who insisted that he had falsified the words of the Prophet. Ali resolved this time to act in earnest, and despatched his emissaries into the various provinces. The gold pieces which the nephew of the Prophet had managed to heap up in abundance as a consoling indemnity for his political failures were scattered in all directions; and everywhere, as a result of the extraordinary expenditure, Ali was extolled as the single true champion of the traditions of Islam. But, in spite of all, the idol of the hated devotionalist party was not popular, and the revolts that broke out here and there did not lead to the wished-for results

Carthage Lost to Islam



TOMBS OF THE CALIPHS AT CAIRO, THE ARABIAN CAPITAL OF EGYPT

To extraordinary successes in Syria the armies of the great caliph Omar added the conquest of Egypt, a new city, Fostat, which afterwards became Cairo, being built on the Nile in the neighbourhood of the ancient Memphis.

Then bands of suspicious characters appeared in the narrow streets of Medina, Bedouins, whose services were to be had for a trifling payment; these assembled about the house of Othman, and with savage threats demanded his retirement. This time the feeble old man offered a determined resistance, but they finally stormed his house and assassinated him in the year 656.

Ali Gains the Caliphate

The Meccan nobility, who had endeavoured to defend Othman, fled from the city; and the Medinans, not one of whom had lifted his hand in the defence of the caliph, readily accepted Ali as his successor. Thus at last Ali was able to throw the imperial mantle about his shoulders; but the garment was soiled and blood-stained. A spirit of revolt and abhorrence spread over the entire Mohammedan world. There was an immediate clearage among the conspirators at whose instigation the murder of Othman had been accomplished; for Zubeir and Talkha soon came forward with their claims, assisted by the powerful support of Ayesha, the favourite wife of the Prophet, an ambitious and intriguing woman, who had long been one of Ali's most deadly enemies.

It soon became obvious that an appeal to the sword alone could decide between these two hostile groups of old believers. At first neither party could look to the provinces for assistance; Syria especially was hostile to both. Nothing was left to Ali but to fall back once more upon the assistance of the people of Irak, whom he won over to his cause. The rebels, who had no more to hope for from Syria than had Ali, turned to Irak and occupied Basra. Later, when Ali advanced on them from Kufa with a superior force, they entered into negotiations with him: but, owing to a misunderstanding, a battle was fought that ended with the deaths of Zubeir and Talkha and the capture of Ayesha. Ali was now master of all Irak. Arabia was also on his side, and he was at least formally recognised in Egypt; but the "Battle of the Camels" had cost him the lives of many of his ablest adherents. In Syria, Muaviya, the Meccan, who now openly laid claim to the caliphate, made preparations for a final conflict.

The Battle of the Camels

Muaviya was the typical champion of the nobility of Mecca, courteous, of knightly bravery, and a born leader of the people, whom he guided with both courage and wisdom; he was also ambitious, and inspired with an undying hatred for the bigoted followers of the Prophet, who returned his hatred in full measure.

Ali was now assured of the aid of the people of Irak also, since his quarrel was with the Syrians. For many years only a pretext had been wanting to bring the two races into open conflict with one another. But, in spite of all this, the morale of the army that Muaviya raised in Syria was vastly superior to that of the regiments of effeminate Irakans; and Ali was not a man likely to fill his adherents with any great amount of enthusiasm. Accustomed always to be led by others, and almost completely lacking in self-dependence, Ali became the chosen victim of various ambitious spirits who had resolved to sell their services to him as dearly as possible, and were already prepared eagerly to stretch out their hands for the gold of Muaviya.

Thus the battle that after long negotiations and many skirmishes finally took place at Siffin, in 657 A.D., on the right bank of the Euphrates, had an end rather amusing than tragic. While his cavalry were in the very act of pursuing the retreating Syrians with loud shouts of victory, open rebellion broke out in Ali's tent. The party which was in secret understanding with Muaviya compelled the hapless caliph first to recall his troops, and then to appear before a court of arbiters, the members of which were obviously enough entirely opposed to his claims. The nucleus of his forces, the old believers, renounced their allegiance and elected a new caliph: and on January 21st, 661, Ali met his death from a dagger-thrust by one of these same fanatics.

The End of Ali

On the death of Ali, the cause of the old believers broke down completely. Since Ali had been one of the champions of the hereditary caliphate, his claims naturally descended to his son Hassan. But Hassan, a cowardly voluptuary, was unable to accomplish anything with the army that had been placed at his disposal; and, in order to rid himself of all responsibility, he finally sent his most ardent adherents, under the leadership of Kais, against the Syrians. On their return after a severe defeat he made peace with Muaviya.

THE RULE OF THE MECCA CALIPHS

THE power and influence of the old adherents of the Prophet had completely come to an end when the proudest of the noble families of Mecca, the Omayyads, took possession of the caliphate as a hereditary dignity. At the time that the new dynasty made its appearance the Syrians also were rejoicing in their victories. The hated Irakans had been completely defeated, and, to the great chagrin of the ambitious inhabitants of Kufa, Damascus had now become the capital of the Mohammedan world-empire.

But still the empire continued in a state of war and rebellion. While the old antagonisms had been temporarily forced into the background by the decisive victory of the one party, a new political sect arose. Its adherents were filled with the wildest spirit of fanaticism, and had already displayed their activity in the assassination of Ali, as well as in a contemporaneous attack on Muaviya. The party was one that in view of the general state of affairs of the time arose almost of necessity; in it was incorporated the democracy of Islam, which, under the cloak of religious zeal, came forward to oppose the aristocracy.

Democratic Party of Islam

The true Bedouin of the desert in reality recognised neither the government of nobles nor the rule of a sovereign. He was indeed a slave to his own tribal traditions, but he was not accustomed to bow before any individual who laid claim to unconditional obedience. The recent developments of the Mohammedan movement had been a mockery of the Bedouin spirit of liberty. With arbitrary despotism the oligarchy of Medina had chosen a caliph from their midst, without even going through the form of submitting their choice to the approval of the great mass of believers; and when, on the appearance of Muaviya, the unpopular government of the old believers fell, it was only that a new nobility might come forward in its place. From the standpoint of religion, too, the more democratic of the Moslems had grounds for complaint when they compared the increasing luxury and love of splendour of their present leaders with the simple manner of life and definite precepts of the Prophet.

Thus the sect that was formed during the struggle between Ali and Muaviya, which elected a new caliph in opposition to Ali, and was, at least, the indirect cause of the attacks on both Ali and Muaviya may be called the democratic-puritanical party; and the most serious demand which it made upon those in power was that every Arab should not only have a voice in the election of the caliph but should also himself be eligible as a candidate. Basra was the headquarters of this new puritan party; and its most powerful members were the Bedouin veterans—perhaps the most correct and virtuous of all Moslems. These fanatics, ever eager for self-sacrifice, were yet to be a source of great trouble to the Omayyad caliphs.

Demands of the Democrats

But Muaviya had also to keep a sharp look-out in another direction. Ali, who had always been too late during his life, proved after death a dangerous enemy. As long as he had stood at the head of the party of old believers, his obstinate and weak character had only led his followers to their ruin; now, however, that he lived only in their remembrance, his name became the war-cry of the older party as well as of the people of Irak, and his tragic end an unlimited source of fanaticism. The Arabian habit of enveloping their heroes in a cloud of legend soon caused the honest but mentally inferior Ali to appear as a most illustrious personage, upon whose purity, uprightness, and nobility of character no doubts were to be cast. And although the hero himself was dead, a son who appeared to be a worthy successor was still living. This was Husain, brother of the cowardly Hassan; to him, as their last hope, the old believers and

Ali Becomes A Hero

the Irakans turned. In the meanwhile Muaviya had found a lieutenant in the person of his half-brother, Ziyad, who was capable of putting an end to all trouble with Irak and with the inhabitants of Kufa. Ziyad had not long occupied the position of governor of the dissatisfied province before the boldest of his enemies scarcely ventured even to grumble, and all ironies and satires against the dominion of the Omayyads were stifled on their very first appearance. And after the death of Ziyad, whom Muaviya had apparently chosen as his successor, the Irakans were still in such a state of terror that the appearance of Husain failed to awaken any genuine enthusiasm among them. Nevertheless the hereditary caliphate of the Omayyads was as yet by no means on a secure footing. Muaviya experienced extraordinary difficulty in obtaining recognition for his son Yezid as his legitimate successor; and the easily led, thoughtless character of the latter was a cause of many complications and misgivings. It was only owing to the fact that the Syrians had the utmost enthusiasm for him that Yezid was enabled to retain his position.

Irak Chastened and Subdued

In spite of all domestic disturbances, the religious war of conquests, although now possessed of less significance than formerly, was carried on vigorously during the reign of Muaviya. Great progress was made in the east, where the Arabian forces crossed the Oxus, advanced into the valley of the Indus, and for the first time came into contact with the Turkish races that were in later times to play such an important part in the history of Islam. In Africa, also, the policy of conquest was continued, and the city of Kairuan was founded on the site of ancient Carthage as a centre of Mohammedan influence. After the death of Ali the Byzantines were assailed both by sea and by land; a portion of Asia Minor was devastated, and Arabian war vessels sailed as far as Constantinople, without, however, engaging in any decisive combat. Still, these struggles were of great advantage to the Omayyads, since they increased the popularity of Yezid, who had taken part in them at the desire of his father.

The Religious War

When Muaviya died in 680, the Omayyads were in a position easily to crush opposition. The chief rebellious spirits were the old comrades of Mahomet, now for the most part of great age, but surrounded by numerous ambitious descendants who held fast to the claim that a new caliph must be chosen from their ranks. The old believers could not look upon Yezid, who was not of a particularly serious disposition and troubled himself little about the precepts of the Koran, as other than an impudent pretender. In Mecca, another band of dissatisfied Arabs, rich in distinguished names but poor in followings, assembled about the banner of Husain. The latter joyfully received a long petition from the people of Kufa, in which they invited him to their city and offered him the dignity of caliph.

Once more, then, the old alliance between the companions of the Prophet and Irak threatened to become dangerous to the Omayyads; but before Husain arrived in Kufa, Yezid had already sent out a new governor, Obaidallah, a son of the terror-inspiring Ziyad, who, with his father's example before him, well understood how to deal with the rebellious Kufites. As a result, when Husain approached the gates of the city, not a hand was raised in his favour. The troops of Obaidallah advanced to meet him, and since he was unwilling to submit without a struggle, a battle followed, in which his weak forces were routed and he himself, together with most of his companions, put to death on October 10th, 680 A.D.

Fall of a Pretender

The fall of Husain revealed that ancient Arabia, although externally faithful to Islam, was in arms against the orthodox. The sacred cities alone appeared to offer a secure place of refuge to the faithful. Before their gates the storm of opposition abated, and it was thought that the original religious empire might perhaps once more be established from them as centres. In Mecca, Abdallah, eldest son of Zubeir, formerly candidate for the caliphate, laid claim to the supreme office and defied the ambassador of Yezid from behind the sacred walls of the Kaaba, at Mecca; on the return from Yezid's court of envoys who had beheld with horror the frivolity of the caliph and his comrades, and reported with passionate emphasis what they had seen, a terrific uproar arose in the city. But the Medinans refused to admit the claims of Abdallah ibn Zubeir, and established a



DAMASCUS, ONCE THE CAPITAL OF THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD-EMPIRE
When the Omayyad dynasty of Mecca succeeded the companions of the Prophet in the caliphate, the Mohammedan capital was removed from Kufa to Damascus, and Syria became the heart of the empire in place of Arabia.

provisional government in order to avoid an immediate outbreak of dissension. Further progress was to follow as time passed; but that Yezid would take hostile measures against the old comrades of the Prophet and advance against the sacred cities no one would believe, in spite of the general abhorrence that had been called forth by his godlessness. Nevertheless, the old believers were doomed to disappointment. A Syrian army marched into Western Arabia under the command of a man who could not have been better chosen as avenger of the various sanguinary campaigns by means of which the Prophet and his followers had compelled the sons of the desert to accept the new faith. Moslim, Yezid's general, was a superstitious pagan, uneducated, rude, furiously energetic, a true Bedouin of the old school, without a glimmer of reverence for the sacred memories of the Prophet. As a relative of the murdered Caliph Othman, he was fully bent on vengeance. What was to be expected from the barbarous Syrian nomads under his command, who had accepted the Mohammedan faith superficially only, who were in the eyes of the pious Medinans little better than heathens, and who returned the contempt of the old believers with a most cordial hatred?

The Old Believers Attacked

The comrades of the Prophet anticipated the fate that was in store for them when the Syrian army appeared before the walls of their city. Scarcely ever before in the history of Arabia had a battle been fought in which such blind, fanatical fury was displayed as at this time before the gates of Medina, and is known as "the day of Harra." The standard bearer of the Syrians had already fallen, and the army began to waver, when, on August 26th, 683, a troop of Syrians were admitted to the city by traitors, and thus enabled to fall upon the unprotected rear of the old believers. The fate of the defeated was terrible: all men capable of bearing arms were ruthlessly slaughtered, the women were violated, the city plundered. The blood of the comrades of Mahomet flowed down the steps of the mosque from which the Prophet had so often addressed his followers, and its sacred courts served the barbaric Syrians as a stable for their horses.

Holy City Sacked

From Medina, where Moslim died of a severe illness, the Syrian army turned toward Mecca. Catapults were already engaged in hurling great masses of stone

into the city, and firebrands had already been thrown upon the roof of the Kaaba, setting the sacred edifice in flames, when, for the time being, the defenders of the city were rescued, owing to the confusion that broke out in Syria on the death of Yezid. But, for Medina, the temporary change in affairs had come too late. The survivors sought refuge in Africa, the greater part of them joining the army that conquered Spain under the command of Musa; and in later times Spain became the last asylum of the companions of the Prophet and their descendants, for whom there was no longer a home in their native land.

Prophet's Companions in Spain

Matters had come to a serious pass for the Mohammedan religion. Even yet it was not firmly rooted in the hearts of the Arabians; the bulk of the Bedouins so far understood little more than the rudiments of Mahomet's doctrines, and it must already have appeared problematical whether or not the work of the Prophet would disappear amid the conflicts of parties and sects. The venerable men who had once assembled about the Prophet were now either dead or wanderers without a home; the sacred Kaaba, and the mosque at Medina, were shattered and polluted; the people were split up into hostile groups. And finally there was a caliph at the head of affairs who did not even preserve the appearance of obeying the laws of Mahomet, but seemed rather to pride himself on his profligacy. Everywhere it seemed that Islamism was falling into decay. But never in the history of the world has the power of spirit and of thought shown itself to be more irresistible than during the first century of the Mohammedan religion. Like a moonbeam upon the sea a ray of idealism and religious sentiment rested upon the dark waves of war and politics. However meagre in comparison with the greater religions of the world, Islam yet represented an idea, and therewith a power that no earthly weapon could destroy. The sudden death of Yezid, in November, 683, rescued Mecca and Abdallah; but at the same time it plunged the empire into the utmost confusion. Muaviya, son of Yezid, died a few months later, and cannot be said to have in reality succeeded to the supreme office; but at his death the Omayyad party was for the moment without a leader. This was sufficient to cause the old tribal antagonisms to come to the surface once more among the Syrian Arabs. They had been suppressed during the period of conquest, and Muaviya I. had understood how to render them harmless, even to cause them to be of service to the empire. Now, however, Yemenites and Mahadites stood face to face, armed to the teeth; and candidates for the caliphate must have known that the office was to be procured only through the assistance of one or the other party. Instead of seeking to take advantage of the quarrel of the rival parties in Syria, the people of Irak were content to limit their activities to their own province.

The Secret of Islam's Power

In Irak, the place of tribal feuds was taken by the dissensions of sects, among which the puritan democrats, or Kharijites, were no less distinguished than the followers of Ali. Owing to the influence of Iranian elements the various parties gradually became less and less Arabian in character. Nowhere, however, were there any signs of unity. Still, a powerful movement arose in all districts against the Syrian governors and officials, who, like the companions of the Prophet of earlier days, conducted themselves as high and mighty lords and masters, arousing a spirit of hostility wherever they appeared.

Abdallah the Pretender

The inhabitants of Irak finally chose for their leader Abdallah ibn Zubeir, the pretender of Mecca and last representative of the party of old believers, who, although he had shown himself to be both a hypocrite and babbler, must at least have been more acceptable to the members of the various quarrelling parties than a man selected from among their inveterate enemies, the Syrians. Had Abdallah been an able man and of strong will and character, it is probable that this time he would have succeeded in making good his claims to the caliphate. The tidings of the death of Yezid had scarcely reached the camp of the Syrian army before Mecca, when Husain, the Syrian commander, sought to make peace with Abdallah. The Mahadite tribes of Syria in their hatred of the Yemenites also placed themselves on his side. Egypt declared for him; and he was certain of the support of a powerful party in Irak. But his very first political action proved

that he was incapable of taking advantage of the favourable situation, inasmuch as he refused to grant Husain and his army amnesty for the destruction of Medina. Thus, to ingratiate himself with the feeble party of the old believers, he threw away the opportunity of advancing into Syria at the head of a powerful force and of winning an important victory.

Husain thereupon returned to Syria without Abdallah, and found there an Omayyad chieftain, Mervan, who was ready to defend the seriously endangered rights of his family with decision and courage, and also to assume the position of caliph. Since the Mahadites, or Kaisites, as they were generally called after their most important Syrian branch, had first decided in favour of Abdallah, and had afterward chosen Dhakhak, the governor of Damascus, to be their leader, Mervan was obliged to turn to the Yemenites, or Kelbites, who after long hesitation decided to give him their support, provided he would promise to fulfil the various conditions which they imposed. Mervan and his Kelbite allies defeated the Kaisites on the meadow Rahit near Damascus in 684. Dhakhak fled to Abdallah, whom he now recognised as caliph; and the Kaisites retreated to the north-east of Syria. One of the conditions imposed upon Mervan by the Kelbites was that he should marry the mother of Khalid, another Omayyad who had first been chosen by them to be their candidate for the caliphate, and should name her son as his successor; but he broke his word after the battle, and appointed his own son Abdelmelik to be his heir, with the result that he met his death at the hand of the revengeful woman in April, 685.

Kaisites Against Kelbites

The murder of Mervan was followed by sporadic revolts, of which the most serious was that of the democratic Kharijites. Goaded on by persecution, they rose during the period of confusion that followed the death of Muaviya; and their former torturers soon learned that they, too, understood how to wage war and to devastate no less than they had formerly known how to die. In their extremity the orthodox inhabitants of Irak declared for the cause of Abdallah; but the governor whom he sent out was soon killed in a battle with the infuriated sectarians. The terror inspired by the Kharijites was so great that at one time two thousand Irakans took to flight before a troop of forty of these redoubtable sectaries; in fact, it seemed as if the ardent enthusiasm and contempt of death that Mahomet had once infused into his comrades had revived in these dauntless zealots. The struggle was chiefly confined to the city of Basra, which was constantly threatened by the revolutionaries and preserved from destruction only by the heroic defence of Mohallab, the Irakan general. At the same time that the Basrans were trembling before the Kharijites, the Kufans were in a state of no less terror because of the adherents of Ali—the Shiites or sectarians, from the Arabic *shi'a*, a sectary. The appearance of this sect was remarkable in many ways: here the reviving spirit of the Iranian people made its appearance for the first time. The Persians had at first shown their inclination to shake off the Arabian yoke, together with the new religion that had been imposed upon them, only through occasional minor revolts. Now, however, as adherents of Ali and of Husain, and as champions of a schismatic tendency in Islam, they sought to adapt the new doctrines to their national character and to establish an Iranian form of the Mohammedan faith.

Forty Fanatics Rout Two Thousand

True to their old preferences, the Shiites, in contrast to the Kharijites, with whom they have often been confused, were partisans of unlimited despotism. And just as they had once set the highest value on the descent of their Arsacid and Sassanid sovereigns from a mythical, deified paternal ancestor, demanding pure blood in a sovereign as a condition of their loyalty, so at this time they claimed that the hereditary caliph should be a descendant of Mahomet, declaring that Ali, the nephew and son-in-law of the Prophet, had been the first legitimate caliph, and that the Omayyads, together with the Meccan caliphs were nothing more or less than usurpers. But these religious and political claims were merely a cloak to the true national spirit of the Shiitic movement, which found its most ardent adherents in Persian freedmen and slaves, and struck deep root in the land of Iran.

Persian Form of Islam

Under the leadership of a crafty and ambitious Arab, Mokhtar, the Shiites took possession of Kufa, and began a rule of

terror. Owing to their desperate resistance and to the treachery of the imperial auxiliaries, Abdelmelik's first attempt to recapture Kufa was a failure. However, Mozab, brother of the caliph Abdallah, succeeded in putting the leader of the Shiites to death and in occupying Kufa in the name of Abdallah in 687. But in truth Mozab had only opened up the way for the Syrian caliph. Abdelmelik, who in the meanwhile had made peace with the Kaisites, led a new army into the province, and in a surprisingly short time defeated the Irakans in spite of constant treachery on the part of the Kaisite leaders. Mozab fell in the battle; and Kufa opened its gates without resistance, as did also Basra, where Mohallab, the Irakan general, in spite of his great courage, demonstrated that he was as inconstant as the rest of his countrymen. Thus the most important province of the empire was lost by the Meccan caliph, who on his part was scoundrel enough secretly to rejoice at the death of his heroic brother, and, instead of taking decisive measures for the recovery of Irak, contented himself with delivering a well-turned funeral oration over the fallen in battle.

Contest of the Caliphs

Although the importance of Arabia had greatly decreased, so far as the temporal power of the caliphate was concerned, the moral influence which Abdallah as master of the sacred cities was still able to exert upon the numerous pilgrims who journeyed thither must not be underrated. For this reason alone Abdelmelik resolved to destroy his rival. Hadjaj, the general whom he sent out against Mecca, was a worthy successor to the dreaded Moslim, whose troops had sacked Medina. In November, 691, Hadjaj arrived before the city, and began a bombardment with his catapults. The Meccans held out for months, but finally fled, seeing that there was no help to be expected from without. The caliph Abdallah ended his life in a nobler manner than he had lived, for with his most faithful companions he made a sortie upon the besiegers, meeting death bravely at the head of his troops.

Siege of Mecca

The death of the last caliph of the old believers was an event of but small importance to the Mohammedan world. In the furthest north-east only, in Khorassan, was resistance offered by one of the governors who had been appointed by Abdallah. In the year 693 the entire empire of the caliphs was subject to the Omayyad dynasty; nevertheless, as yet there were no signs of peace and quiet. Unrest boiled and bubbled as in a geyser tube throughout Irak and Persia, and furious outbursts of the hidden resentment that flamed in the hearts of the people were visible from time to time. Even the rule of brute force instituted by Hadjaj, to whom the caliph had entrusted the governorship of the eternally restless province of Irak, failed to put an end to the rebellions that broke out again and again amid the confusion of races in that country of an old and fallen civilisation. Kelbites and Kaisites troubled Syria with their feuds and petty wars.

At the death of Abdelmelik, in October, 705, the influence of the Kaisites preponderated, and Velid, the new caliph, found in them his firmest support. Although Abdelmelik had been occupied almost constantly with domestic affairs, and had even been obliged to conclude a humiliating treaty with the Byzantines during the early part of his reign, Velid was now able to reassume the policy of conquest, which was far more in harmony with the original nature of the caliphate. There was no lack of soldiers, especially in Irak and Persia, and from these provinces men flocked to the banner of the caliph that they might win fame and plunder in the foreign wars.

A Period of Magnificence

For these reasons the reign of Velid was more brilliant than that of any other Omayyad caliph. Under his rule the Mohammedan empire attained to its greatest extent and magnificence. Kuteiba commanded the Arabian forces in the war fought on the north-eastern frontier of Persia, which had for its object the conquest of Transoxania and the subjection of its Iranian and Turkish races. After a severe struggle the city of Bokhara was captured in 709. Three years later Samarkand was taken, but in the year 715 the Mohammedan army was suddenly recalled while on the road to Kashgar, owing to the death of Velid. Contemporaneously with the Transoxanian campaign an attack was made on India. Under the command of Mohammed ibn Kasim, a Syrian army advanced into the valley of the Indus, and took possession of the city of Multan, after a long siege. However,

the Moslems were unable to follow up their success. The Arabian general was even compelled to admit to the Hindus that their religion, like those of the Christians and the Jews, was entitled to be looked upon with tolerance by Mohammedans.

All the while that victories were being won in the east, the Byzantines were hard pushed by the armies of the caliph. A quarrel about the succession had again broken out in Constantinople, paralysing the powers of the state, which was already in an exhausted condition owing to the wars with the Bulgarians. Thus it is not surprising that Arabian troops marched unopposed through Asia Minor, and finally appeared before Constantinople, while at the same time the fleets of the caliph sailed into the Sea of Marmora. But if for this reason Velid was led to believe that the end of the Eastern Roman Empire was at hand, he deceived himself as to the tenacity of the Byzantines, who even in later days proved themselves to be possessed of an almost inexhaustible vital power. Decisive victories were won in Northern Africa,

An Exciting Chapter of History

where Musa was engaged in a hard struggle with the Berber tribes, who had at first supported the Arabians in their war with the Byzantines, but were now fighting for their own freedom. Musa occupied the whole of the northern coast of the Atlantic Ocean, and from the African side of the Straits of Gibraltar cast longing looks toward the peninsula of Spain. How Tarik defeated the king of the Goths, how Musa himself followed on with fresh troops, and how in a surprisingly short time all Spain was made subject to the caliphs, the Arabian forces crossing the Pyrenees and penetrating far into France, is one of history's most exciting chapters. At that time all Europe trembled before the apparently irresistible advance of the enemies of Christendom, who were knocking at the gates of Constantinople and watering their horses in the Loire at the same moment that their fleets were threatening the islands of the Mediterranean. But it was also apparent that the Moslem bow had been bent to the point of breaking. The movement of expansion soon came to a halt, and the fall of the gigantic empire became only a question of time.

The character of Velid was such as is rarely to be found in a despotic ruler. The caliph distinguished himself rather through a wise employment of talented subordinates than through his own personal abilities. He also possessed the capacity of securing the respect as well as the loyalty of all men with whom he came into touch. His son and successor, Suleiman (715–717), a weak, mistrustful crea-

Suleiman the Ungrateful

ture, did not possess this gift, and however pitiable a spectacle he made of himself in his gross ingratitude to the great soldiers and statesmen of his father's reign, it must at least be admitted in his favour that he could not do otherwise than cast aside tools which he was incapable of using. Hadjaj, the ablest of Velid's councillors, had long foreseen what the future would bring to pass, and it had been his one desire to die before his master. That he was granted this piece of good fortune saved him from an ignominious end. The generals, some of whom were still at the head of their armies on the death of Velid, found a still more evil fate awaiting them. Musa was accused of misappropriating public money, compelled to pay an exorbitant fine by way of restitution, and ended his life as a pauper. Mohammed, the conqueror of the Punjab, was dragged to Damascus in chains, and tortured to death in prison. Kuteisa, who was well aware that a similar lot awaited him, sought in vain to arouse his troops to rebellion, and was soon put to death by the adherents of the new caliph, who sent his head to Damascus.

In spite of the wretchedness of his character, the deeds of horror perpetrated by Suleiman would scarcely be comprehensible were it not that at the time of his accession a complete change had taken place in the relations of the Arabian tribal groups. The Kaisites, who had enjoyed a golden age during the days of Velid, ruined themselves through an unsuccessful attempt to place a prince

A War of Revenge

of their own choice upon the throne. Since Suleiman was in consequence compelled to look to the Kelbites or Yemenites for support, he was likewise obliged to yield to their desire for revenge upon their old rivals. Yezid, a son of the Irakan general Mohallab, the deadly enemy of Hadjaj, stood at the head of the Yemenite party; he attained almost unlimited power, and waged a successful war against the last defenders of Iranian independence,

who dwelt in the mountainous south-eastern coast of the Caspian Sea, but had brought themselves into disrepute owing to their excessive ostentation and greed.

The foreign undertakings of Suleiman were attended by no great success. The Byzantines, who had provided themselves with a most effective means of defence in the shape of their celebrated Greek fire, were now, in 717, under a very capable leader, Emperor Leo the Isaurian. An Arabian army which laid siege to Constantinople met with total defeat. The caliph's fleet of some four hundred vessels was also destroyed, and for a time Asia Minor remained in the possession of the Byzantines. Suleiman did not survive these reverses. But his successor, Omar II., a simple, upright Arab of the old school, was in turn unable to retrieve the fortunes of the empire; he reigned for too short a time—717–720—to be able to accomplish anything of importance, or even to put his favourite scheme of increasing the number of Mohammedans, through a systematic conversion of the inhabitants of the various lands subject to the caliphate, into execution. It was greatly to the credit of Omar II. that he espoused the cause neither of Kaisites nor of Kelbites, but endeavoured to keep away from all factions and parties.

Defeated by the Byzantines

During the reign of his successor, Yezid II., who belonged body and soul to the Kelbites, the domestic feuds once more came into prominence. A namesake of Yezid, the son of Mohallab, entrenched himself in Basra, and called upon the Irakans, who had not forgotten their old hatred for the Syrians, in spite of the various tribal feuds, to revolt against the caliph. He was, however, defeated. At the same time a rebellion broke out in Africa, and it also became evident that the Moors intended to establish an independent kingdom in Spain. The short reign of Yezid II. — 720 to 724 — was marked by a decided falling off in the imperial power and supremacy of the caliphate. Nor did this retrograde movement cease completely during the reign of the next caliph, Hisham, although he was an abler ruler, and thoroughly aware of the course events were taking. Hisham displayed great wisdom in assuming a position of neutrality between Kelbites and Kaisites. Since Kaisite and Yemenite leaders and statesmen alternately obtained the leadership, a certain amount of political sagacity developed, so that men soon were able to foretell with a reasonable degree of correctness the principles according to which the one or the other party would administer its offices. The Kaisites were of the school of Hadjaj, the conqueror of Irak; a tight hold on the reins of government, an overwhelming burden of taxation, exclusive favour shown to Arabs, and disregard for the newly converted of other races, were the fundamental principles of their policy. It became almost proverbial that no man could equal a Kaisite governor in obtaining vast sums in taxes from a province. In contrast to the Kaisites, the Kelbites, or Yemenites, were of more liberal opinions, placing more value in diplomatic methods and in a policy of leniency towards the conquered. Moreover, they did not endeavour, as did the Kaisites, to extort the poll-tax exclusively from the newly converted; in short, their policy was one of conciliation, in contrast to the Kaisite policy of brute force. The two political systems were not yet founded on firm and consistent principles; it was usually quite sufficient for a true Kelbite to see a Kaisite perform an action, in order himself immediately to endeavour to effect the contrary.

Decline of the Caliphate

Politics in the Caliphate

Hisham, who was filled with an insatiable greed for wealth, soon discovered that the Kaisites were the party best adapted for executing his wishes: therefore the Kelbite governors, who had at first been in favour, were now everywhere replaced by the tyrannical Kaisites. The Spanish Arabs, who were almost exclusively composed of Yemenites, were now for the first time placed under the rule of a Kaisite; and in Africa, Obeida, and after him Obeidallah, extorted tremendous sums in taxes from the province.

The result was a vast upheaval of the population of Northern Africa, in whom the Kharijite missionaries of the period had at last found a people after their own hearts; so that here also those who arose in revolt against the insufferable burden of taxation became imbued with religious-democratic ideas and displayed the highest degree of fanaticism. The Berbers have never accomplished much under leaders of their own race; but under the



THE DEFEAT OF THE MOHAMMEDAN FLEET BLOCKADING CONSTANTINOPLE
In the glorious reign of Caliph Velid an Arabian army appeared before Constantinople, the fleets of the Caliph sailed into the Sea of Marmora, and all Europe trembled before the Mohammedan advance; but the tenacity of the Byzantines, and their Greek fire, saved the city, and in the next reign the Caliph's army and fleet were destroyed

intellectual guidance of alien spirits they have exhibited a remarkable eagerness for self-sacrifice and great courage. In the year 740 the district of Tangier revolted. Khalid, the general sent out by Obeid-allah, was killed, and with an exceedingly large number of Arab chieftains. The caliph was now obliged to throw his beloved treasure chests wide open, and to form an army of picked Syrian warriors for service in Africa. The troops were sent out under the command of Koltum and Baldsh, and were joined in Egypt by a levy of Arabs. Nevertheless, the battle with the Berbers ended in another defeat for the caliph; his infantry was for the most part annihilated, and Koltum fell. Baldsh managed to escape with the cavalry to Tangier; and thence, after many adventures, he arrived in Spain, where he was still to play a great rôle in history, recorded in another part of this work. Hisham did not live to see the end of the rebellion in Africa.

Successful Revolt in Tangier

In Irak also, after many months of peace under a Yemenite governor, an insurrection broke out on the appointment of a Kaisite to the office. The government was in a still worse plight in Khorassan, where Kelbites and Kaisites openly declared war on one another, as well as in the neighbouring province of Transoxania, where the native population was decidedly unwilling to accept the usual fate of the conquered. Since the Kaisite rulers were in the habit of beginning their terms of office with the imprisonment and exploitation of their Yemenite predecessor, the arrival of a Kaisite governor in Khorassan was sufficient to drive the Kelbites into open revolt and to cause them to form an alliance with the Turks; and it was not until a Kelbite governor arrived and general amnesty was granted that quiet was again restored in this important frontier province. Khorassan included at that time the whole of North-eastern Iran as well as Transoxania, and was of great importance from a military point of view as a barrier against the nomadic tribes of Central Asia. In like manner the mountain countries to the south of the Caucasus, which commanded the entrance to the passes, became military provinces in which incessant fighting took place with Armenians, Scythians, and Iberians, and sometimes with the Tartar hordes that strove to make their way into the plain of Mesopotamia.

Fighting in the Caucasus

The war with the Byzantines was continued with varying success. The Arabians still hoped to win a final victory by striking

a blow at the heart of the empire; Asia Minor was repeatedly laid waste, until a brilliant victory of the emperor Leo finally set a limit to the incursions of the Moslem forces.

Hisham died in 743, leaving to his nephew and successor, Velid II., an empire that, in spite of the unsuppressed revolt in Northern Africa, was still possessed of abundant vital power, thanks to the frugal financial policy of the caliph and to his skilful management of the two great political groups. Nevertheless, the antagonisms of sects and parties were by no means reconciled. There were, indeed, men who looked upon loyalty to the caliph alone as their chief virtue, and who thus formed the nucleus of a purely dynastic party. The tribe Rabia, which for many years had assumed a position of neutrality in the quarrels between Mahadites and Yemenites, and of which the members had for that reason frequently been chosen to fill difficult diplomatic offices, served as a point of departure for further development. But the jealousy between the Arabs of Syria and the Irakans, who were under the influence of Persia, was too deeply rooted to disappear easily. Indeed, the more influence the Persians obtained, the more decided was the tendency of the Irakans to turn away from the Syrians. Finally, it became evident that the Mohammedan Iranians would eventually gain the upper hand by force of numbers alone.

Persians Come to the Front

In this lay the greatest danger to which the Omayyad dynasty was exposed. Lifted to the throne by the Syrians, the Omayyads prospered, and finally fell with their most faithful adherents. As soon as the centre of the empire was removed to Irak, the days of the Damascus caliphate came to an end. The position of the Omayyads was undermined by the natural course of events; the stagnation of Syria, the Arabian inhabitants of which had fought the battles of the caliph, and had therefore fallen off rather than increased in numbers, and the growing multitude and wealth of the Irakans, were the chief causes of the decline of the Omayyad dynasty. Already during the reign of Hisham, the continuation of Omayyad rule had become dependent on whether or not his family could win the favour of the Irakans and the other inhabitants of the eastern provinces. It is hardly necessary to say that in this case also movements which were national were a cloak of religion. However much men continued to disagree as to whether the first of the caliphs had been justly entitled to the dignity, whether Abu Bekr or Ali had been the legitimate successor of the Prophet, one thing at least was certain—all the sectarians were united in the belief that the Omayyads were usurpers. But the question who should succeed them was not to be decided so easily. The descendants of Ali, who turned up from time to time and always found supporters in Irak, seemed without exception to have inherited the incapacity and misfortunes of their paternal ancestor; the few who remained of the old comrades of the Prophet had retired to the farthest west, to Africa, and Spain. Thus it came about that a noble family of Mecca, the Abbassides, who had long been known as the hereditary custodians of the spring Zemzem, and who were more nearly related to the Prophet than the Omayyads, succeeded in becoming the leaders of the dissatisfied sects. Already during the reign of Hisham their secret designs had assumed a serious aspect; under his feeble successors they arose in open revolt. Velid II. did his best to scatter the treasures of his predecessor, leading a life of careless debauchery; but in spite of his lavishness he succeeded in winning few true friends, and aroused the hostility of the other Omayyad princes by appointing his younger son to be his successor. In the year after his accession he was dethroned and put to death by Yezid III., the champion of the Yemenite party. Disturbances immediately followed in Irak and Khorassan. Mervan, the Omayyad governor of Armenia and Azerbijan, advanced on Damascus, defeated the Yemenites, and compelled the Syrian Arabs to accept him as regent during the minority of the son of Velid II. But the power of the Omayyads was rapidly declining, and Mervan, although a man of great ability, was unable to ward off the impending destruction. Embittered by their losses, the Yemenites had become his enemies, and thus the Syrian Arabs were once more divided at the very moment when unity was most needed. Already the descendants of Ali had raised the banner of rebellion in Persia; and in Irak the Kharijites were once more in revolt. No

Beginning of the End

Rise of the Abbassides

help was to be expected from the western provinces. In Africa the Berber troubles were not yet ended; and in Spain a civil war was raging between Kaisites and Kelbites, who even in this distant land had not been able to forget their ancient tribal hatred.

The first blow was dealt in Khorassan. Here, in the year 747, Abu Muslim unfurled the black flag of the Abbassides, and drove out Nasir, the Omayyad governor. Nasir vainly endeavoured to make a stand in Western Persia, and this province also was lost by the Omayyads. In the summer of 750, on the Abbassid troops appearing before Kufa, the gates were immediately opened to the revolutionists. It had been of no advantage to Mervan that he had seized and put to death Ibrahim, the intriguing head of the Abbassid family, for the place of the latter was taken by his sons; and the movement itself, which was not in reality founded on the ambition of the Abbassides, but on the excessive hatred of Irakans and Iranians for the Syrians, pursued its course without interruption. Mervan assembled a powerful army on the southern frontier of his old province, not far from Mossul; and here on the Great Zab the Abbassides encountered the superior forces of the caliph, on January 25th, 750. Even at this decisive moment the tribal hatred of the Bedouins did not lessen in intensity: just as the battle had practically been won by the Syrians, Mervan's entire Yemenite following deserted him. The result was a complete rout. After vainly seeking refuge in Damascus, the caliph escaped to Egypt, where he lost his life in a fruitless attempt to organise resistance. The banner of the Abbassides now waved triumphantly over the walls of Damascus; and thus the people of Irak finally gained the victory over their hated Syrian neighbours, the East over the West.

Last of the Omayyads

With the victory of the Abbassides a period of short splendour, followed by gradual decay, began for the empire of the caliphs. Many changes which had for years been developing in comparative seclusion now made their way to the light; and many features that had formerly been all-important to the welfare of the Omayyad dynasty were lost. Thus the moment has come for us to cast a backward glance over the domestic affairs of the Mohammedan empire, which arose out of nothing with such marvellous rapidity, and finally extended from the Pyrenees and the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to the Indus and the Jaxartes.

The Bedouins, who marched forth from the interior of Arabia, brought to the peoples of Western Asia a simplicity of life and a homely greatness of spirit and deed hitherto unknown to those more refined and effeminate races. In the Bedouins, the luxurious Syrians and Persians once more beheld men who looked upon mere sensual enjoyments with contempt, and were capable of fighting to the death for a principle. For the first time for many years a manly, often a heroic, spirit was infused into the history of Western Asia. The love of freedom of the Bedouins dissipated for the time being the suffocating atmosphere of gloomy, indolent despotism that arose like a poisonous mist from the rich plains of Mesopotamia and Persia. It was no lasting inheritance that Arabia presented to its neighbour countries. Never in history has a victorious race been able permanently to alter the character of the conquered territories and the spirit of their inhabitants; the conquerors themselves must finally succumb to this same character and spirit. None the less, the infusion of foreign blood is often sufficient to arouse the exhausted soil to new fruitfulness, to awaken a fresh development of national life.

Greatness of the Bedouin

Still, it would be incorrect to look upon the Arabians of the time of the Prophet as merely rude, uncultured Bedouins, however large a proportion of the population was composed of that class; the industrious agriculturists of Medina and the far-travelled merchants of Mecca stood upon a vastly higher plane of civilisation than the simple tribes of the desert. In Yemen remains were still preserved of a former period of flourishing commerce and advanced moral development; and the Arabs who led a semi-stationary existence on the frontiers of the Roman and Persian empires had not remained uninfluenced by the civilisation of their neighbours. From these various elements were recruited the populations of the towns that shortly became the centres of Mohammedan civilisation in the various provinces. The true Bedouin took but a small part in the intellectual life of these central groups; his passionate love for

Arabs of the Towns

an unfettered life on the steppes was unconquerable. No one has expressed this sentiment more convincingly than the mother of Yezid I., who prevailed upon her husband to allow her to return to her tribe in the desert: "A tent swayed by the wind is dearer to me than a lofty castle. . . . A piece of bread in the corner of my desert home tastes better than the daintiest sweetmeat. I long for my home; no palace may take its place."

Love of the Desert

It is obvious that the immediate effect of the wars of conquest waged by the caliphs could not have been favourable to civilisation; but the destruction and loss of life inflicted in the countries that were first attacked and quickly subdued were comparatively insignificant, despite the fact that these were religious wars, which, as experience has shown, are the most merciless of all struggles. Mahomet's humane treatment of both Christians and Jews, the ease with which conversion to Islam could take place—through the mere repetition of a formula—as well as regard to the finances of the state, were the chief preventives of general massacres.

Commerce very soon became one of the chief sources of the power and splendour of the Mohammedan empire. The most important trade routes from east to west fell at one blow into the hands of the followers of the Prophet; not a grain of Indian spice could reach the western world without first passing the customs depôts of the Arabians; and the amounts of the tolls assessed lay entirely at the discretion of the caliph. In earlier times trade had favoured sometimes one, sometimes another route, according to circumstances; an exorbitant duty in Egypt driving commerce from the Red Sea, the route through the Persian Gulf and the valley of the Euphrates to Syria became popular. The merchant was enabled to avoid the risk of transportation of goods by sea by sending his caravans overland through Persia and Mesopotamia. It was not long before wares from the Farthest East, Chinese silk in particular, were sent through Iran, sometimes through Transoxania and across the Caspian Sea to South Russia, often by ship from China to Ceylon, there to connect with the trade routes from India to the West. The gates of commerce were in the hands of a single people; and the profits of all the customs depôts, from Basra and Alexandria to Bokhara and Multan, flowed into the imperial treasury.

Arabian Control of Commerce

With the growth of material prosperity there was a corresponding increase of intellectual activity, which, however, did not reach its zenith until the times of the Abbassides. So long as the Syrian Arabs governed the empire, the ancient Arabian spirit reigned triumphant; and, as a result, poetry and romance were more popular than science.

The army organisation had remained under the Omayyads just what it had been during the first days of the caliphate. There was practically no standing army; and the caliph's bodyguard was of no special importance until the Abbassid dynasty came into power. The conquered countries were rendered secure by means of military colonies; for, as a rule, the armies that won provinces for Islam immediately settled down in the new territories and continued in the service of the governor. The natural result of this wholesale emigration was a surprisingly rapid increase in the political significance of Arabia during the days of the first caliphs. The military organisation, however well adapted to the simple conditions of life of the Arabs, was incapable of development, and the Abbassides were compelled to form their bodyguards and standing armies out of foreign mercenaries, who finally became the rulers of the empire.

The Army Organisation

The celebrity of the Arabians as breeders of horses might easily lead to the incorrect idea that the troops of the first caliphs consisted exclusively of cavalry; in truth, however, the number of serviceable horses in Arabia was never very large, and the Arabian armies were chiefly made up of infantry, and camel riders who usually fought dismounted. The backbone of the army was indeed composed of horsemen, well armed with steel helmet and chain mail, bearing lance and sabre; but the bulk of the soldiers were, at least during the early days of the caliphate, very badly off for arms,

The surprisingly rapid development of Mohammedan sea-power—the navy was constructed with the assistance of impressed inhabitants of the Syrian coast—has already been mentioned. It was fortunate for the Christian Occident that the dreaded "Greek fire" was discovered in time. It perhaps saved Constantinople from a premature fall.



THE GREAT DAYS OF BAGDAD

IT was not love for a brave general or for the followers of the Prophet, whose claims to the caliphate were much more valid than those of the rulers in Damascus, but hatred that caused Irakans and Persians to unite against the Syrians. There was no lack of candidates for the empty throne; once more the numerous descendants of Ali stood in the front rank. They had never ceased to labour for the downfall of the Omayyad dynasty, and in all probability the bulk of the soldiers who fought for Irak and defeated Mervan at the Great Zab believed that they were also fighting for the house of Ali. But the curse that seemed to accompany this family of pretenders continued with undiminished power: into the place of the descendants of Ali, the diplomatic, crafty grandchildren of Abbas thrust themselves, and as soon as they dared to lay aside the mask, held fast with iron grasp to the longed-for office. Abbas was an uncle of the Prophet, a distinguished man, but of doubtful character, who had opposed his nephew until finally the scales turned in favour of the latter. He then enthusiastically welcomed Mahomet as the messenger of God. Through this ancestor—whose spirit had descended upon his children—the Abbassides based their claims to the caliphate, not without foundation according to Arabian law, for among the Omayyads also, not the son but the brother of a prince was looked upon as the legitimate successor. Besides, Mahomet had left behind him no male descendants, but only a daughter, the maternal ancestor of the Ali branch. The success of the one family or the other depended entirely upon the personalities of their leaders, and so far as this was concerned the Abbassides were greatly superior to the descendants of Ali, who never yet had succeeded in pursuing a definite policy.

Usurpers of the Caliphate

Abdallah Abul-Abbas, with the honourable nickname of Al-Saffah (the man of blood), perhaps invented by himself, was of all the family the man most capable of assisting the cause of the Abbassides to victory both by trickery and force. By him the new period of Mohammedan history was ushered in in a manner characteristic of the whole age. When the Hashimids, the name given to the opponents of the Omayyads and supporters of the true descendants of Mahomet, had taken possession of Kufa, Abdallah was at hand immediately and succeeded in winning over their general to his cause. The commander of the Khorassan rebels, Abu Muslim, had always been inclined to favour the Abbassides, and others, whose loyalty seemed doubtful, were put out of the way either by open force or secret assassination. Arriving in Syria, Abdallah hastened to massacre all members of the Omayyad family upon whom he could lay hands, and caused the graves of the Omayyad caliphs to be opened and their bodies mutilated. It was in vain that the followers of Ali rebelled in Irak, and the adherents of the Omayyads in Syria. When, after a reign of four years, the "man of blood" died, the entire empire, with the exception of Spain, which then broke off for all time from the rulers of the East, was in the hands of the Abbassides.

Reign of the "Man of Blood"

The true founder of the Abbassid dynasty was Abu Muslim, who had first caused Khorassan to revolt, and now governed this important province with its military colonies and warlike inhabitants—a man who, owing to the intolerance and bigotry in which he had been educated, had become a bloodthirsty fanatic. Not until shortly before his death did he appreciate and regret the evil results of his blind religious zeal, as is shown in a remarkable letter written by his hand. It was inevitable that such a powerful, independent personage as he should have awakened the suspicions of the caliph, who made several attempts to cause him to be assassinated. When, after the death of Abdallah, a struggle for the succession broke out between his brothers, Abu Muslim hastened up, and with the aid of his army decided the victory

A Fanatic Who Repented

in favour of Abu Jafar Mansur. But it was fated that Muslim should never return to his province. As soon as he felt his position to be secure enough, the new caliph lost no time in putting into practice the political tendencies which he had inherited from his father. Abu Muslim was enticed to court, and there cut down before the caliph's eyes. After his death a rebellion in favour of the descendants of Ali broke out in Khorassan, and at the same time the contemporary head of the family, Mohammed, incited the Medinans to revolt; but Arabia was no longer the land from which a new dynasty could arise. Mohammed fell in battle, and the rebellion in Khorassan was easily crushed.

Founder of the Abbassides Murdered

During Mansur's reign the effects of the fall of the Omayyads and the termination of Syrian supremacy came fully into the light. Abdallah had already chosen Irak for his residence. Mansur, however, did not choose the frontier town of Kufa to be the capital of his great empire, but built the city of Bagdad in the heart of Persia, on the banks of the Tigris, at a point where it is separated from the Euphrates by less than thirty miles. At first it had not been his intention to establish the capital here. He had desired to found a military town, or, more correctly, a fortified camp as a headquarters for the mercenaries, with whose aid he expected to hold the restless Irakans in subjection. But Mansur could not shake himself free from the latter, among whom he enjoyed great popularity. Kufa, fallen into disfavour, was deserted; and after a few years had passed the walls of Bagdad became too narrow for the inhabitants who came streaming in from all directions. On the left bank of the Tigris a new and splendid quarter of the town sprang up; in short, whether he would or not, the caliph beheld a metropolis arising about his residence, a city which seemed to be a reflection of the Nineveh and Babylon of ancient days. The attempt to found a military camp in the land which was now elevated by the Abbassid caliphs into the centre of the Mohammedan empire, was of itself sufficient to prove that a change had begun to take place in the relations between the rulers and their subjects. The Omayyads had dwelt in Damascus, in the midst of a population of pure-blooded Arabs, who were loyal to the dynasty and dangerous to the caliph only when they became divided among themselves on account of tribal prejudice and hatred. Equal loyalty was not to be expected from the inhabitants of Irak, a mixed population of which the various elements were constantly in a state of war with one another; and the Arabs of Irak were no longer to be depended upon, for they had long before become enfeebled and degenerate.

Bagdad Grew by Chance

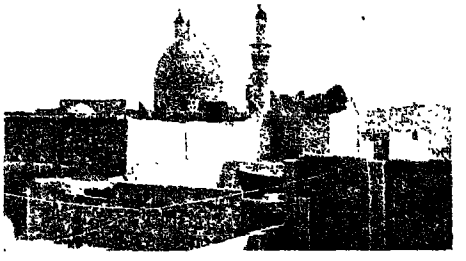
Thus it became necessary for Mansur to substitute for the small bodyguard that had proved sufficient for the Omayyads a larger force, of which the nucleus was composed neither of Syrians nor of Irakans but of border troops from Khorassan, and Turkish mercenaries. For the first time in the history of Western Asia the barbarous sons of the north-east strutted about the streets of Bagdad in the brilliant uniform of the life-guard, and cast longing looks on the vast treasures of the "capital of the world." Tidings of the fabulous splendour of Bagdad soon reached the Turkestan steppes; and the warlike nomads, seated about their camp-fires, eagerly listened to stories of the luxury of the metropolis and the cowardice and lack of unity of its inhabitants told by their returned companions. There was no longer any need for the caliph to impress or to entice Turkish mercenaries into his service; already more than enough had volunteered.

Turks Covet Bagdad

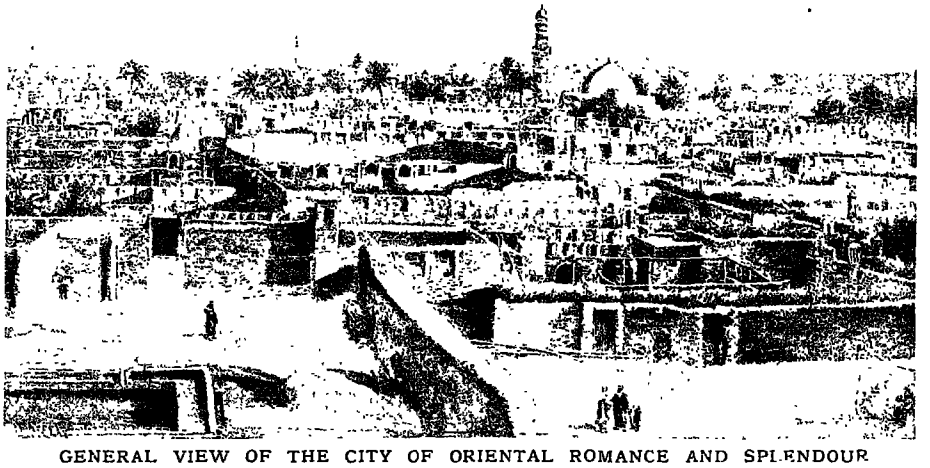
The removal of the centre of the empire to the east was a result chiefly of the growing power of the Persians, who were now completely reconciled to the Mohammedan religion. During the days of the Omayyads it had been almost impossible for a Persian to attain a position of influence in the state; but under the Abbassides the number of Iranians occupying high offices constantly increased. With them a new spirit, foreign and hostile to the old Arabian character, became supreme at the caliph's court. The mixture of aristocracy and democracy, peculiar to the Arabs as a natural result of their nomadic manner of life, with clans and chiefs was entirely unknown to the Persians, who had always shown that a despotic form of government was better adapted to their national character. The Arabs of the old school



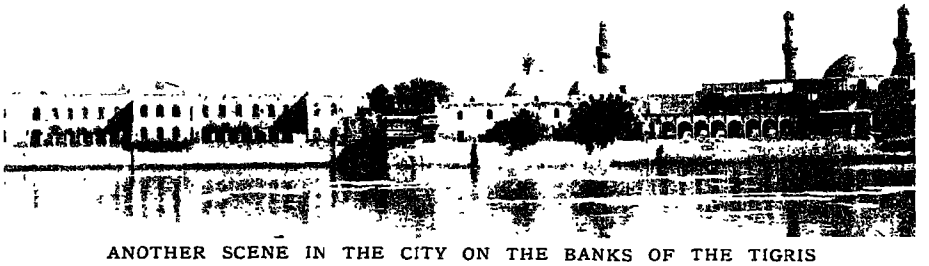
GRASS BOATS USED AT BAGDAD



A MOSQUE IN OLD BAGDAD



GENERAL VIEW OF THE CITY OF ORIENTAL ROMANCE AND SPLENDOUR



ANOTHER SCENE IN THE CITY ON THE BANKS OF THE TIGRIS



ON THE TIGRIS, SHOWING THE BRIDGE OF BOATS IN THE DISTANCE

BAGDAD, THE GREATEST CAPITAL OF THE MOHAMMEDAN EMPIRE

Photos Underwood & Underwood, London

had not the least comprehension for that blind idolisation of a ruler which the Persians had exhibited from the earliest times. Far from endeavouring to oppose this tendency, the Abbassides became less and less accessible to the people, and entirely gave up the immediate, almost comrade-like relation of ruler to subject in which the Omayyads had stood to their faithful Syrians. It soon became necessary for Mansur to create a new official, a vizir, who occupied the position of intermediary between the more or less deified caliph and the common people. It is obvious that the vizirate cannot well be compared with the chancellorship of a European state, inasmuch as the vizir was not the adviser of the caliph, but his agent in matters pertaining to external affairs. His duty was merely to execute the commands of his master, whose profound wisdom and infallible judgment decided upon all questions of administration, but who was far too august to take a personal share in the actual details of administration. Thus the vizirate was one of those positions of which the significance depended entirely upon the character of the incumbent, or of the prince whom he served. Some vizirs were mere lay figures; others were friends and advisers of the sovereign; in some cases, indeed, they were the true rulers of the nation, and in their hands the caliphs were little more than puppets.

Creation of the Vizirate

Although the Abbassides were willing to accede to the demands of the Iranian spirit in the matter of the vizirate, it was necessary for them to exercise the utmost caution in regard to another trait of Persian character somewhat similar to that which has already been described. The movement which enabled the Abbassides to place themselves at the head of the Mohammedan empire was in the main a result of Persian activity, and had for its immediate object nothing further than the destruction of the Omayyad dynasty in order that the true heirs and descendants of Mahomet might occupy the throne. It is obvious, however, that the Abbassides attained their position of supremacy owing rather to their superior diplomacy and cunning than to a general recognition of their rights. Inflamed with anger, but not in the least discouraged, the descendants of Ali still awaited an opportunity for putting forth their claims. The Abbassides themselves knew only too well that the grandchildren of the deified son-in-law and nephew of the Prophet possessed in reality far more adherents among the inhabitants of the empire than did the house of Abbas; and even had they not realised it, the revolts that were constantly breaking out in favour of the Ali branch would soon have taught them the obvious truth. However much the Abbassides were indebted to the various sectarians who assisted them to the caliphate, and however enthusiastic they may have been as Shiites during the years preceding their elevation to the throne, upon attaining the position of supremacy they were obliged to renounce their sect and to ingratiate themselves with the orthodox party, to which the bulk of the Arabian population belonged. The first step taken in this direction by the caliph Mansur may not have been easy; in fact, its immediate effect was to endanger his throne. But the permanent result of an understanding between the despotic monarchy and the State Church could not have been otherwise than beneficial to the future of the dynasty. Their position in regard to the orthodox party was of the highest importance to the Abbassides. As caliphs they were not only the rulers of a vast empire, but also the spiritual guides of all Mohammedans, defenders of the faith as well as of the realm. During the time of the Omayyads the two offices had united into one; in all regions through which the new doctrines were disseminated the temporal supremacy of the caliph was also recognised. Although the Abbassides soon perceived that they would not be able to retain their double position in all parts of their exceptionally extensive empire, they recognised at the same time that the religious influence which they possessed was also a means for preserving the state from dissolution, and that at least their spiritual authority could be maintained in regions where the power of their arms was no longer feared. On the other hand, dissenters had the choice either of entirely severing their connection with Bagdad through the election of a new caliph, or of taking a middle course by refusing to recognise the temporal supremacy of the caliphate while subjecting themselves to its spiritual authority. Thus, under these conditions, it must have been

Policy of Ali's Descendants

Caliphs Heads of the Church

a matter of great importance for the Abbassides to win the friendship of the orthodox party as well as of the Arabian tribes, which, notwithstanding all removals of the centre of power, still retained the political leadership of the Mohammedan world.

Nevertheless, in spite of Mansur's wise policy, the unity of the empire was not preserved entire during his reign. At the same time that the centre of the empire was transferred to the east, Spain, the farthest western province, was lost to the caliphs; not only the temporal but the spiritual bonds of connection were completely severed. It was in vain that Abdallah, "the man of blood," had endeavoured to annihilate the Omayyad family. A member of the fallen house, Abd ur Rahman, escaped to Africa after manifold adventures, and finally reached Spain, where after long struggles between Kaisites and Kelbites, the Kaisite leader, Yusuf, had obtained control of the government and driven out the Abbassid emissaries. Shortly after his landing, Abd ur Rahman succeeded in deposing Yusuf with the assistance of the Kelbites. He then established an independent government, and, as a descendant of the unjustly deposed Omayyad dynasty, took upon himself the title of caliph, in 756.



HARUN AL RASHID THE GREAT CALIPH

Harun al Rashid, "the Just," came to the throne in 708 A.D. in the golden days of the Mohammedan civilisation, and before the decay of Bagdad and the caliphate.

All Mansur's attempts to destroy his rival were without effect. In general, his reign was so disturbed at home by revolts of the followers of Ali and other parties that foreign undertakings were out of the question. The caliph was forced to content himself with maintaining the frontiers of the empire, here and there perhaps succeeding in advancing them a trifle. At all events, Mansur was successful in rendering secure the throne of the Abbassides.

It may have been that a cold, calculating, faithless character such as his was needed at this time with the assistance of the Irakans to maintain the supremacy of the Abbassides.

The golden age of the Abbasside dynasty did not begin until after the death of Mansur, in 775, when his son Mahdi succeeded to the caliphate—much against the will of his uncle, who, as brother of the late caliph, had first claim to the throne according to Arabian custom. But the constantly recurring inclination of reigning caliphs to abrogate the usual form of succession in favour of their own descendants in this case led to no serious conflict. Mahdi was the very opposite of his father both in character and disposition, but none the less just such a ruler as the Irakans most valued. Under his government Bagdad began to develop into the city with which we have become acquainted through legend and tale as the most brilliant and joyful capital of the world, and at the same time the centre of Eastern literature and science.

That in spite of Mahdi's mild rule there was no peace in Irak, and that the old struggles of sects and parties broke out anew, now here, now there, is self-evident from the character of the people. In like manner the warlike inhabitants of Khorassan, although they had assisted the Abbassides to the throne, nevertheless looked upon the departure of the latter from the Shiite doctrines with great displeasure. The tremendous revolt headed by the prophet Al Mukanna (the Veiled One) in Transoxania was not completely quelled until the year 780. Just as if there were not enough sects and parties already in existence, Arabian revolutionaries arose in Irak and preached a republican form of Mohammedanism.

Their principles may perhaps be considered to be the sharpest protest put forth by the Arabian national spirit against the Iranian despotism of the Abbassides. Among the Persians the old communism of the followers of Mazdak, who had embittered the life of the last of the Sassanidæ, appeared once more in a Mohammedan garb. The Iranian adherents of Ali finally arrived at the summit of absurdity in the deification of their idol. They had ever been ready to recognise the Abbassid caliphs also as divine beings on account of their connection with the Prophet, until the departure of the Abbassides from the orthodox faith transformed this overwhelming veneration into hatred. There is no doubt that the majority of the sects emanated from the Persians, and that they were, in a way, the outward evidences of the severe spiritual conflict occasioned by the conversion of the Iranians to Mohammedanism and the blending of the Persian and Arabian conceptions of life. Acquaintance with the religions of India especially with the doctrine of the transmigration of souls, which found many converts in Khorassan, contributed not a little to the general confusion.



TOMB OF HARUN'S QUEEN
A striking monument on the plains, near Bagdad, to Zobiede, queen of Harun al Rashid.

In spite of the domestic disturbances, Mahdi was able to undertake several successful expeditions against the Byzantines, without, however, firmly establishing his position in Asia Minor. An army to invade Spain was annihilated by the Omayyad caliph. The latter had already formed a plan of attacking Syria in order to arouse the old followers of his house to battle with the Abbassides, when, fortunately for Mahdi, Charlemagne began his wars against the Moors in Spain.

Rule of the Caliph's Wife

During the last years of his life the policy of Mahdi was guided almost entirely by his ambitious wife Khizuran, who had also managed to cause her sons Musa and Harun to be named his successors. But when, in the year 785, Musa ascended the throne, taking the title of Hadi, her ambition encountered a sudden check, since he advised her with great emphasis to busy herself with the duties of a woman, and to spend more of her time reading the Koran. However, Hadi's attempt to exclude her favourite Harun from the succession in favour of his own children led to his assassination in the next year.

Harun al Rashid, the Just

Harun al Rashid came to the throne without opposition, reigning from 786–809. He had always enjoyed great popularity, his generosity and kindliness contributing no less to the affection in which he was held by his subjects than the warlike deeds he had performed during his father's lifetime against the Byzantines. Still, he had inherited the evil characteristics of his Abbassid ancestors in full measure, showing himself on more than one occasion to be both treacherous and cruel. The high praise which tradition has accorded to his celebrated justness, perpetuated in his surname Al Rashid, "the Upright," must be accepted with restrictions. However, he has now become a favourite hero of legend; and Bagdad, his residence, which attained its greatest prosperity during his days, now stands for that epitome of fabulous splendour which the traveller in the Orient often seeks but never finds. Harun's name is connected the more closely with Bagdad for the reason that its decay set in almost immediately after his death, and with the magnificence of the city the glory of the caliphate itself became less and less, until finally it too vanished. On the whole, however, it may be said that the period of Harun's reign was one of domestic prosperity and of successful foreign wars. The ruinous effects of the Abbassid system of government were not felt to any great extent during his lifetime. But complete domestic tranquillity was not to be thought of. It was impossble for the Irakan and Persian sects to renounce their favourite pastime of quarrelling; again and again they sought to take up arms, and in Syria, Kelbites and Kaisites fell upon one another with undiminished fury. The ever-restless inhabitants of Khorassan were no less inclined to revolt now than they had

always been. In Africa things came to such a pass that the authority of the caliph was no longer recognised in the western provinces; and a dynasty of the house of Ali arose, refusing to be subject either to the temporal or to the spiritual influence of the Abbassides.

The campaigns of Harun against the Byzantines, although temporarily successful, were attended by no permanent results. Constantinople was harassed to the uttermost by the Bulgarians, and repulsed the armies of the caliph with the greatest difficulty; more than once the city was compelled to pay tribute to Harun. The expeditions often led by Harun himself into Asia Minor were little more than predatory raids, for the empire of the caliph was already too decayed and tattered to permit of the permanent acquisition and Mohammedanising of new provinces; in fact, soon after Harun's death the Byzantines themselves took the offensive. The most noteworthy event of Harun's life was the destruction of the Barmecides. Had it been only the murder of over-ambitious generals or governors, or merely one of the scenes of carnage that occur in endless succession throughout the history of Oriental empires, the incident would scarcely be worthy of notice. But in reality the deed itself, together with the events that led up to it, may be taken as a characteristic prelude to later conditions; through it the authority of the office of mayor of the palace, which was in later times called into existence by the weakening despotism as an executive and support, was for the time being abolished. Already, under the predecessors of Harun, the Barmecide family had attained to great authority; and its influence became almost unlimited when one of its members, Yahya, by timely interference succeeded in securing the throne for Harun on the death of Hadi. And when Jafar, a son of Yahya, obtained as a result of his wisdom and charm of personality the highest favour of the caliph, and held the office of vizir with almost boundless power it seemed indeed as if a new ruling house had arisen with the Abbassides. Already the whims of Jafar were looked upon as of greater importance than those of the caliph; already measureless wealth had fallen to the share of the favoured family; when, in 803, a sudden catastrophe destroyed its hopes of further distinction and influence, and at the same time led to the annihilation of the all-powerful favourite. Had it been insight into the threatening danger that led Harun to take extreme measures much might be said in his defence; but it was in reality nothing more than an ordinary harem affair through which Jafar and his family came to their ruin. The affair was certainly not greatly to the credit of the caliph, and the deed awakened extreme dissatisfaction among the people of Bagdad. Grumbling and embittered, the ageing Harun left the city, and resided during the last years of his life in Rakka in Mesopotamia, assiduously but vainly engaged in an attempt to obviate later quarrels as to the succession.

Destruction of the Barmecides



Underwood & Underwood

HARUN AL RASHID'S PALACE

All that remains of the splendid palace of the Great and Just Caliph at his ancient capital of Bagdad.

During the reign of Harun the Abbassid empire reached the zenith of its external power and domestic culture. The foundations of prosperity were, on the whole, the same as they had been during the Omayyad period, but internal conditions had changed. The removal of the centre of the empire from Damascus to Bagdad exerted a tremendous influence on the life and morals of the Mohammedan races. Transported from the dry, strong desert air of Damascus and placed in the hot, damp plain of Irak, the civilisation of the caliphate developed more rapidly, but also more artificially, under the new conditions.

Inasmuch as the residence of the caliph was removed to the richest and most

densely-populated province of the empire, it followed that the caliphate itself gained new lustre, and at the same time became further estranged from its old Arabian simplicity. In order that the caliph might maintain the splendour and dignity of his supreme position among the countless rich merchants of Bagdad, in the midst of a population given over to pretension and display, it became necessary for him to arrange his court in a manner entirely different from that which had previously been the custom under the majority of the Omayyad rulers. Magnificent palaces, bridges, mosques, artistically laid out gardens, water conduits, and public fountains aroused the wonder of his subjects no less than did the splendour of the arms and uniforms displayed by caliph and court on holidays, or the plenitude of treasures accumulated in the palace of the ruler, and the lavish way in which money was freely distributed to beggars and the unemployed. A luxurious spirit of good cheer pervaded the entire city; and, as once in the Rome of the emperors, not only the gold of the provinces, but also the native products of the various quarters of the globe were brought by commerce to the markets of Bagdad, where the silks of China and the furs of Siberia were heaped together with the spices of India and Arabia and the coloured leather wares of Cordova. At that time Bagdad was the centre of the world's commercial routes, which led from China to the West, from India to Byzantium and to Western Europe.

Splendour of Bagdad's Court

Although there were still dangers and difficulties to be overcome, it was a golden age of commerce: the majority of the roads were in excellent condition, provided with milestones and caravanseries, and protected by garrisons in the less-frequented regions. The great annual pilgrimages to Mecca, which united devotion and trade in a most profitable manner, contributed not a little to the increase of traffic, although the Arab merchant, as a rule, was quick enough to follow in the track of the warlike Mohammedan propaganda, sometimes indeed preceding it and appearing in the rôle both of missionary and trader. The onset of the religious wars had thrown down all the barriers which had previously encircled the lands of Western Asia like Chinese walls; the Mohammedan merchant now found in all regions countrymen and tribal relatives who were ready to give him shelter and protection and all the assistance in their power.

The Golden Age of Commerce

Nor was the sea closed to him. Commerce on the Indian Ocean had long been in the hands of the Arabians, who penetrated as far as the Southern Chinese ports, and through their superior industry had practically ruined the once flourishing shipping trade of China. In the Eastern Mediterranean the warships of the caliph had forced back the Byzantines; in the year 826 the conquest of Crete provided Mohammedan commerce and piracy with a base that for more than a hundred years defied every attack of the Eastern Roman emperors.

The desert was as little an obstacle as the sea to the Mohammedan merchant, who was well acquainted with its dangers, and knew by what means they could be overcome. Northern Africa had scarcely been conquered before commerce with the Sudan, hitherto merely a small, unprofitable trade, began to flourish; vast caravans traversed the desert of Sahara and brought the products of Arabian, Persian, and Egyptian industry to the blacks, returning home with gold-dust, ostrich feathers, and negro slaves. In all regions into which the Arab merchant penetrated arose those small settlements and colonies which even to-day exist on the Eastern African coast as precursors of Arabian civilisation and Mohammedanism.

Trade in the Desert

The intellectual movement that was brought about through the extension of trade, and the consequent furtherance of the unity of the empire, were of still greater importance, still more wide-reaching in their results. Already under the Omayyads this process had begun, but not until the caliphate had been removed to Irak, where there was so great an intermingling of races, did it attain to its full extent.

Even before the invasion of the Arabs the population of Irak had been a remarkable mixture. The ancient Babylonian race still formed the nucleus of the stationary inhabitants and the peasant class; in the cities there was a large amount of Greek blood, and finally Semites had immigrated in such numbers that during the period of the Sassanidæ bands of Jews had succeeded in keeping the land in a state of terror for months at a time. The long-



A MOHAMMEDAN TRADING CARAVAN AND PILGRIMAGE FROM CAIRO TO MECCA
The desert was as little an obstacle as the sea to the Mohammedan merchant, and vast caravans traversed the deserts, while the great annual pilgrimages to Mecca united devotion and trade in a most profitable manner.

continued supremacy of the Parthians and the Sassanidæ had very naturally led to an extensive immigration of Iranians, who had now—also in an ethnographic sense—become the leading race, as was abundantly proved by the close connection in which Irakans and Persians appeared in later times, especially in the various revolts and rebellions.

It has already been described how the Arabians, who had dwelt in the steppe regions since the earliest times, destroyed the Iranian power at the beginning of the Mohammedan movement, increased in numbers, and founded a new state. With the establishment of the Islamite world-empire the way was opened for an unlimited blending of races; and when Bagdad became the centre of the empire as well as of commerce there was not a race-element of the Arabian empire and its bordering lands unrepresented, no civilisation that had not exerted its influence on the medley of peoples in the world-city. Here, on a soil that had known culture from the earliest ages, arts and sciences could not fail to flourish; and for a time Bagdad was the centre of learning of the world of its day. Scholars and poets needed but the invitation of such a sovereign as Harun to flock to his court from all quarters of the empire.

In view of the present condition of Islam and the intellectual paralysis into which its followers have fallen, it is difficult to believe that such a broad and free scientific and literary life really existed during the first period of the Abbassides. But convention had not yet imposed the practically exclusive and consequently sterilising study of the Koran on all scholars. During the age of the Abbassides the Koran had not yet become the absolute guide of life; its laws were not yet so infallible, its believers not yet so fanatically credulous as they are to-day. Without scruple the caliph and his confidants gave themselves over to the full enjoyment of wine, that was so hateful to the Prophet, scarcely even troubling

to veil their scandalous conduct from the public eye. With the same freedom Harun patronised scholars and philosophers whose views would have made the hair of every orthodox Moslem stand on end. Nor could he very well have done otherwise. Irak had ever been the classic ground of sects. The caliph would have been compelled to annihilate at least two-thirds of his most intellectual subjects had he desired the orthodox belief to obtain full play. Moreover, the fact that the Abbassides had originally been adherents of the Shiite heresy, and were always suspected of a relapse, was as well known in Bagdad as elsewhere. It would not have been advisable to provoke the sectarians too much; for, as it was, they were constantly on the verge of revolt.

Only against the communists—the Zendikists—were laws enacted, and a formal court of inquisition established for the destruction of these stragglers of the old Mazdakite persuasion. Through this the caliph ensured himself the applause of the wealthy classes, who at this time, as always, were far more apprehensive of the evil effects of a raid on their purses than of any number of heretical attacks on the sacred paragraphs of the Koran.

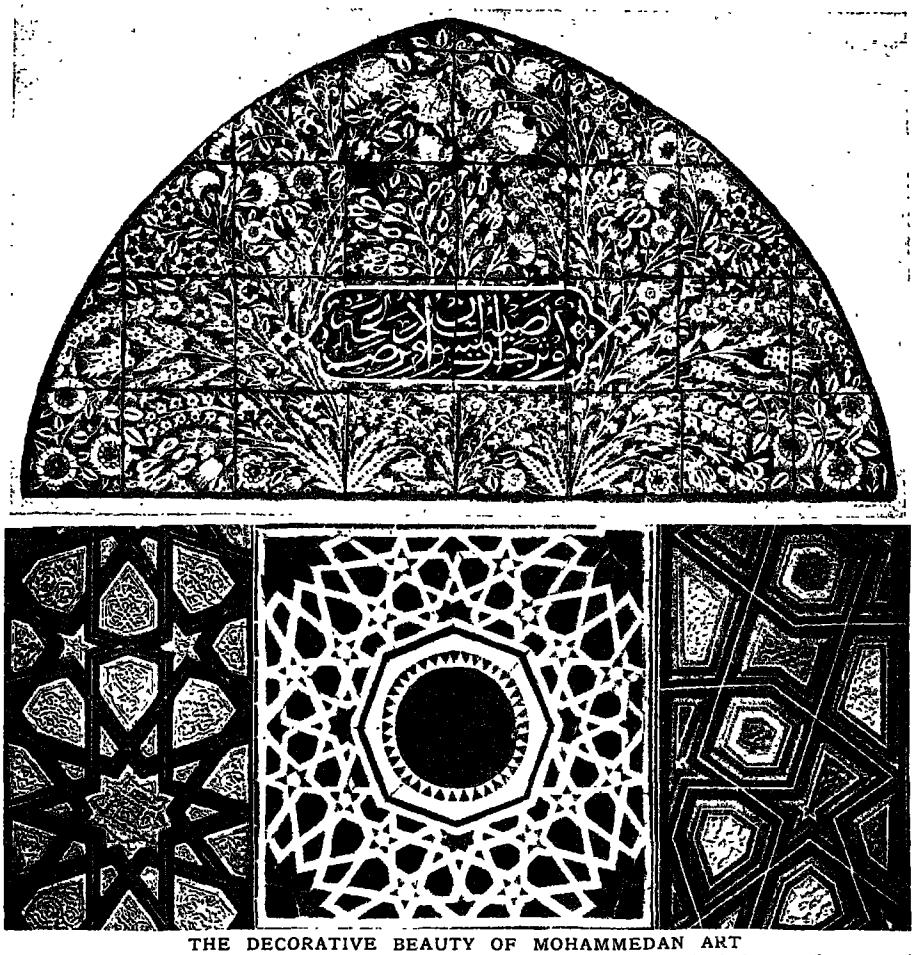
However much economic development was impeded by the constant tumult and rebellions caused by the various sects, their existence was nevertheless of the greatest advantage to intellectual progress, owing to the large degree of tolerance which the caliph was obliged to exhibit on their account. Every new idea, however daring it might be, could hope to find approbation and adherents, not only among the well-educated higher classes of Bagdad, but even among the people and at court. Doubters and sceptics were permitted publicly to expound their views by the side of the unyielding orthodox; and the numerous Christians and Jews took an active part in the labour of civilisation—according to their own methods.



THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE ARABS
A beautiful Arabian fountain in Jerusalem.

In most cases, however, the various sects and religions were nothing more than the intellectual expression of the differences of race, which indeed were the true foundation of the rapid development of Irakan civilisation. The characteristics of the different peoples who came together in Bagdad supplemented each other in a marvellous way: the sharp, somewhat matter-of-fact intellect of the Arabs became united at a most favourable moment with the unbridled creative imagination of the Iranian, and conceptions of the harmony of early Greek life, as well as of the mystic depths of Hindu thought, were awakened by the representatives of these two opposite poles of Aryan culture.

Hellenism, represented by the immortal works of its greatest age, was the basis of all scientific activity; and the writings of Aristotle, at a time when they were forgotten in Western Europe, became the oracle of the Mohammedan world. Nevertheless the products of Greek intellectual life did not achieve popularity as rapidly as one might have expected. Direct translations of Greek texts were not made until the reign of the caliph Mamun (813–833); until this time Persian translations as old as the



THE DECORATIVE BEAUTY OF MOHAMMEDAN ART

The preference for a superfluity of detailed ornament shown in Mohammedan art, of which some fine examples are given here, is a result of Mahomet's injunction against pictures and images, which forced the artists to express themselves in decoration. The panel of tiles at the top is from a Damascus mosque. Below, in the middle, is shown an Arabian marble mosaic, while on each side is a carved arabesque from a Cairo pulpit door.

days of the Sassanidæ had been found sufficient for all purposes. Thus, in this respect, at least, the period of Harun al Rashid was not the highest point of development.

The chief branches of learning patronised by the caliph were naturally such as were especially congenial to the Arabian spirit—that is to say, those requiring intellectual penetration rather than powers of invention; for example, philology and grammar, logic and rhetoric, religious dogmatics and jurisprudence. It is scarcely necessary to mention that mathematics also were extremely popular among the Arabs. Another peculiarity of the Arabs, their delight in tribal traditions and in endless genealogies of families, required only the influence of Greek models in order to become transformed into history; knowledge of geography also developed as a result of historical investigation as well as of the great commercial activity of the period. It is characteristic that of these two branches of science the latter developed more freely and in greater tranquillity; history was never able to emancipate itself from the bonds of partiality for particular princes and sects. Chemistry was rarely pursued independently for its own sake, being looked upon for the most part as a means for the artificial production of gold; nevertheless, some of the best work of the period was done by the Arabians in this branch of natural science. Finally, medicine,

furthered by the translation of Greek handbooks, attained perhaps not to a completely free development, but at least to a very advanced state of progress.

Height of Arabian Culture

The idea that attention should not be devoted exclusively to a single branch of knowledge, but that men should endeavour to obtain a more general education through the study of several sciences, was not unknown to the Mohammedan world of the eighth and ninth centuries. Already during the reign of Mansur a school had been established in Bagdad in which the Arabian language, the art of poetry and astronomy were taught. The effort to attain distinction in science on the foundation of an all-round intellectual training was not confined to Bagdad alone. Focuses of learning arose at the courts of governors and in the prosperous commercial centres; the activity of trade in material goods aided the exchange of intellectual products. A large number of the scholars and writers of the day were in the habit of wandering from city to city, from court to court; the world was open to them, and they were always certain of being received everywhere with enthusiasm. Not until last century did the Western world, as a result of vastly improved methods of communication, acquire a unity analogous to that of the Arabian empire under the Abbassides; nevertheless, the possession of a universally understood written and spoken language rendered the culture of the Abbassid state in many ways superior to that of modern Europe.

Sculpture and Painting Forbidden

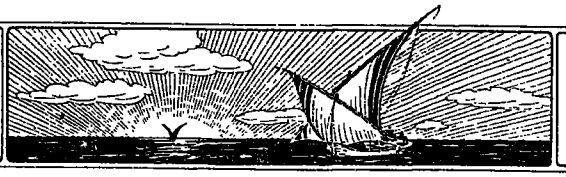
Among the arts music was zealously cultivated, although none of the great Mohammedan races have attained to more than mediocrity in a province that seems to be the peculiar property of the Western Aryans. Whatever talent existed for the plastic arts was restricted, in view of the mandate of Mahomet forbidding pictures and images, to architecture and to the various handicrafts; and perhaps the latter were pursued only the more industriously since the way was closed to the highest endeavours of sculptor or painter. The preference for a superfluity of detailed ornament is one of the results of this command of the Prophet—an injunction that could have been uttered only by a typical representative of the matter-of-fact, logical, unimaginative Arabian race.

Literature alone was permitted to develop in complete freedom in the empire of the caliphs, and even that was unhampered only in so far as the airy creations of poetic genius could not easily be gagged and checked; satire still continued to be one of the most dreaded weapons employed in the struggle of parties and sects. But the old unconstrained spirit of Arabian poetry had ceased to exist at the time of Harun, although during his reign verse-writing had become a mania and the poet an indispensable court functionary.

In spite of many weaknesses, the civilisation of the Mohammedans during the caliphate—at a period when Europe was first beginning to recover from the general destruction that followed the Teutonic migrations—cannot be looked upon as other than the guardian of the traditions of better days. It was due to Moslem culture alone that the progress of civilisation was not wholly interrupted at a time when the energy of the Southern European nations had slackened and the northern barbarians awkwardly and with difficulty, although with fresh powers, were beginning to restore the institutions which they themselves had destroyed but a few years before. The prosperity of Bagdad was a fleeting but by no means unworthy reflection of those earlier days, when for centuries the only civilisation of the world was that which flourished on the banks of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

Bagdad a Reflection of Babylon

The culture of the Arabians was not without its influence on Europe; the young nations of the Middle Ages did not remain long unacquainted with the splendour and polish of the caliph's empire. It was the conquest of the Pyrenean Peninsula that led to a close relationship between the most powerful rulers of the West, the Frankish kings, and the Abbassides. Inasmuch as the Omayyad caliphs in Spain were the rivals of the Abbassid princes in Bagdad, it was natural that the Christian states of Europe should become the allies of the latter. Embassies were exchanged as early as the time of Pepin. The negotiations of Charlemagne with Harun al Rashid made an especially deep impression on the Occidental world, although followed by no practical results.



THE PASSING OF BAGDAD
AND PERSIA IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES

HARUN may have foreseen that the loss of Spain was a sure sign of approaching decay; and it was perhaps with a conscious intention of making the best of an unavoidable situation that shortly before his death, in 809 A.D. he resolved to divide the temporal power of the empire among his three sons, Emin, Mamun, and Kasim, placing the ecclesiastical sovereignty, however, in the hands of the eldest alone, thus to gird the whole with an indivisible spiritual bond. In accordance with this plan, Emin was promised the caliphate, together with the provinces of Irak, Southern Syria, Arabia, and Africa; Mamun, the entire east; and Kasim, Mesopotamia and Northern Syria. But almost immediately after Harun's death, at Tus during an expedition to Khorassan, his plans regarding Emin were rendered abortive, for the latter hastened back to Bagdad at the head of the army and laid claim to absolute dominion over the whole empire.

Struggle of the Brothers

His brother Mamun, at first in secrecy, later openly, renounced allegiance to him, and took up a strong position in Khorassan. In truth, behind this apparently dynastic struggle were concealed the racial antipathies which sooner or later were to destroy the unity of the Mohammedan empire. Emin's vizir, who represented the power behind the throne, was a champion of the orthodox Arabian party; Mamun's vizir was a Persian, and a believer in the mystical doctrines of the Shiites.

The result of the struggle was apparent from the very beginning. As an Abbasside, Emin could look for no assistance from the Syrians; the latter indeed, revolted on their own account. Thus he found support only in the untrustworthy Irakans and in the state troops, unfortunately chiefly composed of mercenary Khorassanians and Turks, who already, by reason of their increasing consciousness of independence, were more of a danger to him than to his enemies. Defeated by Tahir, Mamun's general, they returned to Bagdad full of resentment, and it was only by an increase in pay that they could be induced to remain faithful to the cause of Emin; but in the long run these undisciplined guards proved as little able as the cowardly Irakans to withstand the advance of the warlike inhabitants of Khorassan. After a war that lasted four years Emin was finally besieged in his capital and reduced to the utmost straits by Mamun's Persian generals, Tahir and Hortuma. He finally surrendered to the latter, but before he could be brought to a place of safety was attacked and killed by the command of Tahir in 813.

Unreliability of the Mercenaries

In the meantime Mamun had remained quietly in Merv, and even now showed no intention of marching to Bagdad, however much his presence was needed there. Indeed, the general state of confusion seemed to have increased rather than diminished on the death of Emin. The Arabian party still continued to offer a stubborn resistance to the Khorassanians, and the followers of Ali once more endeavoured to make good their claims by taking possession of Kufa and Mecca. Finally, the inhabitants of Bagdad revolted, embittered because of the losses sustained by trade owing to the absence of the court.

At length, on the advice of Fazl, Mamun made a tardy attempt to restore order through an alliance of the Abbassides with the descendants of Ali, and married his daughter to one of the latter, whom he named as his successor. But their mutual hatred remained deeply rooted in both parties; the Abbassid family, greatly offended at the elevation of one of their most deadly enemies, chose another of their race to be caliph in place of Mamun. The latter finally hastened to Bagdad and experienced little difficulty in conquering the rebels, but was compelled to give up

Revolt and Rebellion

his attempt to reconcile the two families; the green banner of the Ali family, which had already waved triumphantly at the head of his army, was once more replaced by the black flag of the Abbassides. Thus Mamun freed himself from his Persian advisers, and at the same time won back the confidence of the Irakans, only again to give free rein to his preference for the Persians. But the national differences and antagonisms had already become too acute to be smothered by any double-dealing on the part of the caliph. The inhabitants of Khorassan were loyal to Mamun so long as he remained in their midst and adhered to the principles of the Shiites; but after his return to Bagdad they lost all interest in him. Tahir, to whom was given the control of Khorassan, his native province, succeeded without difficulty in establishing an almost independent government. During the same period an insurrection led by Babek, the sectarian, broke out in Northern Persia; it was fundamentally a reaction of the Iranians against the Arabians and the orthodox, and doubly dangerous for the reason that Babek succeeded in forming an alliance with Byzantium.

Caliph's Double-dealing

All the while that the eastern provinces were breaking away from the empire, the state of affairs in the west had gone from bad to worse. Harun al Rashid himself had been able to retain only a nominal supremacy over the northern coast of Africa, and had been powerless to prevent the governor of Tunis, Ibrahim ibn al Aglab, from becoming practically independent and establishing the hereditary monarchy of the Aglabites in 800. Even earlier, in the year 790, a dynasty of the descendants of Ali, the Edrisites, had arisen in Morocco. A revolt now followed in Egypt; and it was with the utmost difficulty that Mamun succeeded, by personal interference, in temporarily restoring order. The incipient decay of the empire of the caliphs had no immediate ill effects on the diffusion of Mohammedanism, for the Aglabites conquered Sicily during the reign of Mamun, and at about the same time Crete fell into the hands of Andalusian corsairs. After the separation from the caliphate, Spain may be said to have arrived at the summit of her prosperity under the Omayyads

Revolts in Africa and Egypt

The reign of Mamun was, on the whole, favourable to the development of Mohammedan civilisation. An admirer of the progressive doctrines of the Shiites, he was also interested in the serious discussion of scientific questions; and owing to his influence a large number of Greek works were translated into Arabic. He seems especially to have valued the earlier literature of Persia.

Although Mamun was not lacking in the evil traits of character peculiar to his family, he was nevertheless beyond doubt intellectually the ablest of the Abbassides, and in religion as well as in science the champion of a movement that sought to open up the road to free development. His endeavours were frustrated, owing to the opposition of the old believers, whose views could not be brought into harmony with the Persian-Shiite conception of life, as well as to the profound antagonism that ever exists between despotism and independent investigation. From the time of Mamun the spiritual power as well as the temporal power of the caliphate steadily decreased.

Decay of the Empire

After Mamun's death, in 833, Mutassim, his successor, made a despairing attempt to keep his unruly subjects in check by means of an army of mercenaries of foreign extraction, in spite of the fact that on his accession he had only with the greatest difficulty succeeded in crushing a military revolt. The number of mercenaries was gradually increased to 70,000. The caliph soon felt his position in Bagdad to be no longer secure, and removed his residence to Samarra, a few hours north of Bagdad; the foundations of the empire became weaker and weaker.

The further history of the decline of the Mohammedan empire was little more than a barren, monotonous succession of sectarian revolts, military rebellions, and ecclesiastical quarrels, interspersed with vain attempts to restore order on the part of the caliphs.

The latter became more and more the creatures of their vizirs; province after province awakened to independent life, and one governor after another founded a new hereditary dynasty; though an occasional caliph succeeded in turning the tide of temporal and spiritual power in his own favour, winning back something that had been lost, or in temporarily checking the course of decay.

In regard to this struggle of the caliphs against fate it was significant that Mutavakkil (847-861) forsook the doctrines of the Shiites, turned from the followers of A'i, and joined forces with the orthodox party, the Sunnites, as they were then called. The Sunna, or supplement to the Koran, composed of authentic traditions, was compiled during the first half of the ninth century, and soon became the palladium of the orthodox believers; it was entirely discredited by the Shiites, whose allegorical mystic interpretation of the sacred book was naturally not to be brought into harmony with the belief of the orthodox. In favouring the orthodox party, Mutavakkil returned to the original policy of the Abassides; indeed, he went further, inasmuch as he revived the severe measures of Omar against the Jews and Christians. With this change of religious front was naturally combined an attempt once more to reign with the assistance of the Arabs and to dispense with the services of the mercenaries.



THE CALIPH MUTAVAKKIL
Who ruled during the last years of Bagdad, forsook the intellectual party and became orthodox, attempting to reign without the assistance of the Turks.

But the unfortunate division of the Arabian people into two parties again led to disastrous results; the Yemenites preferred to join forces with the Persians, and the Kaisites with the Turks, rather than work together for the re-establishment of the lost influence of their race. Thus the power of the mercenaries constantly increased; and the Turks became only the more dangerous as the empire diminished in area and in wealth.

Nevertheless, a few years of prosperity were still left to the empire. During the reign of Mutamid (870-892), whose office was in reality administered by his more capable brother Muvaffak, the caliphate once more returned to power and regained several of the lost provinces. This advance in general welfare continued until the death of the caliph Muktafi, in 908, when a new period of confusion set in. Already at that time events of greater importance took place in the various independent or semi-independent provinces than in the capital of the empire. It finally became apparent that the strength of the central government could be increased only through an alliance with, or, indeed, through subjection to, a foreign power. The desire for independence developed earliest in Persia. Gradually the east became wholly independent, or, at the most, nominally recognised the spiritual supremacy of the caliph. In the year 876 affairs had already come to such a pass that the Saffaride Yakub ibn Laith made war on the caliph and advanced to within a few miles of Bagdad. The bravery, however, of the more loyal of the Samanides ensured, at least for the time being, the safety of the capital.

Last Years of the Empire

The East Becomes Independent

At the same time that the Saffarides were menacing Bagdad the whole of Egypt was in uproar. Here the governor Ahmed ibn Tulun had declared his independence; and to all appearance it seemed that the dynasty of the Tulunides would become a permanent institution. Tulun, whom we must credit with a thorough knowledge of the political situation, took possession of Syria and the line of the Euphrates: in fact, he even made an attempt to extend his influence over the caliph himself, in order to procure for his followers the most important positions at court, and thus indirectly to become the head of the empire. But his plans were defeated by the interference of Muvaffak. After Ahmed's death Syria was regained, and in the year 904 the Abbassides managed once more to take possession of Egypt, which they retained until the appearance of the Fatemides.

The authority of the caliph was badly shaken, even in the provinces which were situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital. The democratic-religious party of the Kharijites, who displayed an almost indestructible vitality, established an independent state in Northern Mesopotamia, where the Arabian element preponderated, and where the Abbassides had never been popular, with Mossul as its centre. When, in the year 894, the caliph succeeded in becoming to a certain degree master of these rebels, it was only

to be confronted by a new danger: the family of the Hamdanides were given the governorship of Mesopotamia, and managed not only to secure the dignity as a hereditary right, but took possession of a portion of Northern Syria in addition. It was fortunate for the caliphs that the Hamdanides did not immediately strive for absolute independence, but sought to avoid a complete break with the central power, to which in time of necessity they were obliged to turn for assistance, inasmuch as their province was situated on the frontier, and constantly exposed to the attacks of the Byzantines. In spite of all, however, hostilities twice—in 913 and again in 935—arose between the Hamdanides and the caliphs.

Hamdanide Dynasty in Mossul

The Hamdanides arrived at their period of greatest prosperity during the second half of the tenth century, when Saif ed-Dauleh (Sword of the Empire) occupied Haleb and made war on the Byzantines, while his brother Hasan, or Nasir ed-Dauleh, resided in Mossul. Saif was an ideal Arab—or Saracen, as the Christians now began to call the Moslems—a man of great courage and munificence, possessed of considerable poetic gifts, an enthusiastic patron of the arts and sciences, but also inspired by the ardent desire for power, and capable of ruthless barbarity. The Arabians of Syria, who looked upon the Irakans and their caliph with the utmost contempt, found in him a new champion and guide. But the Hamdanides were unable permanently to maintain their precarious position between Byzantines, Irakans, and the Fatemides, who were now steadily advancing from the south.

The Fatemide conquest of Egypt, which took place during the course of the tenth century, was only a part, although perhaps the most important part, of a great religious-political sectarian movement that spread rapidly during these times of confusion, in opposition to the caliphs, who had once more joined the orthodox party. The Ismailians, a sect named after a great-grandson of Ali, were in reality nothing more than a branch of the Shiitic group, and, like the Shiites, arose among the Persian Mohammedans. The Ismailians consciously endeavoured, through the blending of Islamite, Zoroastrian, and Christian doctrines to create a new world-religion, and in a certain measure strove to revive the great work of Manes; thus they were ensured a prominent position and countless adherents during a time when the orthodox form of Mohammedanism seemed to have lost all its powers of obtaining new converts, as well as to have forfeited the confidence of the masses, owing to its alliance with the unpopular Abbassid caliphs. The allegorical interpretation of the Koran, already received with great enthusiasm by the Shiites, the promotion of mystic arts, and the assertion that the true spiritual head of the faithful dwelt concealed from the eyes of men and communicated with the people only through his messengers, led the most varied elements of the Mohammedan population to embrace new doctrines of which the political tendency was naturally directed against the Abbassides. The great danger to which the caliphate was exposed by this movement lay in the fact that owing to the wide diffusion of its doctrines the dissatisfied of all sects and parties assembled under the Ismailian banner; nor was its propaganda confined to the Iranians alone, as was that of the true Shiites. Serious rebellions of the Ismailians occurred first in Irak and in Arabia, where the rebels were usually called Karmates, after their earliest leader. Several times the sacred cities of Arabia were in their possession; Bahrein and Yemama were conquered, and from the last-named province emissaries were sent to Africa in order to spread the new doctrines among the Berbers. In the year 906 the Karmatic disturbances were at least temporarily quelled; but the spark of insurrection had blown over to Africa, and, although it appeared at first to have been extinguished, it soon enkindled there the flame of destruction. In the year 900 the Aglabites had found it necessary to oppose the Ismailians by force of arms, for after many failures the sectarians had finally succeeded in gaining over enthusiastic adherents among the Berbers, led by the Karmatic emissary Abu Abdallah. Not long afterwards the rule of the Aglabites, weakened by internal dissensions, came to an end, and in the year 908 the capital, Kairuan, surrendered.

A New World Religion

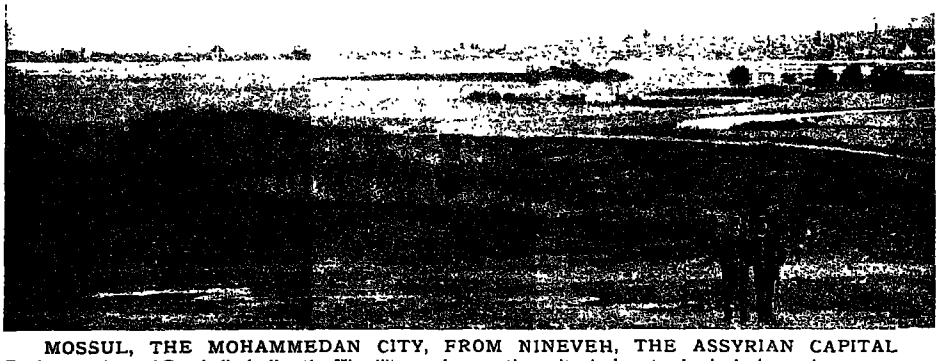
Growth of the Ismailians

Obeid Allah, a descendant of Ali, now arose as prophet or Mahdi, and was placed at the head of the newly established empire. Abu Abdallah may have hoped that the spiritual and temporal ruler



THE MOUND OF ANCIENT NINEVEH AS SEEN FROM THE MODERN CITY OF MOSSUL

appointed by him would be contented with the rôle of puppet; but in this he was disappointed. Obeid Allah seized the reins of government with powerful hand, defeated all who opposed him, and enlarged his kingdom by the conquest of Morocco. On his death, in the year 934, the new dynasty of the Fatemides was firmly established. His successor took possession of Egypt in 968, where already, in 933, the family of the Ikshidites had become almost entirely independent of the caliph. Subsequently a prince of the orthodox party, who recognised neither the Abbassides in Bagdad nor the Omayyads in Cordova, resided as spiritual head at Cairo, or Fostat. In the meanwhile new rebellions had been aroused by the Karmates in Arabia, Irak, and Syria, through which the caliphate became greatly weakened; and although the rebels were constantly defeated, they held themselves —at least in Bahrein and Yemama—in constant readiness to take up arms again. Not one of the various provinces of the Mohammedan empire was now in the immediate possession of the caliph; the loyalty even of the portions of Irak adjacent to the capital was questionable; and the former executive and administrative powers of the supreme ruler were now in the hands of the vizirs and Turkish generals. Thus it came about that the Abbassides were finally compelled to throw themselves upon the protection of a newly-established Persian dynasty, being thereby enabled to prolong their existence, although at the cost of the remainder of their independence. This dynasty was that of the Buides, who originally came from Tabaristan, and claimed descent from the Sassanid emperors. The Buides had taken advantage of the confusion in Persia, and had occupied Farsistan,



MOSSUL, THE MOHAMMEDAN CITY, FROM NINEVEH, THE ASSYRIAN CAPITAL

During the days of Bagdad's decline the Kharijites, a democratic-puritanical sect, who had always been a menace to the caliphate, established an independent state in Mesopotamia with Mossul, where Nineveh stood, as its centre.

the centre of ancient Iran; soon afterward, in 934, they took possession of Chusistan, thus approaching dangerously near to Bagdad. However, during the years immediately following, Bagdad was left to its own troubles; the chief question seemed to be, whether the leaders of the mercenaries, the Hamdanides, or the Ikshidites, should finally succeed in becoming the "protectors" of the caliph, and thereby obtain for themselves the position of supreme authority over the empire. The Buides, then under the command of Mo'izz ed-Daulat, made the most of their opportunities for conquest; for while the Ikshidites and Hamdanides were quarrelling with one another, and Bagdad was the scene of insurrections which even the Turkish guards were unable to overcome, a Buidian army advanced on the capital. The vizir of the caliph Mustakfi fled, and Mo'izz installed himself as temporal ruler at the side of the caliph, to whom only his spiritual supremacy now remained.

Persians Rule in Bagdad

The most prosperous period of Buidian rule was the reign of 'Adhud ed-Daulat, who took possession of the greater part of Persia and the lands of the Hamdanides in Mesopotamia and Syria. But on his death, in 982, decay set in and was hastened by family disputes. The unfortunate custom of dividing the property of the reigning house led to constant struggles for the throne. It thus came about that Mahmud of Ghazni (998–1050) managed to rob the Buides of their possessions in Iran, that the Fatemides occupied Syria, that independent rulers arose in Northern Mesopotamia, even in the midst of Irak, and that finally Buides and Abbassides descended together to the same low estate into which the caliphate had already fallen when first assailed by Mo'izz ed-Daulat. In Bagdad the Shiitic adherents of the Buides and the Sunnitic-Turkish mercenaries fought with one another continually in the streets, causing the utmost confusion and tumult. Finally the Seljuks destroyed the last remains of Buidian authority, and took into their own hands the government of the empire. Here we must turn to the developments which had been taking place beyond the Tigris, since Persia was never fully assimilated by the Arab conquerors. It had been a severe blow to the Persian people when their state, and at the same time their ancient religion, fell before the lances of the Arabians and the doctrines of a visionary Bedouin. The blow was only the more severe because entirely unexpected, inflicted by a race that had before scarcely been deemed worthy of consideration—that had even been despised because of its lack of political unity and its poverty. "We have always looked upon you as of no account," said the unlucky Yesdigerd III. to the ambassadors of Omar; "until to-day Arabs were known in Persia only as merchants and beggars." Soon afterward these merchants and beggars were the masters of Iran; the bulk of the Persian people were forced to accept the new religion; and a small minority, who for many years still continued here and there to offer a desperate resistance, succeeded only in causing many regions to become almost desolate, and in still further reducing the vitality of the Iranian race. Farsistan, the ancient land of the Achæmenidæ and Sassanidæ, suffered most during the struggle; nor did the Mohammedans succeed in establishing their religion there. The most stubborn opposition, however, was that of the rude mountain folk who dwelt along the southern coast of the Caspian Sea in the districts known as Deilem and Tabaristan. One of the most difficult tasks of the Persians had been that of guarding the mountain passes which led into Central Asia, in order to dam back the flood of nomads that constantly threatened to inundate the plains of the south-west. The empire of the caliphs had now to take this labour upon its own shoulders; and, in truth, the Arabian rulers were conscious of their duty from the very first. They found the frontier country of Khorassan already in a highly developed state of military organisation, and sought, by substituting military service for tribute among the dwellers of the borders, to render the frontier troops still more efficient. In addition, entire Arabian tribes were transplanted to Khorassan, where they have in part maintained themselves to the present time, free from all admixture of foreign blood. Moreover, there was always the possibility of forming new divisions of troops out of nomadic mercenaries, with the help of whom other nomadic races could be kept in check and even pursued into their desert strongholds. The military

Persia in the Later Middle Ages

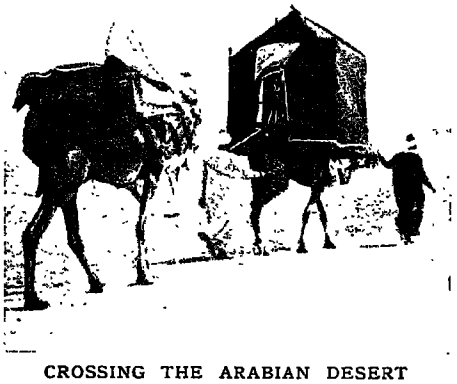
Guarding the Asian Frontier



BEDOUIN SHEPHERDS OF PALMYRA



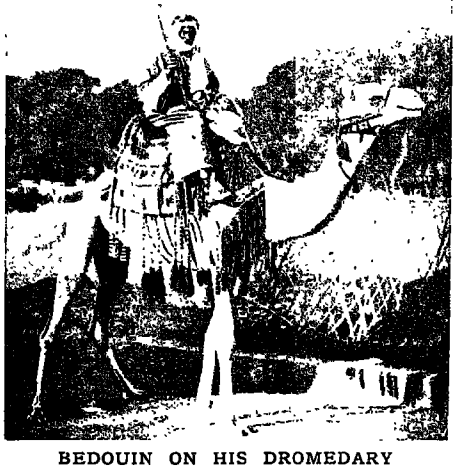
BEDOUIN SHEIKHS OF JUDÆA



CROSSING THE ARABIAN DESERT



ARAB'S HOME ON THE CAMEL



BEDOUIN ON HIS DROMEDARY



A BEDOUIN HORSEMAN

THE DESERT RANGERS OF ARABIA

forces at the disposal of the governor of Khorassan corresponded to the area of his province, which, although it did not always remain the same, included the greater part of Eastern Iran, together with Transoxania. In no other province of the empire were so many attempts made by ambitious governors to establish an independent dynasty as in Khorassan. It was due chiefly to the influence of the Arabian military colonies that for a long time the many movements which began here were not, as a rule, directed against the caliphate and the Arabian nation. But this influence became less and less the more the Iranian national spirit arose, and the Iranian people prospered under the beneficent effects of Arabian legislation and domestic policy. Although the Iranians were defeated in the political field, and for a long time rendered powerless as foes in arms, they nevertheless engaged in a spiritual conflict with the Mohammedan doctrines which had been forced upon them; no longer openly, it is true, but by adjusting Islam to their own requirements they sought to transform it into a new belief, corresponding more nearly to the Persian national character. The abstinence and simplicity taught by Islam and its Prophet found no more favour among the imaginative Persians, who had long been acquainted with the philosophies of Greece and India, as well as with the lofty thoughts of Manes and Mazdak, than it had previously gained among the true Arabs, to whose semi-democratic tribal form of society and independent spirit it was little adapted. Nevertheless, we find that at a very early period the Persians were the adherents of all parties that sought to place the true descendants of the Prophet on the throne, at first as enthusiastic followers of Ali, later as the true victors in the struggle that ended in the supremacy of the Abbassides.

Struggle of the Iranian Spirit

The Koran a Book of Mysteries

At the same time, however, the religious differences became more and more apparent. While the Arabs were engaged in compiling the Sunna, the Koran itself became, in the hands of the Persian theologians, more and more a book of mysteries, of which the elucidation was possible only to especially favoured persons, and in the secret depths of which evidence was sought for the strangest of doctrines. Complete harmony between the various Iranian sects that thus arose was naturally out of the question; and many of them developed a remarkable power for winning converts. The Ismailians, the far-reaching effects of whose doctrines were felt even in Egypt, where a dynasty was placed on the throne through their influence, shook the caliphate at Bagdad to its very foundations, and their last branch developed into the terrible Assassins (1100-1256), whose name was derived from *hashishin*, "eater of hashish."

The rise of religious differences was followed by an increase of political disunion—not a sudden rupture, but a gradual modification of existing conditions—leading in time to a complete change of tendency. When, after the death of Harun al Rashid, Mamun dethroned his brother Emin with the help of Khorassanian and Persian generals, and after long hesitation decided to remove his residence from Merv to Bagdad, it was well known that only the presence of the caliph could preserve Khorassan to the empire, and that chiefly for this reason he had remained for so long a time on the eastern frontier. By handing over the province, together with Pushang, the capital, to his most deserving general, Tahir, and by permitting the latter to establish a semi-independent dynasty, Mamun chose the best way open to him for escape from a difficult position; the Tahirides continued to acknowledge at least the spiritual supremacy of the caliph, and for a long time prevented the rise of disloyal houses.

How Khorassan Was Lost

Division of possessions and family quarrels gradually undermined the power of the Tahirides; finally, when Yakub ben Laith arose in Seistan, first as a robber chieftain, later as a ruler of the province, and at last as a conqueror, the descendants of Tahir were compelled to submit to their fate, and were succeeded by this upstart son of a tinman, who had raised himself to the position of an independent sovereign, founding the Saffarid dynasty in 872. The new ruler was a serious menace to the caliphate, and apparently resolved to put an end to the Abbassid government. The caliph Mutamid endeavoured in vain to avert the threatening danger. That he freely offered Yakub the governorship of Khorassan was of as little avail as was the solemn cursing of the rebels from all the pulpits of the empire, which made no impression upon them at all; and when the

army entrusted with the defence of Bagdad met with a complete defeat, it seemed that the fate of Mutamid was sealed. However, the Abbassid ruler was saved by the sudden death of Yakub in 878. Yakub's successor, Amru, acknowledged the supremacy of the caliph and led his army back into Khorassan, thereby missing an opportunity most favourable to the fortunes of his family.

In the meantime the Samanides, a new ruling house of Turkish descent, arose in Transoxania; and it was necessary for Mutamid only to ally himself with them in order to bring about the fall of the Saffarides in Khorassan. In the year 900 Amru lost a battle and at the same time his province to the Samanide leader Ismail, who succeeded him as governor, without coming into conflict with the caliphate. On the death of Ismail, in 907, the caliph acknowledged his son Ahmed II. as legitimate successor to the governorship. Ahmed managed to drive the rest of the Saffarides out of Seistan, as well as to take possession of the lands of a dynasty of the house of Ali, which had settled down in Tabaristan.

The Buide Regents of the Caliph

At about this time the already mentioned house of the Buides, or Dailemites, arose to power. Samanides and Dailemites together ruled the greater part of Persia for the space of a century, although there was obviously no lack of minor independent states in the neighbourhood. The loyalty at first shown to the caliph by the Samanides did not prevent them from making war upon him subsequently; the Buides, however, remained faithful, and finally succeeded in insinuating themselves into the court at Bagdad as temporal regents at the side of the caliph. The fall of the house of the Samanides soon gave them control of Khorassan also.

The whole of Eastern Iran did not fall immediately into the hands of the Buides. During the days of the Samanide dynasty a small state arose at Ghazni in Afghanistan under the rule of a Turkish house which at once made preparations for enforcing its claims on the heritage of the Samanides. The warlike Sultan Mahmud, who ascended the throne at Ghazni in 998, experienced small difficulty in overthrowing the Buidian government in Khorassan and Rai, so that finally nothing remained to the Buides but Irak, Farsistan, and Kerman. Mahmud did not follow up his campaign against the west, but found it more advantageous to inaugurate a series of invasions of India, and there to extend the power of Islam at the sword's point. For this reason Mahmud of Ghazni occupies a very important position in the history of the diffusion of the Moslem faith, while his reign also marks a period of reawakening of the Iranian national spirit.

Mahmud of Ghazni in India

With his accession a new phase of Persian culture began. During the reigns of the first Abbassid emperors the Mohammedan possessions in India, none of which extended very far beyond the eastern banks of the Indus, were tolerably closely united to the empire. The influence of the caliph was supreme in both Multan and Mansurah, the two chief commercial towns, while the remainder of the region belonging to the Mohammedans was governed by princes who paid tribute to the caliphate.

Even before the days of Mahmud, his father, Nasir ed-din Sabuktegin, defeated the most powerful of the Punjab princes, who at that time also occupied the Iranian passes and the valley of Kabul, descended into the valley of the Indus, and laid waste the whole region in his march. Immediately after his accession, in 998, Mahmud began to extend these conquests. His victorious campaigns extended as far east as the Jumna and southward to Somnath and Surat, and were of the utmost importance to the later history of India, inasmuch as the sultan looked upon the conversion to Islam of all subjected provinces as his chief duty.

From another point of view, Mahmud's attitude in regard to religion and politics laid the foundations for many a later historical development. His was a great and simple nature, such as is not unfrequently found among the dwellers of the steppes. Clearly he was no friend to that fantastic, mystical, allegoric faith into which the doctrines of Mahomet had been transformed by the Iranian priesthood, and he was nothing less than a declared enemy to the remains of the ancient Zoroastrian religion, of which there were still many champions in his state. Mahmud showed himself throughout to be an enthusiastic adherent of the orthodox faith, a Sunnite of the purest water. Hence he was a friend of the caliphate, the spiritual supremacy of which he willingly acknowledged, without, however, feeling dependent upon it in

Orthodoxy of Mahmud

regard to temporal affairs. He prevented the Shiites from establishing a separate Iranian Church, brought the Eastern Iranians back to the banner of orthodoxy for all time, and laid the foundations for that division of the Persian people into two religious sects which still exists to the present day. Neither the glory accorded to Mahmud by the Mohammedan world for his zealous adherence to the orthodox faith, nor the celebrity of his sanguinary wars can be compared to the services which, in spite of his love of conflict and his Turkish-Sunnitic inclinations, he rendered to civilisation through his furtherance of the intellectual life of Iran. Under his protection the first fruits of Persian literature were harvested, and it was he who uttered the call that awakened the ancient Iranian epic from its slumber.

A Great Patron of Literature

When the power of the Arabian conquerors began to fail in the East, their language, too, fell more and more into disuse; and the speech of the subjected Persians once more made its appearance, and even won friends at the courts of governors and princes. The more the East developed in independence, the prouder the folk of Iran became of their ancient celebrity, the louder and freer resounded the Aryan tongue. Inasmuch as the rulers began to seek for popular support, and to adapt themselves to the peculiarities of the Iranian people, they soon became aware of the magnificent store of legend which had been faithfully transmitted from father to son by the simple dwellers of the mountains and steppes.

But although the poets of Iran now undertook with reawakened powers the renovation of their ancient but shapeless literature, they were compelled to admit that the school of the Arabians had not been without value to them, that the union of harmony and force which caused their work to be celebrated throughout the Eastern world resulted from the combination of Iranian imagination with Arabian clearness and insight. Mahmud of Ghazni, however, who had taken possession of the lands of his predecessors by force of arms, also inherited from them a desire to foster and protect the germs of native literature; he rewarded the poets with a generous hand, and invited the best authors and scholars of the country to his court. No sovereign has ever surpassed or even equalled him as a patron of literature. The number of poets by whom he was surrounded at Ghazni did not fall short of 400; and inasmuch as Mahmud selected one from their midst to be laureate, appointing him judge of the poems submitted in competitions for prizes, he succeeded in creating a centre of artistic life.

Poetry of Iran Revived

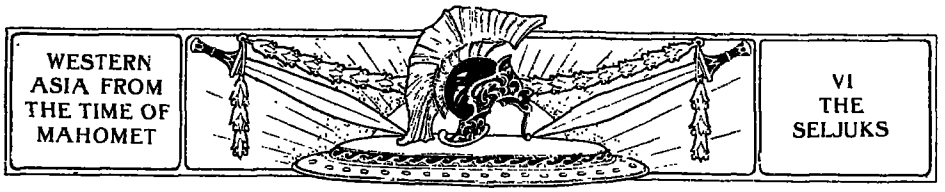
Many great works were produced at the court of Mahmud; but the greatest of all was certainly the reconstruction of the ancient Iranian hero epics. The Saffarides and Samanides had already laid the foundations for such a work; and by means of large rewards, as well as by dint of his own unsparing effort, Mahmud was able to add largely to the store already in existence.

Finally the thought occurred to Mahmud that it would be well to collect all the fragments of epics, the myths, and semi-historical traditions, and recast them into one huge work. The language chosen was necessarily the Persian, which had already supplanted Arabic even in the law-courts and government offices. None of the numerous attempts made at first were satisfactory to the sultan; finally, good fortune led him to an author under whose hand the fragmentary raw material developed into an imperishable memorial of the ancient heroic spirit of Iran. This was Abul Kasim Mansur, generally known as Firdusi.

Persian National Epic

Firdusi was the first as well as the most brilliant representative of the reawakened Iranian spirit; he was acquainted with the Arabian language no less thoroughly than with the Persian, and since his earliest youth had been an enthusiastic admirer of the heroic age of Iran and its traditions. After twelve years' labour Firdusi completed the "Shahnameh," the Book of Kings, in the seventy-first year of his life, 1011.

In Firdusi's works the spirit of the Iranian people, which had vanished at Cadesia, once more arose; an intellectual unity of race was again created, and therewith, as it appears, the way was prepared for political unity also. But when Mahmud died, in 1030, the prosperity of his dynasty abruptly ended. The first blow that fate directed against the throne of the Ghaznavides, as the dynasty is entitled, caused the entire Iranian division of the Mohammedan empire to crumble into dust.



WESTERN ASIA UNDER THE SELJUKS

THE EMPIRE OF THE NOMAD TURKS

FOR many years fresh swarms of Turks had been following their countrymen into Persia from the plateaus of Tartary and Turkestan; and soon it was no longer as bands of mercenaries or slaves that they crossed the borders of Khorassan, for entire tribes now joined in the movement, pushed forward by the masses in their rear, ready at a moment's notice to fight for new pasturages, either as the allies of princes or as independent units. With the greatest difficulty the powerful hand of Mahmud had temporarily succeeded in damming back the stream of immigration; but now that Persia was given over to the quarrels of his feeble successors, the flood burst through the barriers that had been erected by the labour of centuries, and the first great wave of Turks burst upon the plains of Iran. Transoxania, a land cultivated and civilised by the Iranian race after years of increasing effort, had long been the defensive wall of Khorassan; and as late as the period of the Abbassides its farmers and town-dwellers were still able to keep the Turks in check. But on the decay of the Samanide dynasty troops of nomads from Eastern Turkestan not only found a foothold in Transoxania, but practically completed its conquest; Ilek Khan of Kashgar occupied Bokhara, the capital, while Mahmud was engaged on his Indian campaigns, and a short time later several minor Turkish states arose in the neighbourhood.

The Turks' Attack on Iran

Soon afterwards the Turkish tribes dwelling to the north on the steppes surrounding the Aral Sea were set in motion. A chieftain, called Seljuk, led his clan towards the region of Bokhara, at the very time when the last of the Samanides were looking about for friends to assist them against the advancing Ilek Khan. As an ally of the Samanides, Seljuk regained a district in Bokhara, and strengthened his forces by the incorporation of other Turkish tribes.

Under the successors of Seljuk the power and number of the Turkish tribes constantly increased; the Seljuks themselves, however, hard pressed by their countrymen in Bokhara and Khiva, advanced toward the pastures of Khorassan. On the death of Mahmud the vanguard of the nomads appeared at Merv, and from this city as a centre began their conquest of the Persian frontier province. In 1030 the eldest son of Mahmud blinded and imprisoned his brother Mohammed, who had succeeded to the throne; he then marched against the Seljuks, who were already engaged in laying siege to Merv. None of his undertakings, however, were successful; and when he finally set out, in 1039, on an expedition to recapture Merv, which had fallen in the meanwhile, he met with a terrible defeat. During the retreat his troops mutinied and restored the throne to the blind Mohammed. It was fortunate for the Ghaznavides, whose power was now completely broken, that the Seljuks did not take immediate advantage of their position in Khorassan, through which the way to the east as well as to the west had been opened up to them, but, instead of invading Eastern Iran and India, turned toward the west. The dynasty, however, ceased to be an effective force, and even its Indian dominions were shortly afterwards wrested from it by the house of Ghori. After the downfall of the Ghaznavides and the conquest of Khorassan, Toghril-Beg (1037–1063) and Jaghri-Beg, who died in 1060, two brothers who ruled the Seljuks during the days of Mahmud, turned their attention to the empire of the caliphs, which, in spite of the protection of the Buides, had sunk once more into the depths of decay. First, however, the brothers protected their rear by overthrowing the Khivan princes. The Turkish troops for the time being spared Southern Iran and marched into North-western Persia, from there

Rise of the Seljuks

The Turks Attack the Caliphate

setting out on campaigns of devastation against the Christian Armenians and Iberians. The Byzantines came to the assistance of their allies, but were defeated by Toghril-Beg; and the entire Mohammedan world rejoiced at the spectacle of a Roman emperor once more being compelled to pay tribute to a champion of Islam.

Rome Pays Tribute to Islam

It was, however, with great anxiety that the quarrelling sects and parties in Bagdad beheld the rise of Seljuk influence; nor did the leaders of the nomads hesitate to make the most of their exceptionally favourable position.

After the death of the caliph Kadir, in 1031, the government fell into the hands of his son Kaim, a man of feeble character, who was unable to restore order even in the capital of the empire. At his side the Buidan sultan Jelal ed-Daulet Abu Tahir, one of whose relatives had taken possession of the Buidan provinces in Persia, led an existence scarcely less miserable than his own. In the streets of Bagdad the Sunnitic Turkish mercenaries of the caliph brawled unpunished with the Shiitic Dailemites, the bodyguard of the Buides, once, indeed, driving Jelal himself out of the city. There was comparative quiet for a few years after the death of Jelal, in 1043; but it was not long before fresh struggles arose between Sunnites and Shiites. The caliph and his Buidan sultan were mere puppets in the hands of their vizirs; the unhappy ruler of the faithful was not secure from attack even in his own palace.

It is scarcely surprising that in these circumstances the caliph should have looked to the Seljuk chieftains for aid; indeed, the orthodox caliphs had always been certain of greater loyalty from the Sunnitic Turks than from the heretical Buides. Thus, in 1055, Toghril-Beg, who went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, succeeded in occupying Bagdad almost without resistance as well as in taking prisoner the Buidan sultan Malik Rahim. It is true that on the Seljuks being called back to Persia in order to put down rebellions the Buidan vizir recaptured the city, replaced the Abbassid caliph by the contemporary Fatemid governor of Egypt, and compelled Kaim to fly for his life; but on the return of Toghril, in 1059, all opposition came to an end. From the reinstalled Abbassid caliph, Toghril received the title "King of the East and West," as well as the hand of the princess Zaidah Khatun, daughter of Kaim; but he died soon after.

The Turks Rule in Bagdad

Thus the caliphate was once more restored to artificial life; but dominion had passed to the Turks, now at one stroke under a ruler of their own race. The Persians, who had seemed to be in the act of attaining to supremacy in the Mohammedan world, and of whom the Buides may be looked upon as the pioneers, suddenly found themselves once more cast down from high estate, overpowered in their own country by the nomads of the steppes.

At first the influence of the Seljuks, who had once more taken the caliph under their protection, was followed by the best results for the conquered territories, especially for the city of Bagdad. Order—at least, as understood by the Turks—so long desired in vain, was soon restored to all the useful and active provinces of the empire. Arts and manufactures, freed from the oppressive burden of insecurity, arose once more in the towns; the caravans of merchants again made their way along the public roads, and the agriculturist returned to his neglected fields. In the streets of the capital the brawls of Sunnites and Shiites ceased; and after the expulsion of the Buides the scuffles of Turkish soldiers and Dailemites came to an end. Both literature and science flourished during the rule of the Seljuks, who espoused the cause of intellectual pursuits with an enthusiasm scarcely conceivable in the chieftains of a semi-civilised nomad folk. Whatever they may have lacked in culture was replaced by a generosity and nobility of character that, in spite of all original barbarity, caused them to stand on very much the same plane as the Arabs of the deserts and steppes. The period of the Seljuk dynasty was indeed to a certain degree a reflection of that earlier century during which the Arabs first became diffused over the lands of Western Asia.

Turks Encourage Culture

Toghril's successor as "King of the East and West" was his nephew Alp-Arslan, who reigned from 1063 to 1072, under whose government the Seljuks attained to the zenith of their power. He captured Haleb and all Syria and Palestine from the Fatemides, and was successful in a war with the Byzantines, who, after

having already lost Syria and their African provinces to the Moslems, now beheld Asia Minor, their last Asiatic dependency, gradually receding from their grasp. The emperor Romanus IV. Diogenes vainly endeavoured to retrieve his fallen fortunes by advancing into Syria in 1068; in 1071 he invaded Armenia in order to support the princes there subject to his empire, but met with a crushing defeat and was taken prisoner. Henceforth the Byzantine lands were no longer disturbed by mere incursions of robbers; entire tribes of the Seljuks now penetrated into the interior of Asia Minor, and settled down on the steppes of Iconium. It was in vain that the Eastern Roman Empire made one despairing attempt after another to dislodge the intruders.

Hitherto, despite the spread of Islam, Asia Minor had remained an integral portion of the Byzantine empire. The passes of the Taurus proved a secure line of defence, and though the Arabs occasionally forced a passage, permanent conquest had been impossible. When the power of the caliphate began to weaken, it was Byzantium that took the offensive, recovered territories beyond the Taurus, and advanced even to Tyre and Damascus. The caliphs and their Buidan protectors and masters were able to offer but small opposition to the Byzantines in Syria and Asia Minor after the decay of the powerful Hamdanide dynasty.

Byzantine Aggression in Syria

In Asia Minor the population increased and civilisation flourished. Although the ancient splendour of the Greek cities of the coasts had vanished, the interior of the country became more and more homogeneously organised and settled, and the unity of government was rendered more secure. The careful attention paid to the garrisoning of strong positions, as well as the endeavour of the wealthy families of the towns to invest their riches in extensive estates, led to the creation of a feudalised system of landed property, with its unfailing evil consequences.

The feudal nobility became a danger to the state, while the native-born peasant population sank to the position of serfs; the inhabitants who had been killed or led away captive by the Moslems were replaced by slaves, who, when fortune once more favoured the arms of the Byzantines, were obtained in especially large numbers from Mohammedan Syria and Mesopotamia.

In spite of the attempts to suppress them made by various emperors — but without support from the Church, which looked for a share in the spoils, and from officials whose interests ran counter to those of the feudatories—the power of the nobility steadily increased; and when the Seljuks finally took possession of the steppe districts of Central Asia Minor the destruction of the already undermined Byzantine empire followed with surprising rapidity.

Decay of Byzantine Empire

It is a fact of great historical significance that the Seljuk invaders did not attack the passes of the Taurus, but marched through Armenia, and that as a result of these incursions not only Christian Armenia but even portions of Iberia were laid waste. Both provinces had been, if not entirely trustworthy, at least indispensable supports of the Byzantine frontier, and at the same time favourite recruiting grounds for the imperial armies. In spite of their fallen fortunes and apparent loss of warlike virtues, the Armenians still maintained their reputation for courage and strength no less than their faithful adherence to the Christian religion. But neither in Armenia nor in Georgia was there any sign of political unity; at the end of the tenth century as many as nine different dynasties were reigning in Armenia, while Georgia was divided into five more or less independent minor states.

Thus the Seljuks succeeded in entering Asia Minor at the Armenian boundary, while the bulwarks of the empire still remained intact in the south; nevertheless the defences of the southern frontier were in a constant state of siege, and had long been in grave danger. The Armenians emigrated from their desolated homes and concentrated in Cilicia, where they energetically set about defending the land from the attacks of Seljuks and Saracens. However, on discovering that they were cut off from all assistance from the Byzantines they dissolved even their nominal connection with the Eastern Roman Empire, and established the kingdom of Lesser Armenia, of which the first ruler was Rhupen, or Reuben, who ascended the throne in 1080. With the accession of this king the last remnant of the old line of defence to the east of Cilicia was

Seljuks and Saracens in Armenia

lost to the Byzantines, despite the fact that Antioch managed to hold out for a few years longer.

Great Days of the Seljuks

The establishment of an organised government in Asia Minor by the Seljuks did not take place during the lifetime of Alp-Arslan, who met his death in 1072, stabbed to the heart by a revolutionist whom he had condemned to death. His son Melekshah assumed the role of protector of the caliph Kaim as well as of Muktadi, who succeeded the latter in 1075; and he became, in fact, the ruler of all the Seljuk dominion. Melekshah equalled his father in ability, and succeeded not only in restoring order, but also in furthering the material prosperity of his extensive dominions. Above all, he put an end to the system of local customs, duties, and tolls, the curse of minor states, which had developed to an alarming extent during the times of the Buides. The flourishing financial condition of his sultanate rendered it possible for him to be a patron of science and art; poets and scholars once more enjoyed a golden age.

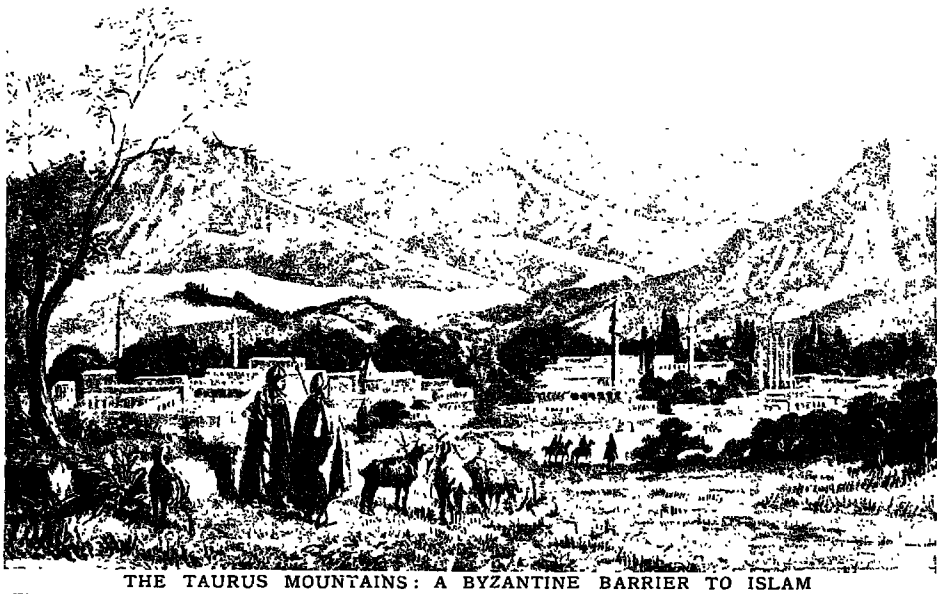
Nevertheless, signs of decay began to appear. Melekshah decided no longer personally to command his troops in Asia Minor, or to employ the main army of the empire in the war of conquest, but entrusted the task to his cousin Suleiman, granting him permission to establish a semi-independent kingdom in the steppe lands of the peninsula. Thus the new Seljuk kingdom of Rum, or Iconium, that arose in the years following 1073 under Suleiman cannot be looked upon as an integral part of the Seljuk-Abbassid empire. In like manner, without troubling himself very much as to the wishes of the sultan, another Seljuk leader, Ansiz, took possession of Palestine, and pursued the retreating army of the Fatemides as far as Egypt in 1077. Not until Ansiz found himself in difficulties, and called upon Melekshah for assistance, did the sultan succeed in removing this all too independent general, by sending out his brother Tutush, who brought Syria and Palestine under the immediate control of the Seljuk government.

Division of the Land

The kingdom of Suleiman in Asia Minor was soon firmly established, chiefly through the abolition of the ownership of large estates and the division of the land among the people—after the old custom of Islamite conquerors—a large, prosperous, and consequently loyal, peasant class being thereby created, while the Seljuks themselves continued their old nomadic methods of life.



THE BEILAN PASS IN THE TAURUS: A DEFENCE AGAINST THE ADVANCE OF ISLAM



THE TAURUS MOUNTAINS: A BYZANTINE BARRIER TO ISLAM
The Taurus Mountains were a secure line of defence to the Asia Minor portion of the Byzantine empire against the Arabs, who, though they occasionally forced a passage, found permanent conquest impossible.

But, however willing the peasants may have been to enjoy the advantages of the new régime, and notwithstanding that here and there the cultivation of the soil was pursued with great profit, none the less the presence of the Seljuks in the interior of the peninsula betokened only a new step toward the desolation of Western Asia, a fresh victory of nomadism over agriculture, of the steppe over the ploughed field. The more violent the efforts made by the Byzantines, and soon afterwards by their allies, the Crusaders, to regain possession of the lost territory, and the more wildly war raged in its fury over the elevated plains of Asia Minor, the more rapidly did the stationary population diminish, the sooner were fertile districts abandoned and transformed into the steppe pastures from which they had once been reclaimed with a vast expenditure of labour, and the more free were the nomads and their herds to expand over the desolated fields. Thus the Seljuks may be looked upon as having prepared the way for the work of devastation finally completed by the Ottomans and Mongols.

A Victory of Nomadism

The remarkable freedom granted by Melekshah to his vassals in the west was of itself a sufficient proof that the centre of the Seljuk empire lay at that time in the east. In fact, the sultan was anxious to secure as well as to widen his eastern provinces, which after the subjection of the prince of Kashgar extended as far as the Chinese frontier. But the unity of the empire was not long preserved even in Iran. Immediately after the death of Melekshah, 1092, a violent struggle for the succession broke out, which dragged along for years, and paved the way for the final dissolution of Seljuk power. Not until the year 1104 was peace restored for a short time under the victorious pretender Mohammed. But again and again, just as in former days under the early Abbassides, attacks were made upon the reigning sultan in Bagdad from Khorassan, where the Seljuks were most firmly established and could levy efficient troops of auxiliaries among the warlike native population.

During the first decades of the twelfth century one insurrection followed another, in which Dubais, the feudal lord of Hillah in Irak, especially distinguished himself as an implacable enemy of the reigning Seljuk sultan Mahmud (1118–1132). In Dubais the powers of resistance of the Irakan Arabs once more awoke to life; and he might, indeed, have succeeded in restoring the supremacy of his race had he formed an alliance

An Arab Revival

with Mustarshid, the caliph of the time, who was likewise endeavouring to free himself from the burdensome rule of the Turks. Unfortunately, however, these champions of the Arabian race hated each other bitterly in true Bedouin fashion. But from this time forth the decline of Seljuk power was continuous. A transformation was taking place in Syrian affairs: the Europeans had not only once more seized upon Palestine, but had founded a number of feudal states which were not to be overcome and finally annihilated by the champions of Islam until many a desperate battle had been fought. In this war, however, it was neither the Bagdad caliphs nor the Seljuk sultans that represented Islam; the contest was entered and the prize borne away by other Powers. Irak and Persia were torn asunder by the struggles for succession among the Seljuk princes, and consequently Egypt was given an opportunity for assuming the leadership of the Mohammedan world in its wars against the Crusaders, when the powers of the Syrians failed. A fundamental change thus took place in the conditions of the western part of the Mohammedan empire; and this necessitates a backward look over the affairs of Syria.

Decline of Seljuk Power

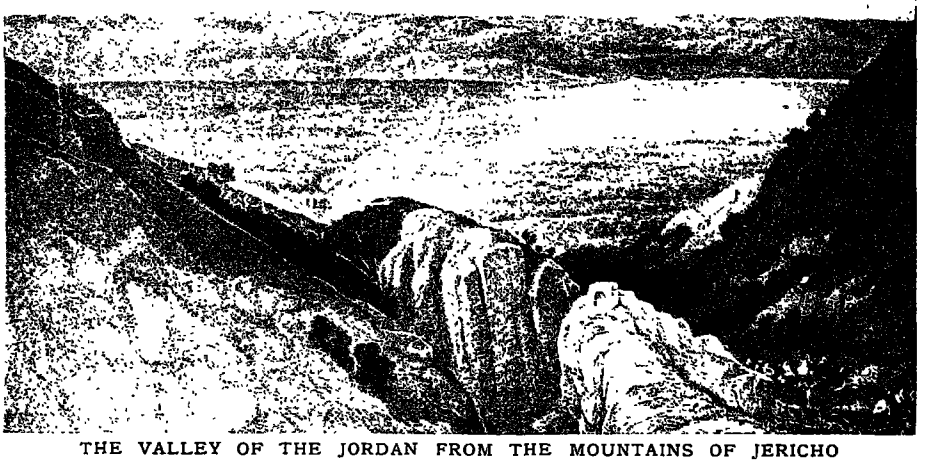
When, during the days of the early caliphs, the Arabs of Syria had raised the Omayyads to power the native Syrians were not concerned in the struggle, since most of them were only gradually converted to Islam, while many held fast to the Christian faith with the greatest pertinacity. The caliphs, as a rule, did not care to convert the highly taxed Christians into free Islamites, for the sake of their own incomes; moreover, conversion to Islam was attended by greater difficulties in Syria than in any other province, owing to the trade with the West, which had never been entirely suppressed, and to the constant pilgrimages of Christians to Jerusalem. With the accession of the Abbassid caliphs, the political significance of Syria still continued to diminish, inasmuch as the discordant elements of the population showed no signs of developing the idea of political unity. The heterogeneous character of the geographical formation of the country has at all times prevented it from forming a really homogeneous state.

Syria's Importance Diminishes

Thus so early as the ninth century the southern portion of Syria had become involved in the various Egyptian struggles. The rebellious governor Ahmed Ibn Tulun advanced as far as the Mesopotamian frontier; under the leadership of his son, Egyptian armies penetrated beyond the Euphrates. Then the Abbassides recovered their supremacy in Egypt, and by consequence in Syria; and then once more the decline of the caliphate awakened a desire for independence on the part of the Egyptian governors, as a result of which Syria also suffered. Mohammed of Ferghana founded the dynasty of the Ikshidites, seized Southern Syria, and finally, in the year 940, compelled the caliph to recognise his right to the newly conquered territory, while the northern part of the land, as has already been mentioned, after many vicissitudes fell for the greater part into the hands of the Hamdanides, the dynasty whose possessions lay chiefly in Northern Mesopotamia. However, this courageous race was unable permanently to withstand the constant attacks of Ikshidites, Byzantines, and Buides. When the struggle between the Ikshidites and Fatemides broke out for the possession of Egypt, the Hamdanides allied themselves with the former; but of this the only result was, that after the triumph of the Fatemides the Hamdanides found in their victors a still more hostile frontier neighbour.

Syria Suffers with Egypt

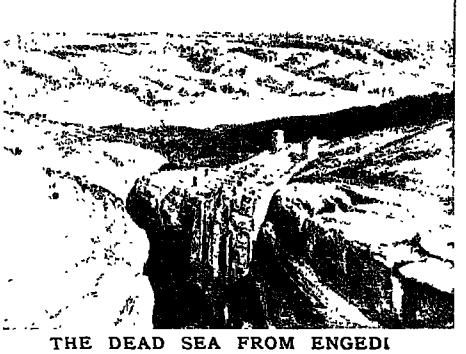
The ultra-Shiitic movement in Iran, and its branches—Karmates on the one side and Fatemides on the other—have already been described. Their tendency was naturally in opposition to the caliphate and its allies; and after the Fatemides had struck firm root in Egypt as a political power, they remained in close union with the Shiites of the east who belonged to the Ismailian sect. The Karmates, who owed their development to the same sources, and who succeeded in taking possession of the greater part of the Arabian peninsula, did not show the slightest inclination to humble themselves before the Fatemides; on the contrary, they disputed with the latter their supremacy in Syria. The Fatemides, however, succeeded later in organising the Persian Ismailians as well as in setting the dreaded sect of the Assassins as outposts of the Fatemid-Ismailian



THE VALLEY OF THE JORDAN FROM THE MOUNTAINS OF JERICHO



A SCENE IN MOUNT LEBANON



THE DEAD SEA FROM ENGEDI



ISOLATED VILLAGES AMONG THE FASTNESSES OF THE LEBANON MOUNTAINS

THE HETEROGENEOUS CHARACTER OF SYRIA'S GEOGRAPHY

1959

movement in the rear of their opponents. From the year 974 onward the struggle for Syria continued; in addition to the Karmates, the Fatemides were opposed by the Byzantines, and by a Turkish general who endeavoured to found an independent state in the north. The Hamdanides also took up arms in the defence of the remainder of their possessions. The Fatemides nevertheless maintained their position in Syria, except in the extreme north. Although during the reign of the Fatemid caliph Hakim (996-1021) in Egypt there was no lack of isolated rebellions of governors, the dominion of his house over Syria remained unshaken, and his realm even included Haleb, owing to the voluntary submission of the Hamdanides. Hakim's successor, Mustanzir, tried to drive out his Abbassid colleagues; but he succeeded only in drawing on himself wars and insurrections. Syria and Palestine fell bit by bit into the hands of the Seljuks. Acre alone held out. After its governor, Bedr, had betaken himself to Egypt and had restored order with the help of his troops on the call of the caliph, the Fatemides succeeded in recapturing Palestine from the Seljuks, although the latter had already ventured on one campaign into Egypt.

Syria Falls to the Seljuks

This, then, was the condition of affairs when the first Crusade was preached in Europe, at the end of the eleventh century: Jerusalem was no longer in the possession of the Seljuks, whose unfriendly treatment of the Christian pilgrims, although not the direct cause, had nevertheless furnished a pretext for an expedition of vengeance on the part of the European nations. The defence of the Holy Land fell to the Egyptians, while the Seljuks at Damascus and Bagdad remained inactive, and beheld the developing drama with undisguised satisfaction. It was not the orthodox caliph of the Mohammedan world, but his Shiite rival, who led forth his troops against the Christian armies. The true ruler in Cairo at the time when the army of the Crusaders was marching through Asia Minor against Syria was not the Fatemide, but his vizir Alafdhal, the son of Bedr. The Seljuks of Asia Minor were the first to withstand the attack of the mail-clad Europeans, and paid for their resistance with a severe defeat, from which, however, they soon recovered, for the Christian forces immediately continued their march. The ruler of Lesser Armenia stood on very good terms with his Western co-religionists; and the Christians were also able to count upon the sympathy of the much-contested Northern Syrian boundary provinces, which had been torn from the Byzantines a few decades before, and contained a large Christian population.

Crusaders' First Attacks

Thus the principality of Edessa arose in the region of the old Roman military frontier; and on the coast Antioch, followed by Tripolis, also became the centres of small Christian kingdoms. All these were possessions of Seljuks which now fell into the hands of the Christians. But the unsettled state of political affairs in the Mohammedan empire prevented the rulers at Bagdad from coming to the rescue of the semi-independent governors in the north-west of Syria, especially after the main body of the Christians had advanced into Palestine proper, the possession of the hated Fatemides. The negotiations between the Christians and the latter were without result. While the Egyptian vizir Alafdhal was still engaged in fitting out his army, the Europeans besieged and stormed Jerusalem, at that time the chief stronghold of Palestine. Almost all the Mohammedan and Jewish inhabitants were massacred by the victors, and the city opened its gates to a new population of native Christians. When Alafdhal's army finally advanced, it received an annihilating defeat in August, 1099. The Christian kingdom of Jerusalem now arose amid the ruins of the Fatemid power in Palestine.

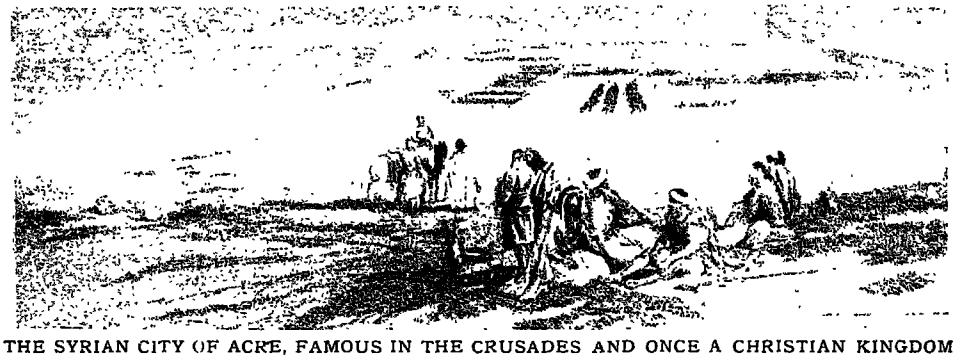
Christian Conquest of Jerusalem

It has already been mentioned that the Fatemides possessed a terrible weapon in their struggle against the caliphate and the nations of Christendom in the Ismailian sect of Assassins—a weapon, however, soon lost to the Egyptian rulers. We have related how the Ismailians developed out of a mixture of Mohammedanism and various other beliefs, of which perhaps the most important were the communistic doctrines of the Mazdakites; and how from the Ismailians grew the Karmates, and finally the caliphate of the Fatemides. The doctrines of the Ismailians themselves were gradually

transformed into an esoteric system of belief, which, in the hands of the most intellectual of its adherents, approached pure nihilism—the conception that all things are indifferent, and hence all actions are permissible—while the bulk of the believers lived in a state of mystic respect for their still more mystic superiors and leaders. An academy in which the Ismailian doctrines were taught was founded in Cairo, and thence emissaries were sent forth into the lands of the Abassides in order to prepare the way for the supremacy of the Fatemides over the entire Mohammedan world. At the same time the Ismailians of Persia looked to Egypt for their political and religious salvation.

Origin of the Assassins

was to be its basis and security. The first lurking-place chosen by Hassan was the mountainous region south-west of the Caspian Sea, of which the inhabitants had been looked upon by orthodox Mohammedans, even as late as the Abbassid period, as incarnations of heathen obduracy, and where the mountain fastnesses and castles had for centuries been the homes of the most desperate revolutionists. In the year 1090 the powerful fortress of Alamut, in the district Rudbar, north-west of Kaswin, fell through treachery into the hands of Hassan and his followers. With this began the political activities of the sect, who were in the



THE SYRIAN CITY OF ACRE, FAMOUS IN THE CRUSADES AND ONCE A CHRISTIAN KINGDOM

Acre, one of the most important cities of Syria, has always been a prey of war. It was stormed by the Saracens and Crusaders at least five times; became, in the twelfth century, a Christian state, and, in the sixteenth, fell to the Turks.

Thus it came to pass that an ambitious sectarian, Hassan-i Sabbah—born at Rai, in Northern Persia—after a vain attempt to acquire influence at the court of Melekshah in Bagdad, betook himself to the palace of the Fatemid ruler in Egypt, and there formed the plan of establishing

Planning a Rule of Terror

an Ismailian rule of terror in the East, quite in accordance with the unscrupulousness of his party. The power of the movement was not to be derived from extensive possessions of territory or great armies, but from the unconditional devotion and fanatical contempt of death of its adherents, who had at their disposal several impregnable fortresses as places of refuge; not open war, but assassination habit of working themselves up into a high pitch of bloodthirsty excitement by taking hashish and other narcotics, and hence became known as Hashishins, or, in the tongue of the Crusaders, Assassins.

Two years later, the first victim of importance, Nizam el Mulk, the vizir of the first Seljuk sultan, and a friend and companion of Hassan's youth, fell under the dagger-thrusts of the Assassins. He was the first of a long series of unfortunates who paid with their lives for the attempt to suppress the sect. The blind submission of the sectarians to their superiors was almost incredible. The fact that mothers were overcome by despair because their sons returned from successful forays without having lost their lives, thus failing

to die for their faith, and that Assassin sentinels cast themselves down from high towers and cliffs at a signal from their commander merely in order to prove their absolute obedience abundantly explains why the Powers of Western Asia and Egypt trembled before the daggers of the fanatics, and negotiated with the chief of the sect as with the sovereign of a mighty empire. After the capture of the fortress of Alamut, Hassan-i Sabbah remained within its walls for the rest of his days; indeed, it is said that he left his room only twice. As the "Old Man of the Mountain," he lived in mysterious retirement, directing the activities of his adherents and extending his power, ever faithful to the traditions of the Ismailians. About the year 1100 the Assassins succeeded in capturing several additional strongholds in Iran. At the same time as the Crusaders, their first emissaries arrived in Palestine, and, favoured by the Seljuk prince Ridhouan, established themselves in the mountains of Syria. Although on the death of Ridhouan they were exposed to frightful persecutions, they were no longer to be driven away. Their daggers were kept actively employed and brought terror to their opponents.

Old Man of the Mountain

The death of Hassan, in August, 1124, did not hinder the expansion of the Assassins, for Kia Buzurg-umid, his successor, proceeded with his work with equal craft and energy. Banias, in Syria, was captured in 1128, and twelve years later Maziat, which from this time forth became the centre of Assassin power in the west. The sectarians had then long been free from the influence of the Fatemides; and not only the Abbassid caliphs, Mustarshid and Rashid, but also one of the Fatemid rulers fell under their daggers. The practices of the sect made a profound impression on the Christians of the Holy Land. The Europeans in general did not look upon them as unconditional enemies; it seems indubitable that the Order of Knights Templars was not closed to the influence of the Assassins, and, in fact, that many of its characteristics were adopted in imitation of the secret Mohammedan association. Thus, curiously enough, the attacks of the Assassins became involved in a strange manner in the desperate struggle fought for the possession of the Holy Land between the Crusaders and the rulers of Egypt.

Power of the Assassins

The Seljuks took a relatively small part in the struggle between the West and the East at the time of the Crusades. At the most, only a few frontier princes interfered in the affairs of Palestine, and were hostile to the small Christian states which had been established in Northern Syria. Not until the year 1111, when disturbances arose in Bagdad itself, did the sultan Mohammed deem it necessary to despatch an army to Syria. In 1113 Baldwin I., king of Jerusalem, was defeated at Tiberias. But shortly afterward the leader of the Seljuk army was murdered by the Assassins; the result was a long series of quarrels between the Seljuk governors and princes, which effectively hindered all further action. Not until Zenki was appointed Atabeg of Syria and Mesopotamia in 1127, and was entrusted with the leadership in the war against the Christians, did fortune again follow the Seljuk banners, although Zenki had to contend not only with the Christians but with other Seljuk rulers. Until the day of his death, in 1146, he was the most formidable of all the enemies of the Crusaders. His son Nur-ed-din continued the war, and in 1153 took possession of Damascus, which Zenki had vainly endeavoured to capture from Anaz, a member of his own race. The successes of Zenki and his son aroused the entire Mohammedan world to a high pitch of enthusiasm, which was of great significance to the continuation of the struggle, and, as a result, even the most unfavourably disposed of the princes were compelled to support Nur-ed-din with both money and troops. Nevertheless, Nur-ed-din did not arrive at the height of his power until he succeeded through a lucky chance in destroying the Fatemid supremacy in Egypt, and was thus enabled to add the rich valley of the Nile to his possessions. At that time two vizirs were quarrelling in Cairo over the position of adviser to the weak caliph Aladhid. One of them, Shawer, fled to Nur-ed-din, and by making many promises contrived that an army should be placed at his disposal under the capable Seljuk general Shirku. But since after attaining his object he did not keep his promises, and called upon the king of Jerusalem to assist him against Shirku, he became involved in a war with Nur-ed-din, which, after many vicissitudes, finally ended in his being driven away; with the consent of Nur-ed-din Shirku was installed

Successes Against the Crusaders



MEETING BETWEEN SALADIN, THE CHAMPION OF ISLAM, AND RICHARD CŒUR DE LION

Saladin, or Salah ed-din, who combined in himself all the good qualities of the Turkish character, was firmly resolved to put an end to Western rule in the East. He captured Jerusalem and won a series of other brilliant victories over the Crusaders.

in Shawer's place, and after his death, in 1168, his nephew, Salah ed-din Yusuf, or Saladin, became vizir of the Fatemid caliphate.

The Seljuk Saladin (1137–1193) soon made himself supreme over all Egypt, although he permitted the Fatemid caliph to occupy the throne until 1171, probably because the existence of this lay figure guaranteed him greater independence so far as Nur-ed-din was concerned. All the good qualities of the Turkish character, bravery, generosity and decision, were united with a highly-developed mind in Saladin, who felt that he had been chosen by fate to be the champion of Islam against Christendom. Nur-ed-din soon perceived that he would find in him no pliant implement for the furtherance of his own plans, and was already engaged in making preparations for war against his insubordinate vassal when his sudden death turned the danger from Saladin, and, in fact, enabled him to wrest the Syrian provinces of this truly great ruler from his feeble successors. Disputes between Salih, the son of Nur-ed-din, and his cousin Saif ed-din of Mossul, as well as the quarrels of various court officials who laid claim to the vizirate, or, more correctly, the governance of the young Salih, caused Saladin to advance into Syria and occupy Damascus. After a long struggle with Salih, who had allied himself with Saif ed-din and various Christian princes, not despising even the help of the Assassins, Saladin succeeded in taking possession of his dominions as far east as Haleb, and in the year 1176 assumed the dignity of Sultan. After the death of Salih, in 1183, Saladin captured Haleb, and extended his empire as far as Mesopotamia and the Lesser Armenian frontier.

Thus a tremendous power encompassing the Christian possessions in Palestine was now united in the hands of a man who had firmly resolved to put an end to the rule of the Occidental nations in the East. The fate of the kingdom of

Jerusalem was soon settled. In 1187 the Christian army was defeated by Saladin at Hittin, not far from Tiberias. The king himself was made captive. A few months later all Palestine, including Jerusalem, was in the possession of the sultan; only a few Syrian coast towns still held out, together with Tripolis and Antioch. The arrival of new crusading armies, commanded by Philip the Fair and Richard Cœur de Lion, resulted in the recapture of Acre in 1191, in spite of most desperate resistance on the part of Saladin; however, he was at least able to hold Jerusalem. Shortly before his death Saladin, in 1192, concluded a treaty according to which the Christians were permitted to occupy the coast of Tyre as far as Jaffa, and some strips of territory in the interior: but he maintained possession of the interior of Palestine together with Jerusalem.

Palestine Lost to the West

However brilliant the victories won by Saladin over the Christians, and notwithstanding the inclination of Western historians to judge him in the light of these deeds alone, the fact remains that these wars comprised but a part, and, so far as the history of Western Asia is concerned, perhaps not even the chief part, of his activities. The Christian kingdoms in Palestine were and remained an artificial product, kept alive only by the constant importation of fresh settlers. They were at no time a serious menace to Islam; with the Turkish conquest of the old Christian land of Asia Minor, which thenceforth became a Mohammedan possession, and the establishment of a new and yet more powerful Mohammedan empire in the interior of Syria, the fate of the Christian kingdoms was sealed. And this was Saladin's achievement, however much his work may have been furthered by the previous conquests of Zenki and Nur-ed-din. The fall of the Shiite caliphs of Egypt is also one of the most important events in the history of Islam. Their place was taken by Saladin's descendants, the Ayubides, as they were usually called after Saladin's father, Nejm ed-din Ayub. With this the victory was won by the Sunnitic orthodoxy in the west. Saladin himself took good care that his empire should not become a menace to the caliphate; for, following the bad custom of the Seljuks, shortly before his death he divided his kingdom between his three sons, in addition presenting single towns and districts to his numerous relatives. The result was a succession of wars, which finally ended when Saladin's brother Aladil united the bulk of the possessions of the family under his rule in 1200.

Egypt Falls to Saladin

The empire soon fell to pieces again after Aladil's death, when confusion once more broke forth, in 1218, on an invasion of Egypt by the Crusaders. Alkamil, who succeeded to the thrones of Egypt and Palestine, concluded a treaty with Frederick II., under which Jerusalem was restored to the Christians in 1228. During the next ten years constant wars took place in Syria, an attempt being made in the north to form an independent state with Damascus as its capital, while the Egyptian Ayubides continued their desperate efforts, with the assistance of the Christians and all other allies whom occasion offered, to maintain their supremacy over the entire empire of Saladin. In 1250 a change of the occupancy of the throne of Egypt took place, with the result that the throne of the Ayubides fell into the hands of the leader of the mercenary bodyguards. With this began the period of Mameluke supremacy, which, in spite of various interruptions, continued until the days of Mehemet Ali in the early nineteenth century.

Beginnings of the Mamelukes

The affairs in Syria and Egypt developed during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in comparative independence of the events which had been taking place in the eastern part of the empire of the caliphs. But here too the power of the Seljuks was in process of decay. In Irak, Mesopotamia, and Iran an entire series of minor Seljukian states — Farsistan, Luristan, Azerbijan—had been formed; not to speak of the feudal provinces already in existence, which now became more independent than ever. The bulk of these states were ruled by princes called Atabegs, who—like Nur-ed-din—recognised merely as a matter of form the supremacy of the caliph and the sultan. Moreover, the throne of the sultan at Bagdad was a constant cause of violent disputes. Thus it came about that even the caliphs regained a portion of their old political influence, and here and there ventured to take up arms against their Seljuk "protectors," or the

minor princes of the neighbourhood of Bagdad. The power of the Seljuk sultans was now concentrated in Persia; but here also they were threatened by new dangers. It had indeed been an easy task to deal with the decaying Ghaznavides; and the Ghori dynasty was more interested in the affairs of India than of Iran; but the frontier provinces of the Central Asian steppes were once more in a state of the utmost tumult and confusion.

Transoxania had been lost to Turkish tribes, while at Khiva a new and powerful state had developed, whose ruler soon set out toward Persia on a campaign of conquest. Sinjar, sultan at Bagdad since 1132, had already engaged in a severe struggle with these opponents, who were threatening the same gates of his empire through which the Seljuks had broken many years before; and at his death, in 1157, a portion of Persia fell into the hands of the Khivans. A period of confusion followed: the caliphs at Bagdad endeavoured to arouse further dissensions among the Seljuks in order to free themselves from their burdensome guardianship; the Seljuks, on the other hand, fought among themselves for the sultanship, and the Khivan princes battled against each other for the rich inheritance of their house. When, finally, Caliph Nasir, the last energetic Abbasside, came to the throne in 1180, he was already in a position to extend his dominions, owing to the wars which had been carried on between Seljuks and Khivans; nevertheless in the end he was obliged to grant to the victorious Khivan, Tekesh Khan, the rôle of protector, which had so long been enjoyed by the Buides and Seljuks. After the death of Tekesh, in 1199, Nasir attempted to assume a position of independence, and opposed Tekesh's successor, Mohammed. But Mohammed, who shortly after his accession had annihilated the Ghorides in Eastern Iran and had extended his dominion as far as the Indus, resolved not only to restore Khivan influence but to do away with the Abbassides entirely, replacing them in Bagdad by a caliph chosen from the descendants of Ali. However, the early approach of winter rescued the Abbassid caliph for the time being. Before Mohammed could collect his forces for a new move, the troops of the Mongolian conqueror Genghis Khan, who had been called upon for aid by Nasir, appeared in his rear; and with this a new act began in the tragic history of Western Asia.



BALDWIN IV., KING OF JERUSALEM, DEFEATING THE SARACENS AT ASCALON IN 1177



IN THE GRIP OF THE MONGOLS

LACK of enthusiasm in Iran for the cause of the Khivan princes contributed not a little to the victory of the Mongols—perhaps more even than the original appeal of Nasir to Genghis Khan for assistance against his enemies. Upon the Khivan Mohammed, who reigned from 1199 to 1220, devolved the defence of Western Asia when the Mongol armies advanced on Transoxania; but when he assembled his troops for the rescue of Iranian culture he had not even the support of the Persians, not to speak of the other Western Asian nations. Besides this, to his great misfortune, he appeared to be ignorant of the value of his strong defensive position in Transoxania, and boldly marched out to meet the enemy on their own steppes. The result was that he received a crushing defeat in the year 1219.

Advance of the Mongols

All Transoxania was occupied by the Mongols during the next few years: the province was lost not only politically to Persia but to civilisation. Mohammed, whose native country Khiva was also invaded by the Mongols, entirely lost courage. He retreated from his second line of defence in Khorassan without a struggle, and retired to Azerbijan, from which he was soon driven by squadrons of Mongol cavalry, which advanced as far as Georgia: finally he took refuge on a small island in the Caspian Sea, where he soon died in misery and want. His son, Jelal ed-din, who had escaped into Afghanistan, was compelled to retreat to India before the victorious standards of Genghis Khan. His cause was ruined by the hatred of the Iranians for the Khivans, which was not forgotten even during this time of extremity. New Mongol forces streaming in through the open gates of Khorassan finally annihilated the last vestiges of his power in August, 1231.

Where resistance was offered to Ghenghis Khan he wrought fearful devastation; judicious submission was frequently rewarded by clemency. The Iranian civilisation was not overwhelmed. In fact, the rise of Persian literature was so little affected by political changes that its zenith was not attained until after the Mongol invasion. But gradually the results of the war became more and more visible, and it was soon evident that the ancient civilisation of Iran was beginning to deteriorate with the constant additions of foreign elements.

After the death of Genghis Khan, in August, 1226, Persia fell to the share of his fourth son, Tuli, who also died in a short time. Tuli was succeeded by Hulagu, after Mangu had been elected emperor of the Mongols. In 1256 Hulagu invaded Iran at the head of a vast army and re-established the authority of the conquerors; for after the death of Genghis Khan the Mongols had made but little progress in Persian territory. Hulagu could not have chosen as an object for his campaign one better calculated to win for him the sympathy of all Western Asiatics than the destruction of the Assassins. The wasp's nest of Ismailians still hung fast to the cliffs of Alamut, and the daggers of the fanatics continued to threaten all men who awakened their mistrust or anger. The Mongol ruler turned against these scourges of Western Asia: his summons to princes of Iran, bidding them assist with auxiliaries, did not meet with a single refusal. The caliph in Bagdad alone was unwilling to comply with the request, and this furnished Hulagu with a welcome pretext for making war on him soon after, and for putting an end to the sovereignty of the Abbassides. Thus, without desiring it, but in entire harmony with the spirit of their faith, the Assassins, even while in the throes of death, were indirectly responsible for the destruction of Bagdad and the murder of the last orthodox Abbassid caliph by the sabres of the Mongols.

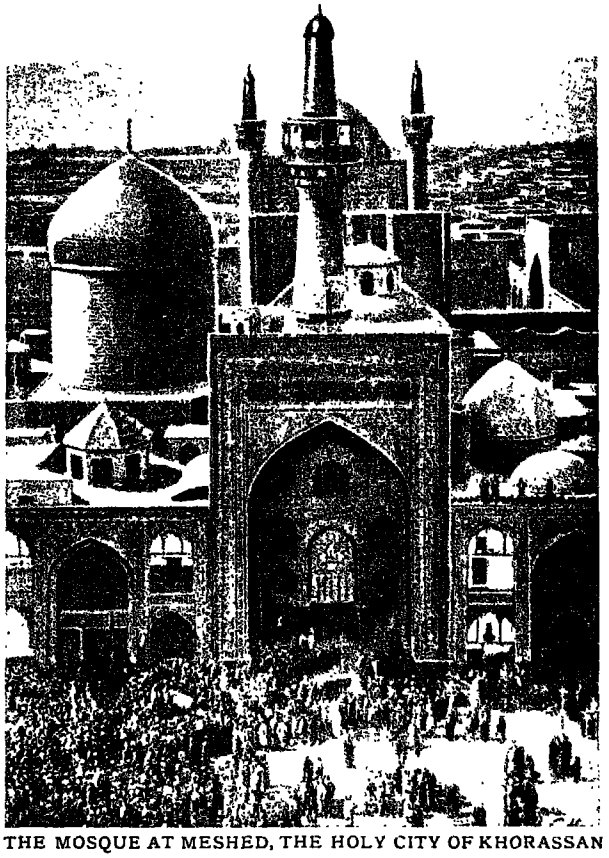
Scourges of Western Asia

The first half of the thirteenth century had not been without its effects on the Assassins also. Without altering its principles to any appreciable extent, the sect

had passed through several external changes, the Syrian branch having won for itself an almost completely independent position. The esoteric doctrines of the Assassins had been known only to the higher orders of the sect: the rest were kept in a state of blind submission by the aid of a mystic and complicated formula of belief. But such a system was no more capable of permanent existence in the case of the Assassins than in that of any other sect. The secret doctrines gradually became known to the lower orders; and the higher authorities took no pains to avoid the inevitable; in fact, were all the more willing that it should be so, inasmuch as the unscrupulousness and contempt for death of their disciples were increased rather than diminished by the general spread of nihilistic opinions.

Until their mysteries were disclosed, the representatives of the order had always been able to preserve the appearance of being upright adherents of Islam, even better Mohammedans than the orthodox caliphs. The veil of deception, however, became more and more transparent, and the answer to the now openly confessed principles of the Assassins was an outburst of wrath from the entire Mohammedan world. Now, indeed, it might be said of the Ismailians, as of their Ishmaelite namesakes, that the hand of every man was against them as their hands were against every man. It was impossible for them to offer permanent resistance—their enemies were far too numerous: a fundamental change in their principles was unavoidable. Thus the Assassins, together with their grand master Jelal ed-din, suddenly began to embrace the orthodox faith. The "Old Man of the Mountain" burnt a mass of writings, alleged to contain the godless esoteric doctrines of the Assassins, in the presence of several orthodox Mohammedans, who had been invited to Alamut as witnesses; he sent off his wife on a pilgrimage to Mecca, where she outshone even the most princely of her fellow-pilgrims through her lavish almsgiving and other good works: and finally he sought to connect the neighbouring feudal rulers of Azerbijan and Tabaristan with his house by marriage.

In fact, the Ismailian rulers were developing a dominion which required to rest on something more than systematic murder. Instead of bands of Assassins, Ismailian troops now appeared in the field, and in the year 1214 an army was despatched by Jelal ed-din to Irak in order to assist the caliph in subduing an insubordinate governor.



THE MOSQUE AT MESHED, THE HOLY CITY OF KHORASSAN

Nevertheless, when Jelal ed-din died from poison in November, 1221, and was succeeded by his nine-year-old son Ala ed-din, the sect lost no time in openly reverting to its old principles. Ala ed-din, who remained weak in intellect throughout his life, was not the man to face the dangers that soon arose as a result of this latest development. When, after his murder in 1255, his son Rokn ed-din assumed the

leadership of the order the Mongol hordes bent on the destruction of the Assassins were already approaching.

However bold and unscrupulous the Ismailians had been until this moment, their fall was mute and inglorious. Only a single one of their fortresses held out for any length of time; the others surrendered immediately. At first it appeared as if timely submission would save them from the worst; but Hulagu waited only until the last sign of resistance had disappeared. Then he gave the signal for a general massacre. Almost all the Ismailians of Iran were slaughtered in cold blood, and with them the last grand master of the order, on November 19th, 1256. The Syrian branch of the sect continued to exist for some years, until Beibar, sultan of Egypt, drove the dispirited sectaries out of their strongholds in 1271. However, the order was not completely annihilated either in Syria or in Persia. In the fourteenth century, unscrupulous princes frequently employed Ismailian murderers from Syria; and even now some harmless remains of the sect are to be found in Lebanon and in the mountainous regions south of the Caspian Sea.

The Doom of the Assassins

The destruction of the Assassins was soon followed by the fall of the Abbassides. Hulagu aimed at the subjection of all Western Asia. He was, no doubt, well pleased that the infatuated caliph had refused to supply him troops for the campaign against the Assassins, thereby furnishing the Mongols with an excuse for next turning their arms against him; and no time more favourable than the middle of the thirteenth century could have been chosen for an attack on the spiritual centre of the Islamite world. The decay of the Seljuks had deprived the caliphate of its natural protectors, the caliphs themselves contributing not a little towards bringing about this state of affairs, for they had once more begun to adopt policies of their own, extending their possessions and increasing their authority in Irak and Western Iran by the employment of mercenaries. So long as they had to do only with vassal princes and atabegs, they were more or less successful in their efforts to augment their own political importance; it would even have been possible for an energetic and clever caliph to have transformed the spiritual supremacy of the caliphate into a far-reaching temporal dominion.

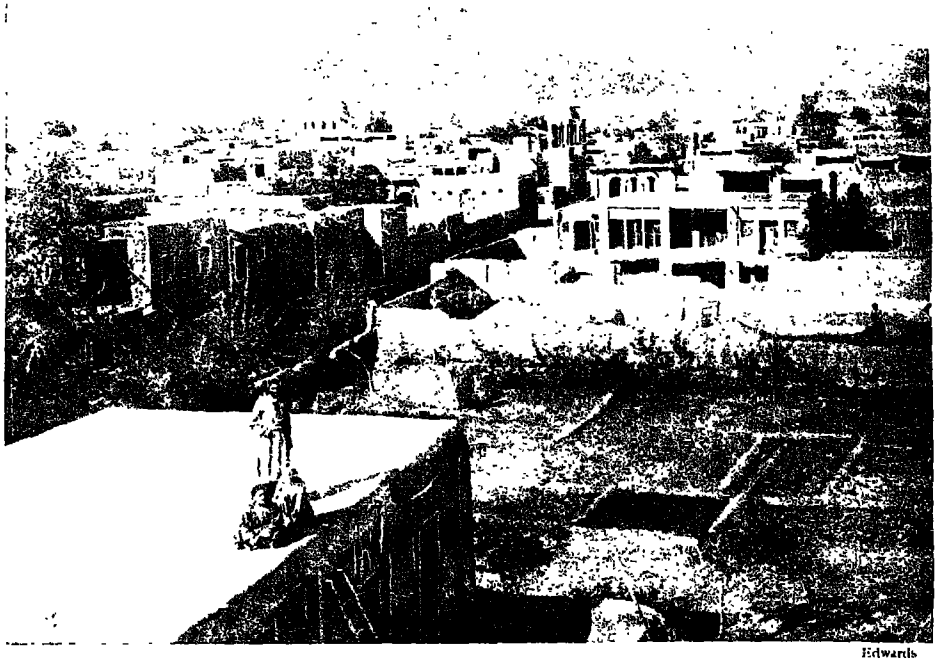
Mongols Attack the Caliphate

But, unfortunately, the successors of Nasir, who had always set before himself a fixed policy and had laid the foundations for further successes in reorganising the financial system and army of the caliphate, were men of small abilities. Mustanzir scattered the money that had been saved by Nasir, by erecting splendid edifices and establishing various religious foundations. His successor, Mustazim, who came to the throne in 1242, went to the opposite extreme, and reduced his single means of defence, the mercenary army, in order to save expenses. Thus, having robbed himself of his own power, he was helpless at the time of the greatest danger, and, in the usual manner of weaklings, refused to acknowledge that his position was endangered till it was too late.

First Mustazim attacked the Mongols with insufficient forces; then he entered into feeble negotiations with them; thus he allowed the last chances of escape to slip by. The city of Bagdad still remained to him; and its excellent strategic position, on both banks of the Tigris in a district cut through by canals, rendered a siege extremely difficult. Nor did the Mohammedan rulers of the western provinces, once an integral part of the empire, leave their spiritual head entirely in the lurch; but when a Mongol army crossed the Tigris near Mossul, and threatened the western side of the city, the caliph lost all hope, and repaired to the camp of Hulagu. His life was spared long enough for him to disclose the places where he had hidden his treasures; on March 21st, 1258, he was executed.

Sack of Bagdad

The inhabitants of Bagdad were led out in crowds and massacred in cold blood; the Mongols plundered and brawled in the streets for forty days. The greater part of the city, together with the priceless library of the caliphs and many of the finest buildings, were destroyed by fire. Single quarters, indeed, were spared. The splendid situation of the city enticed new settlers thither, and to this day Bagdad has in a large measure retained its importance. The success of Hulagu, however, had a ruinous effect on Mohammedan civilisation. Bagdad was the connecting link between the western provinces of Islam and Persia; within its walls the learned men of Syria, Egypt, and Andalusia



Edwards

SULTANABAD, ONE OF THE LARGEST TOWNS IN THE PERSIAN PROVINCE OF KHORASSAN

Khorassan, in the north-east of Persia, is the largest province, and includes a large portion of the desert land of Persia. It constituted a Persian line of defence against the Mongols, and was the first district to be overrun by them. It has, from its military position, always played an important part in Persian history.

had united in common pursuits with the scholars of Persia and Transoxania, so that the city was indeed the centre of the intellectual as well as of the ecclesiastical power of the Mohammedan people. But the murderous thrusts dealt by the Mongols struck Oriental civilisation to the very heart. Never since has it arisen to its former lustre; it has lived during the last six hundred years only in the reflection of its former achievements. The poetry of Persia, indeed, continued to flourish for a couple of centuries, but it no longer found an echo in the west; and finally it, too, died away in its loneliness.

After the capture of Bagdad, Hulagu continued his campaign of conquest in the west, first declaring war upon Northern Syria. He stormed Haleb in 1260, compelled Nasir ed-din, the Ayubide, to flee from Damascus, marched through Palestine, and threatened Egypt; but on being severely defeated by Kotuz, the Mameluke regent of the empire, at Ain Jalut, not far from Shechem, he was obliged to withdraw his forces from the west. The small Ayubide dynasties in Northern Syria were soon forced to take one side or the other, and were for the most part annihilated in the repeated conflicts between Mongols and Egyptians. Just as Western Asia became more and more desolate as a result of these devastating struggles, so the political history of the land became less interesting and more cheerless as time went on.

For a long time the history of Western Asia was occupied with the antagonism of two great powers, the Mongol dynasty of the Ilkhans in Persia and Irak, and the Mameluke sultans in Egypt and Syria. The leaden cloud of hopeless stagnation soon settled over the land, though occasionally lighted up by flames of burning villages and homesteads. The work that had been begun by Katur was completed by his successor and murderer, Beibar: Syria, together with its Ayubide princes, was brought under Egyptian influence, the power of the Assassins broken, and that of the Christians shaken. The princes of Iconium and Lesser Armenia, who had allied themselves with the Mongols, defended themselves with difficulty against the attacks of the Egyptians. Since the greater part of

Arabia and Mesopotamia also recognised the supremacy of Beibar, Egypt was, in 1277, on the death of this none too scrupulous but energetic sultan, the centre of a powerful empire, which, in spite of all quarrels as to the succession and its constant state of confusion, successfully barred the west to the Mongols. The Mongol chieftains who had taken possession of Persia were soon affected by the influence of Iranian culture no less than by the religious belief of their new environment, and the intellectual life of Iran did not at first suffer to any great extent under the new political conditions; the burning of the centres of learning in Transoxania and the desolation which had been brought to Bagdad had in reality only destroyed the outworks of Iranianism, which still remained sound at the core.

Vitality of Iranian Culture

Above all, Farsistan, the heart of Iran, had scarcely been touched by the ruin and havoc of war; its ruling dynasty still remained on the throne, and in Asia Minor an offshoot of Iranian culture flourished at the court in Iconium. The great mystic poet Jelal ed-din Rumi found a secure refuge in Iconium; and his great contemporary Sa'di ended his days in peace at Shiraz in Farsistan. It was not long before the Mongol rulers became quite as distinguished as patrons of literature and science as the native dynasties had been in former times.

After Hulagu's death, in 1265, Abaka succeeded to the throne. The decay of the Mongol empire, which now set in, leading to bitter struggles between the various princes and to violent onslaughts of fresh tribes from Central Asia, hindered the expansion of the power of the Mongols towards the west. Under the followers of Abaka—who died in 1281—the Iranian-Mongol empire was torn in pieces by quarrels as to the succession as well as by other feuds, until, in the year 1295, Ghazan ascended the throne, who adopted Mohammedanism as his religion. Even more important than his conversion to Islam was Ghazan's capacity as a legislator; his code served as a model for all the later conquerors of Western Asia—above all, for the Osmans, or Ottomans—and in truth was exceedingly well adapted to the mutual requirements of a warlike nomadic people and the stationary agricultural inhabitants of the conquered territories. From a perusal of these laws, which were indeed sadly needed, we are able to gather much information as to the miserable condition into which Persia had fallen during the Mongol period. The wealthiest district of Farsistan paid in taxes at the time of Ghazan but the eighth part of the sum which it had paid with ease during the Seljuk period.

End of Mongol Expansion

The burden of taxation had been greatly increased by the evil system of farming out the taxes—a system which Ghazan himself did not abolish—and soon became unbearable. Broad tracts of fertile ground lay bare and deserted; such of the inhabitants as had escaped the sabres of the conquerors, or of the troops of Mongol robbers who rode plundering through the province, fled before the inexorable tax officials, or were driven from their homes, hopelessly in debt to Mongol usurers. The tenth part of all produce of the land, which was set apart for the support of the Mongol warriors, was collected over and over again in a most unsystematic manner, until finally Ghazan succeeded in restoring a small degree of order by allotting certain fixed districts to certain bodies of troops. No good was expected from the increasing dissatisfaction of the Iranian people, as was shown by Ghazan's order commanding the disarmament of the native inhabitants of Farsistan. The general misery had been increased by one of Ghazan's predecessors, who had unsuccessfully endeavoured to replace specie by paper money after the Chinese method. Ghazan himself rendered an undoubted service to his subjects by reforming the currency, introducing coins worth their face value and of fixed fineness and weight.

Misery of the Taxpayers

Whether or not the new laws would have produced a fundamental change for the better in Iranian affairs, we cannot say. At any rate, the confusion that followed the death of Ghazan and continued until the end of the supremacy of the Ilkhan Mongols prevented any true recovery of the enfeebled Persian people. After the expedition of Genghis Khan into Syria during the years 1300–1303, which ended in failure, nothing more was done in the way of conquest by the Mongol princes of Iran; and in 1323 Bu Zaid, the last Ilkhan, who was able

to maintain the integrity of his empire, concluded peace with Egypt. Soon afterwards the Mongol empire was divided, at first into two parts, Irak and Persia. At the same time the family of the Mozaffarides obtained for themselves greater independence in Farsistan, their first sultan being Mobariz ed-din, 1313–1358, and the Turkomans founded an independent state in Kurdistan. The increasing power of Farsistan showed that the Iranian element was once more regaining strength and preparing for a fresh attack on the Mongols, whose powers were declining rapidly. Perhaps a Persian national state would again have been founded had not a new and still more frightful storm of conquest burst over the land of Iran, destroying all Persian hopes. The victories of Timur completely re-established the waning power of the Mongols.

Timur's Storm of Conquest

At the time when Tamerlane's troops were pouring in upon Western Asia and India a complete transformation had taken place in the affairs of Asia Minor, where a new monarchy was developing in the place of the decaying Byzantine empire and the sultanate of Iconium. The Byzantines, who had so long been successful in holding Asia Minor against the Mohammedans, were no longer able to drive the Turks out of their territories; and the Crusaders also, of whom so much had been expected in Constantinople, had likewise succeeded in obtaining temporary victories only over the Seljuks in Asia Minor. It is true that the most serious dangers had been averted with the assistance of the Western Europeans; Nicæa had been recaptured, and the western half of Asia Minor cleared of the Turks. But the hordes of nomads, constantly reinforced by new bands of Turkish immigrants, were no longer to be driven from the steppe lands of the interior of the peninsula.

Had it been possible to strengthen Armenia once more, after the old Roman military frontier had been again established through the rise of the Lesser Armenian state in Cilicia and the Christian kingdoms of Edessa and Antioch, then perhaps the Byzantines might have succeeded in surrounding, and finally in assimilating, the masses of foreigners within their boundaries. But Armenia as well as Georgia was utterly helpless, and formed only the open door through which the hordes of Turkomans streamed in from the East. The Seljuk empire of Iconium, or Rum, which was only once united under the rule of a capable monarch, Izz ed-din Kilij Arslan (1152–1190), who died in 1192, suffered in general under those evil conditions of disintegration and quarrels between brothers as to the succession which were the usual characteristic of Seljuk states. Nevertheless, the people of Asia Minor were to all appearances better off under the government of the Seljuks than under the Byzantine bureaucracy, for the smaller the Eastern Roman Empire grew the heavier became the taxes. It was a source of great anxiety to the Byzantines that from certain of the imperial provinces of Asia Minor the inhabitants emigrated en masse into the Seljuk principalities.

Armenia the Gateway of the Mongols

When, in the year 1204, the Byzantine empire was overthrown by the Latins, and feudalism regained the upper hand, the stationary population of Asia Minor had no longer any reason for hoping that they would derive the slightest advantage by offering resistance to the increasing power of the Turks. On the other hand, the Seljuks, who had continued their old manner of life, wandering about with their flocks and herds, and at the same time always prepared for war, patronised the agriculturists, who had become indispensable to them, and whose interests in no wise conflicted with their own.

The growing power of the Turks was still more increased when Persian-Arabian civilisation began to awaken in the towns, for at the beginning of the Mongol wars scholars from Persia and Arabia sought and found refuge in Asia Minor, where they were gladly received by the Seljuk princes. Thus Ala ed-din Kai Kobad (1219–1236) did all that lay in his power to further the intellectual development of his people. But the Turks of Asia Minor did not entirely escape the Mongol storm; they were now compelled to atone for having left the iron gates of Armenia and Georgia open behind them. Genghis Khan took the same route along which so many Turks had already passed, marching from Azerbijan to the peninsula: and only the timely submission of the Seljuks whom he encountered saved them from a far greater evil. For a long time the

The Turks Give Place to Mongols

Seljuks of Asia Minor were the most faithful vassals of the Mongols, and, as such, the natural enemies of the Egyptians, whose sultan, Beibar, wrought havoc in the Turkish kingdom of Iconium, advancing far into the interior of the peninsula in 1277. The discipline of the Egyptians was fairly good; but the Mongols who came later under Abagha could not deny themselves the satisfaction of either massacring or enslaving the inhabitants of Iconium. Thus it seems that it stood written in the book of destiny that in Asia Minor also the Mongols should destroy all that the Turks had spared.

End of the Seljuk Dominion

The destruction of the Seljuk dominion in Asia Minor was the natural result of the Mongol invasions; but the Turks were already too firmly rooted in the peninsula for the Greek empire, temporarily restored in 1261, to derive any benefit from the fall of the Seljuks. Another Turkish race immediately came forward in place of the latter. During the Mongol wars a horde of Turkomans from Transoxania had marched toward the west under the leadership of Suleiman. A portion of this horde, of which the command was taken over after Suleiman's death by his son, Ertogrul, emigrated to Asia Minor. The Seljuk prince Kai Kobad allotted pasturages in the neighbourhood of Angora to the new arrivals, and was not displeased to see that they soon began to increase their lands at the expense of the Byzantines. Ertogrul's successor, Osman, or Othman, who came to the throne in 1288, continued the conquests, strengthening his forces by the addition of other Turkish tribes, and finally freed himself entirely from the suzerainty of the Seljuk rulers. In honour of Osman, their first independent sovereign, his subjects, consisting of many different tribes, took the name of Osmanli, or Ottomans.

Beginnings of the Ottomans

Shortly before Osman's death, in 1326, Brussa was captured, and a few years later was selected to be the capital of the new empire by his successor, Orchan. This new state, in which the entire military and destructive power of the nomadic Turks once more found a firm support, and which had succeeded to the civilised kingdom of the Seljuks, was naturally a serious menace to the culture of Asia Minor. It was only with the assistance of Persian civilisation that the Seljuks had been tamed, but at this time whatever culture there may have been left succumbed completely to the blows dealt by the Ottomans. With this the victory of nomadism was assured for centuries. During the reigns of Orchan and his successors a number of the small Turkish principalities in Asia Minor were overthrown, and the European possessions of the Byzantines were also attacked. Murad I. captured Adrianople in Europe, as well as Angora, Kutahiah, and various other towns in Asia Minor. His successor, Bajazet I., conquered the whole of Asia Minor with the exception of the principality of Kastamuni and the imperial state Trebizond, and was on the point of continuing his victorious campaign to Constantinople when the invasion of Timur began, hindering for the time being the rise of the Ottoman empire.

A great change, too, had taken place in the balance of power in Western Asia, which for the last century had been determined by the mutual antagonism of the Mongol empire in Persia and the kingdom of the Mamelukes in Egypt. The empire of the Mongols had fallen; in North-western Iran only was a portion of its old power retained, and after the downfall of the Seljuk states and the victorious invasion of the Ottomans, the influence of the Mongols had naturally come to an end in Asia Minor also.

Fall of the Mongol Empire

It was not long before things came to such a pass in Egypt and Western Asia that all development of power was confined exclusively to the newly arrived hordes of barbarians, while the original native populations, the old representatives of civilisation and industry, sank to a position of feebleness and decay. Again a wave of semi-barbarous nomads swept over the unfortunate land; and, to make matters worse, the appearance of the new conqueror was preceded by the plague, or black death, which spread over Western Asia and Europe, and raged longest in the hot valley of the Nile.

The invasions of Timur were nowhere so destructive as in Western Asia, in the provinces that were just beginning to recover from the effects of the first Mongol storm. In the year 1380 Timur appeared at the head of his army in Khorassan, after he had conquered Transoxania and Khiva. He marched along the old Mongol and Turkish

routes south of the Elburz Mountains to Azerbijan, Armenia, and Georgia. Farsistan—still ruled by the Mozaffarides—was conquered, Ispahan stormed, and a pyramid of 70,000 skulls erected, an example of what Timur's conquests meant for Western Asia. After the national dynasty of Farsistan had ended on the death of Shah Mansur, in 1392, the Ilkhan, Ahmed ibn Owais, who had maintained his position in Irak after the loss of Azerbijan, was driven out of Bagdad.

The defence of the threatened provinces of the west fell to the Ottomans and the Egyptians, who were unfortunately unable to agree with one another or to engage in common undertakings. The Ottoman sultan Bajazet II. was, however, at least able to support the Armenians and Georgians, and assist the Ilkhan in Bagdad. On the other hand, Berkuk, sultan of Egypt, who had more reason to tremble before his own Mamelukes than before the Mongols, evacuated Syria after much boasting and little fighting, and left his Syrian subjects to be the helpless victims of Mongol fury in 1400. In the year 1401 Timur invaded Asia Minor and totally defeated Bajazet, taking him captive. Asia Minor had already suffered greatly from the Ottomans; now it was once more plundered and its inhabitants massacred. Even the last of the wealthy seaports, Smyrna, which had not yet fallen into the hands of the Turks, was completely destroyed. The Ottoman empire became a Mongol province, and Egypt itself was saved from the sword of Timur only by the immediate submission of its ruler.

Timur Devastates Asia Minor

The death of the dreaded conqueror, in 1405, was not only followed by a halt in the advance of the Mongols, but was the signal for the dissolution of Timur's empire. In Irak, the Ilkhan, Ahmed, who died in 1410, returned to the seat of government; in Kurdistan, Kara Yusuf, the ruler of the Turkomans of the Black Ram, captured Bagdad and put an end to the old Mongol dynasty, which dated back to Genghis Khan; the Egyptians reasserted their influence in Syria, and the Ottomans were restored to their independence in Asia Minor.

Timur's Empire Breaks up

Persia alone remained to Shah Roch, the successor of Timur, who carried on successful wars with the hordes of Turkomans of the Black and the White Ram in Kurdistan. His efforts to restore his devastated country to prosperity, and to assemble about his throne the few remaining scholars and poets of Iran, were a pleasing contrast to the rule of blood of Timur. But the intellectual no less than the economic power of the country was in a hopeless state of decline. The barren spirit of the Turkish people finally became supreme, the literature of Iran being replaced by bombast, while mechanical verses in the form of epistles supplanted the true poetry of former times.



BRUSSA, THE CAPITAL OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE IN ASIA MINOR



A DRUSE



A SHEIKH OF LEBANON



ARMENIAN WOMAN



ARMENIANS ARMED FOR DEFENCE AGAINST THE TURKS AND KURDS



DRUSE WOMEN OF LEBANON



NESTORIAN TEACHERS OF ARMENIA

TYPES OF THE VARIED PEOPLES OF TURKEY IN ASIA



THE TURKS IN WESTERN ASIA

FOUR CENTURIES OF OTTOMAN SUPREMACY

ALTHOUGH some small signs of progress were still visible in Persia and in Asia Minor, Syria and Mesopotamia had reached the lowest ebb of wretchedness—the one suffering under the miserable government of the Egyptian Mameluke emirs, and the other filled with hordes of nomads, who, after their old custom, looked upon a civilised country as existing only for plunder. These Turkoman nomads were divided into two main clans: the Kara Koinlo, or the Black Ram, and the Ak Koinlo, or the White Ram, so called after their war standards. They had gradually succeeded in taking possession of a large part of Armenia, Kurdistan, Mesopotamia, Azerbijan, and Eastern Asia Minor. All the lawless and unsettled hordes of Western Asia assembled under the banner of the Turkoman chieftains, united only in the hope of obtaining spoils; and when Kara Yusuf, the leader of the Kara Koinlo, prepared for war against Shah Roch, he was joined by innumerable bands of predatory nomads, all eager for an opportunity of advancing into the rich land of Persia.

The Lost Leader of the Nomads

Kara Yusuf died suddenly while on the march, and on the same day his vast army dispersed in all directions. The corpse of the leader, naked and despoiled, the ears cut off for the sake of their golden pendants, lay unburied on the trodden soil of the deserted camp. It was fortunate for Western Asia that the black horde soon became the deadly enemies of the Ak Koinlo, and that the two clans began to destroy one another; but before the desired end was attained the circle of devastation had increased to an alarming extent. The Kara Koinlo conquered Mesopotamia, and even took possession of Bagdad, but were finally defeated by the Ak Koinlo under Uzun Hassan, who temporarily ruled over the greater part of Persia, and destroyed the last remains of Timur's empire in 1467. Persia remained in the hands of Uzun Hassan and his successors for about twenty years, until at last, after a long period of servitude, the Iranian people began once more to develop a national spirit, and a domestic dynasty arose to power.

Since Egypt was able to maintain itself through the exploitation of merchants, in spite of its abominable government by the Mamelukes, and since the feeble empire of Trebizond in northern Asia Minor managed to cling tenaciously to life—only for the reason that a small portion of Asiatic trade found its way to the Black Sea through Northern Persia and Armenia—it was at least to be hoped that, after order had been somewhat restored in Western Asia, the celebrated ancient commercial route from the Persian Gulf through Basra and Bagdad to Syria would again come into use; that, as a result of this, agriculture and manufactures would also begin to reawaken in Irak; and, finally, that new life would be infused from the natural centre and heart of Western Asia into the other provinces. But Bagdad's former splendour did not return. The city still remained the greatest in the region of marshes that to-day, as before the beginning of ancient Babylonian civilisation, extends between the Euphrates and the Tigris. It still harboured many merchants and contained numerous bazaars, but richly laden caravans no longer made their way thither from India; no ships brought the wares of the Farthest East to the former emporium of Western Asia, and no long trains of merchants journeyed from Bagdad to the west, distributing their wares among the peoples of Europe. The caravans of Persian pilgrims that each year crossed the Tigris near Bagdad were the only sources of mercantile life remaining to the city. The final blow to the sinking prosperity of Western Asia was dealt by the nations of Europe, whose early navigators had discovered the new ocean route to India, thus leaving the overland roads through Persia in hopeless desolation.

Twilight of Bagdad's Splendour

Europe Deals the Final Blow

During the time when the sultans of Egypt were filling their treasuries with tolls extorted from merchants of all nations, and endeavouring to satisfy the constant demands of their Mamelukes with gold obtained from new monopolies and taxes,

Discovery of the Route to India

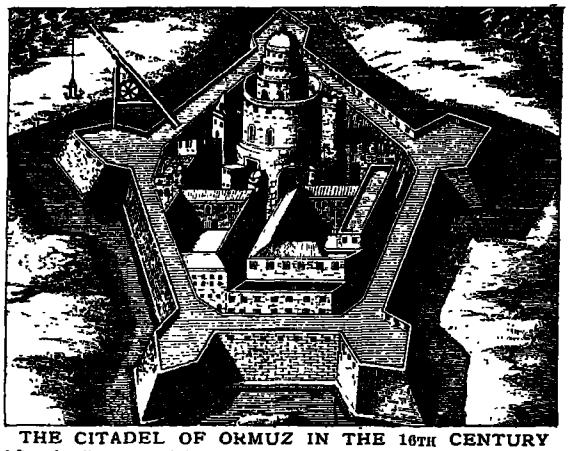
the pioneers of Portuguese maritime trade were cautiously feeling their way along the coast of Africa, until finally the Cape of Good Hope was discovered, and the ships of Vasco da Gama sailed into the ports of India. The warlike merchants of Portugal took good care that their discovery should be rewarded by a monopoly of the Eastern trade. Their men-of-war blocked up the commercial route through the Red Sea in the year 1507; and soon afterwards Ormuz, the most important intermediate trading station on the Persian Gulf, fell into the hands of the Portuguese Albuquerque. Ten years later the Mamelukes of Egypt, deprived of their artificial means of support, succumbed to the attacks of the Ottomans.

That warlike people did not immediately recover from the crushing defeat inflicted on them by Timur near Angora; moreover, the empire was torn asunder by struggles as to the succession. The attention of the Ottoman rulers was chiefly directed to European affairs, and thus for the time being the Turkish principalities, still existing in Asia Minor, were enabled to retain almost complete independence. Not until the year 1424, during the reign of the sultan Murad, did the Ottomans reassert their influence throughout the peninsula. At this time the military organisation of the Ottomans had reached a very high state of perfection; the Turkish cavalry was supplemented, after the Egyptian example, by enslaved or impressed Christians, who received a thorough military training and were incorporated into the standing army of infantry, the Janissary guard. In later years this army became as great a menace to the safety of the sultan as the Mamelukes had been to the ruler of Egypt; but for the time with which we are dealing they answered every purpose. A new era began for the Ottomans when the last remains of the Byzantine empire disappeared with the capture of Constantinople in 1453; and the Turks succeeded to the inheritance of this vast empire as well as to the claim to supremacy secured to them by the possession of the gigantic city on the Bosphorus.

That the Ottoman sultans invaded even Apulia because it had once formed a part of the Byzantine empire, and was therefore looked upon by them as theirs by right of conquest, was a certain proof that it would not be long before their covetous eyes would be turned toward the kingdom of the Mamelukes in Egypt. The two nations had been hostile to one another as early as the time when the hordes

Ottoman Advance in Asia Minor

of Timur were threatening without discrimination the whole of Western Asia; and as years passed the feeling of enmity increased rather than diminished. The Egyptian sultans clearly recognised that the small Turkish states in Asia Minor, which had hitherto withstood the Ottomans, formed their best wall of defence against the danger that was threatening them from the north. Especially important was the kingdom of Karaman, in the southern part of the peninsula, for which Ottomans, Egyptians, and Turkomans of the White Ram had long struggled, sometimes resorting to diplomatic deceit, sometimes to the sword. When the Ottoman sultan Mohammed finally succeeded in driving Uzun Hassan, the Turkoman ruler of Persia, out of Asia Minor, in 1473, Karaman fell to the share of the Turks, no attempt being made by Egypt to dispute the possession of the land with them; in



THE CITADEL OF ORMUZ IN THE 16TH CENTURY

After the discovery of the ocean route to India, the Portuguese gained, in 1507, Ormuz, the most important trading station on the Persian Gulf.



MOUNT ARARAT, THE MOST FAMOUS OF ARMENIA'S MANY MOUNTAINS

fact, Kait Bey, then sultan of Egypt, instead of taking an active part in the struggle, did nothing, and was content to imagine that the power of the Ottomans was being weakened by their wars with the Turkomans.

In later times also the Egyptians were unable to support the small states of Asia Minor. In the meanwhile the Ottomans had engaged in a successful struggle with the newly-awakened kingdom of Persia, in order to render secure their eastern frontier. The final contest with Egypt now became only a question of time, inasmuch as there was no lack of excuses for a war in view of the troubles over the boundary question in south-eastern Asia Minor. The wretched financial condition of Egypt had not only prevented the sultan Kansuveh Alguri, who ascended the throne in 1501, from entering into an alliance with Persia, but had put a stop to all proper preparations for meeting the threatening danger. When Kansuveh finally succeeded in concentrating his forces in the North of Syria, the Ottoman sultan, Selim I., had already assembled a superior army on the frontier; deceiving the Egyptians by pretending to enter into serious negotiations with them, he crossed the Cilician passes unhindered in 1516. The decisive battle was fought on the plain of Dabik to the north of Haleb, and, in spite of the bravery of the Mamelukes, the Egyptians were utterly defeated. Kansuveh fell, and the remnants of his troops retreated to Egypt. Syria fell into the hands of the Ottomans almost without a struggle; indeed, Selim was welcomed with joy in many provinces as a liberator from the Mameluke yoke.

The Final Contest with Egypt

During the following years Egypt also was conquered, an end soon being put to the courageous but hopeless resistance of Tuman Bey, the newly-chosen Mameluke sultan; Syria and Egypt henceforth became provinces of the Ottoman empire. Selim also carried the Abbassid caliph off with him to Constantinople. The latter was the last representative of a long line of spiritual governors, who, although possessed of only the shadow of temporal power, had led a very comfortable life of contemplation and ease in the valley of the Nile. The Ottoman sultans kept up the farce of having an Abbassid caliph for some years, until they finally did away with this unnecessary arrangement and took the dignity upon themselves. They

Ottoman Supremacy Achieved

had all the more right to do this, because, together with Egypt, the sacred cities of Arabia had also fallen into their power. The sceptre of the caliphs regained its old authority in the hands of the dreaded Ottoman rulers; the Persians alone were able to shield themselves from the consequences of this event by openly declaring for the Shiite doctrines. Syria had neither gained nor lost by becoming a part of the Ottoman empire; but Egypt, already reduced by the turn taken in commercial affairs, not to speak of the fact that the greater part of her diminished income was now sent to Constantinople, became more and more desolate. The interests of the Ottoman sultans thereafter remained bound up chiefly in European affairs; at first they succeeded in forcing back the defenders of Occidental civilisation, but in later times they were desperately engaged in defending themselves from the counter-assaults of the Christian nations. As time passed, also, war became the main interest of the Ottomans; the idea of endeavouring to alleviate the misery of the conquered races of their vast empire scarcely entered their minds. It was only in respect to the art of warfare that they learned anything from the Europeans: for example, their artillery was admirably organised after European methods at a very early period. But in other respects the unimaginative, barren mind of the Ottoman held fast to old customs and conceptions of life with indomitable tenacity; every attempt towards improvement or progress was crushed. Thus, Turkish Western Asia continued to remain in the same hopeless condition into which it had been plunged years before by Timur's campaigns. Wherever a sign of prosperity became visible the Turkish system of government took good care that poverty and misery should be restored as soon as possible.

The Ottoman Empire

Unnoticed and avoided, untouched by the world's commerce, and unable to arouse themselves to new life without external aid, the Ottoman provinces of Western Asia continued to exist only as arid, hopeless wastes.

Evils of Ottoman Misrule

Evil enough has been the destiny of Armenia, the western neighbour of Persia. Never, since the short-lived efforts of Tigranes to establish a great empire, has Armenia been either independent or united. It is true that the mountainous character of the country has to a certain extent protected it from attacks from without; but it has also favoured the division of the land into small and defiant tribal kingdoms, whose constant feuds have presented foreign Powers with welcome opportunities for interfering with Armenian affairs.

The conversion of the inhabitants to Christianity, and the remarkable tenacity with which they held fast to their belief, converted Armenia into a bulwark of the Byzantine empire, and at the same time a favourite object for all attacks made with the object of weakening the Eastern Roman Empire and the power of the Christians. As long as the Byzantines were able to hold the line of the Taurus Mountains it was necessary for the Armenians and Georgians to defend a portion of their frontiers only; and at that time the Armenians, who were still a warlike race, had little difficulty in maintaining their position in spite of their lack of unity. Not until the downfall of the Abbassid caliphs, followed by the invasion of Azerbijan and the lower country of the Kur by the Turks, who not only constantly harassed the Armenians but opened up through their country a way to Asia Minor, did the days of complete destruction begin. Azerbijan now became the favourite headquarters of the nomads and Armenia their chief plundering ground and highway to the west. The Seljuks were followed by the Mongols under Hulagu, and the latter by the armies of Timur. In later times the unfortunate land was torn by the struggles between Turkomans, Ottomans, and Persians.

Armenia a Plundering Ground

Already during the time of the Seljuks multitudes of Armenians had emigrated southward to Cilicia. After the victories of the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus Phocas, Cilicia was evacuated by the Mohammedans; its rough mountain valleys and ravines offered a welcome place of refuge to the feudal nobility of Armenia. But this state of "Lesser Armenia," an independent principality subsequent to 1080, and a kingdom under Christian rulers after 1198, was in itself a land of roads to the west, for the possession of which many a sanguinary contest was fought. Sometimes the Byzantines or the Crusaders, and again the Egyptians,

the Mongols, or the sultan of Iconium sought to render their influence supreme. Finally, in 1350, the Egyptian Mamelukes conquered Armenia, then in close union with the Christian kingdom of Cyprus, and put an end to the Lesser Armenian state. The emigration from Armenia itself still continued, however, when, after the Mongol period, the Turkomans of the Black and the White Ram founded their kingdom in the Armenian-Kurdish mountain country; and the place of the retreating population was soon taken by Kurds and Turkish tribes. The Persian-Ottoman wars, of which the bulk of the expenses was paid by the Christian Armenians and Georgians, completed the evil; scarcely 1,000,000 of the original inhabitants were now left in their native country. The majority had become

Four Centuries of Stagnation

serious attempt to improve the condition of its inhabitants. And this is also true of the rest of Turkish Western Asia, of which the history for the last 400 years has been on the whole a period of complete stagnation. Nor could it well have been otherwise, according to the principles of Ottoman administration. Asia Minor, however, has always been better off than the other Western Asian provinces. It is true that, with the exception of a few remnants left in the cities of the coast, the ancient Roman-Byzantine civilisation wholly disappeared; but as an offset to this a healthy peasant and soldier population speaking the Turkish language developed in the heart of the peninsula. With this population, thanks to the years of Seljuk rule, the greater portion of the



ERZEROUM, THE CAPITAL OF TURKISH ARMENIA

The mountainous character of the Armenian country, while protecting it from external attacks, has also favoured its division into tribal kingdoms, and it has never, since the days of Tigranes, been independent or united.

scattered over the provinces of Western Asia, some indeed penetrating as far as Eastern Europe.

During this period of trial and misfortune the character of the Armenian people underwent a fundamental change. Once warlike and lovers of liberty, feared on account of their exceptional bravery, they now became merchants and money-

Change of Armenian Character

dealers; and it was with dissimulation and deceit, the weapons of the oppressed, that they struggled for their existence. But the part lately occupied by Armenia in the "Eastern Question" of to-day belongs properly to European history, and is dealt with in another volume.

The Ottoman government was not only unable to prevent the decay of Armenia, but, moreover, never made any really original inhabitants have amalgamated. The old Phrygians and Cappadocians, Bithynians and Galatians, now appear in history as "Turks," however small the infusion of Turkish blood may often be; to this very day it is from Asia Minor that the Ottomans derive most of their power, and here will they be able longest to withstand the advance of European civilisation.

An entirely different picture is presented by Syria, only temporarily awakened from her lethargy by the conquest of Selim I. Here an extensive immigration of Turks did not take place; and the Mohammedans who had dwelt there before the advance of the Ottomans were confronted by a large population of other confessions, especially Christians, who were a serious menace to the Turkish government, inasmuch as the nations of Europe had taken a certain interest in the affairs of Syria

ever since the Crusades, and had ever striven to protect the Christians who dwelt there. Far from the centre of the empire, encompassed by hostile neighbours, and entrusted with the welfare of the unstable inhabitants of their own provinces, the governors of Syria and Mesopotamia led a practically independent existence, although it is true that the Damoclian sword of imperial disfavour was always suspended above them. They sometimes even went so far as to make war on their own initiative; and such of them as had powerful friends at the court in Constantinople, and were ready to offer bribes at the right moment, were able not only to retain their positions, but often to pursue their own policy unmolested. The pashas of the smaller districts, however, possessed far less authority, especially in Syria, where neither the mountain tribes of Lebanon nor the Arabs of the steppes were willing to submit to the Turkish yoke. The jealousy between the pashas of Egypt and Damascus formed an absurd epilogue to the old struggles between the Egyptians and the Western Asian peoples for the possession of Syria.

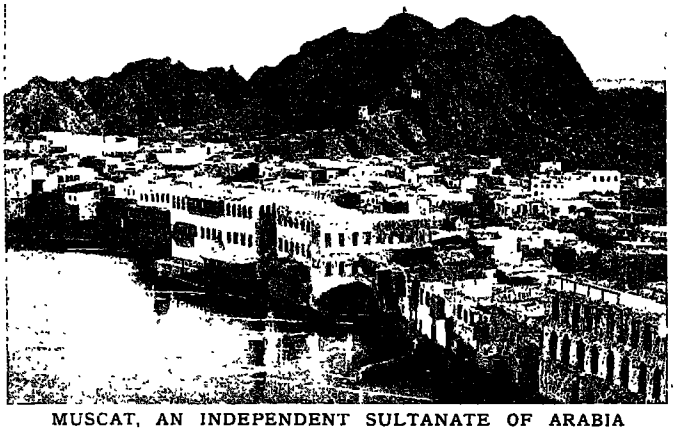
Syria's Independent Governors

For a time it seemed as if the mountain tribe of the Druses would succeed in establishing an independent kingdom in Northern Syria. The Druses were one of those remarkable races of refugees that are formed out of various elements in almost all lands of high mountains, and originally developed from a colony of Ismailian immigrants who wandered into the ravines of Lebanon about the year 1020 during the period of confusion that followed the death of the caliph Hakim. In the course of time they were joined by the persecuted of various other nations. The Druses were distinguished from the other mountain tribes, especially from the Christian Maronites, the descendants of monotheistic refugees who had long been their neighbours, by their peculiar religion — a combination of Ismailite, Christian, and Zoroastrian doctrines. They had no relation whatsoever to the remnants of the Assassins.

The Druses of Lebanon

Towards the end of the sixteenth century the Druses greatly increased in number and influence; and it was only their division into two hostile groups, the Yemenites and the Kases, or Kaisites, after the manner of the ancient Arabians, that enabled the Turks once more to reassert their influence in the mountains of Lebanon. An Ottoman army was despatched against them in 1585; but, in spite of fire and sword and all possible atrocities, the success of the Turks was temporary only.

In 1599 Fakhr ed-din, a man of great ability, assumed the leadership of the Kases, subjected or expelled the Yemenites, and took possession of a portion of the Syrian coast. Interest was aroused in Europe, and Ferdinand I. of Tuscany entered into an alliance with Fakhr ed-din and planned a great league between the Pope, Spain, Tuscany and the Druses for the reconquest of Jerusalem. But the Druses could not exist without constant support from Europe and the bribing of influential personages at the Ottoman court, who were able to prevent any active steps being taken against them; as soon as they were deprived of these two pillars of support their kingdom came to an abrupt end. In 1633 a Turkish fleet blockaded the coast, and an army advanced into the mountains; the next year Fakhr ed-din surrendered, and soon afterward was



MUSCAT, AN INDEPENDENT SULTANATE OF ARABIA

On the old overland route between India and Mesopotamia there arose, after the Ottoman conquest, the independent sultanate of Muscat in South-eastern Arabia.

beheaded in Constantinople. In comparison with this attempt to establish a national government, the numerous rebellions of Turkish pashas, of which the recent history of Syria is chiefly composed, scarcely deserve mention. Mehemet Ali, who sought to renew the ancient claims of Egypt upon Syria, accomplished but little of permanent good during his temporary period of rule, which lasted from 1833 to 1840. The fate of Syria continued to be unfortunate until the present day; the influence of European civilisation has finally begun to reach the districts of the Mediterranean coast, and progress is now noticeable, especially in the economic conditions of Palestine. But the rise of a national spirit is not to be thought of. In the middle of the nineteenth century, from May to October, 1860, the Druses began to massacre the Maronites, and thereby gave the French occasion to renew their old claims to the protection of the Syrian Christians. During the most recent times the majority of the Druses have migrated to the Hauran, where they live still more independently of the Turkish pashas.

No Syrian National Spirit

Irak and Arabia, once centres of the Mohammedan world, have continued to sink lower and lower, until to-day little remains to either of its former prosperity and importance. Irak had always been a semi-artificial state, chiefly dependent on a vast system of canals and the commercial route from India and Persia to the west for its wealth and power. But the constantly recurring invasions of hostile races, combined with the change in the routes taken by the world's commerce, transformed the ancient plain of Babylon once more into a desolate, poisonous land of swamps and marshes, which the Turkish pashas, of all men, least understood how to restore to welfare.

Modern Insignificance of Arabia

Arabia sank to an insignificance that was in truth wholly consistent with its small population and low plane of culture. It was left to itself; and its degeneration into small, mutually hostile emirates was not hindered by the caliphs. Only in Mecca and Medina the Abbassides, the Fatemides, and all other powers who laid claim to the leadership of the Mohammedan religious world sought to retain their influence. The pilgrimages, in consequence, were often warlike expeditions.

Not long after 966, when the Egyptian Fatemides obtained the place of honour in the sacred cities, an Alidic family succeeded in putting an end to the republican-anarchic state of affairs in the city of pilgrims, and established the Grand Sherifat of Mecca, which from this time forth possessed sometimes more, sometimes less power in Western Arabia. The ablest of the Grand Sherifs was Oatadah (1200), whose descendants reigned over their little kingdom until the time of the Wahabis in the eighteenth century. Various influences were at all times centred in Mecca; even from Yemen claims were constantly being made to the sovereignty of the city. When the Ottomans conquered Egypt, Yemen could be subdued only by force of arms. The old commercial significance of Yemen was lost after the country was conquered by the Ottomans. As an offset to this, the independent sultanate of Muscat arose in South-eastern Arabia on the ancient commercial route between India and Irak, and, after the Portuguese had been driven out, developed into a firmly constituted state, setting firm foot in Persia and finally also in Zanzibar. But in the central provinces of Arabia a storm arose in the middle of the eighteenth century that calls to the mind the early warlike period of Mohammedanism. The reforming sect of the Wahabis, founded by Mohammed abd-el Wahab, about 1745, expressed their views with all due emphasis of fire and sword, and finally succeeded in conquering Mecca itself in 1803. A striking parallel to Mahomet was presented by this reformer. The doctrines of the Wahabis were a protest on the part of the old Arabs against the caricature of the original belief which had gradually developed out of the simple teachings of Mahomet as well as against the degeneracy and luxury of the inhabitants of Mecca. That city did not remain long in the possession of the Wahabis; for in the year 1818 the Egyptian Viceroy, Mehemet Ali, took advantage of the confusion that reigned in Arabia and occupied Hedjaz. However, the plans of this ambitious prince eventually came to nothing, and Western Arabia was once more placed under the direct government of the Turks.

Reform By Fire and Sword



SOME OF PERSIA'S RULERS, FROM NATIVE PAINTINGS

Tamasp, son of the founder of the Sefid dynasty, who reigned from 1524 to 1576, abandoned part of his empire to the Turks, but Abbas I, the Great, brought the empire to great prosperity. Hosain, the last of the Sefids, abdicated in 1722. Nadir Shah, a Turk, gained great victories in India, and was followed by Kerim Khan (1751-1779), an anti-Turk. Aga Mohammed Khan, a monster of cruelty, founded, in 1794, the dynasty which still rules. He was followed by Futti Ali Shah.



PERSIA IN MODERN TIMES

THE SURVIVAL OF AN ANCIENT NATIONALITY

THE fate of Persia was more fortunate than that of Egypt, for the people of Iran showed that in spite of all the misfortunes to which they had been subjected there was at least enough vitality left in them for the formation and maintenance of a national government of their own.

In Azerbijan—that is to say, in a region that, together with the neighbouring provinces of the Elbruz Mountains, held longest and most tenaciously to its Iranian character—arose the national dynasty of the Sefids, who, it must be confessed, were greatly indebted for both their influence and power to the mixture of Turkish blood that ran in their veins; the Iranians were, indeed, compelled to make the best of the Turkish elements that were now ineradicably fixed in the heart of Persia. At the same time, however—as had now become the rule in Persia—the new dynastic movement centred in a religious question which was very closely connected with the national feeling. The Turks had become orthodox Mohammedans or adherents of the Sunnitic doctrines almost without exception, the simpler Arabian spirit of the Sunnitic teachings appealing far more to their nomadic temperament than the imaginative symbolical treatment of Islam of the Shiites. All things that had to do with the latter originated with the Iranians. The house of Ali always succeeded in finding adherents in Persia; an Alidic dynasty had long been able to maintain itself even in the mountain valleys of Tabaristan.

The Old Religious Question

Thus Ismail el-Safi, the founder of the Sefid dynasty, "the Sofies," was able to unfurl the banner of the Shiites, together with the national standard, without arousing the enmity of the Turks; for he was descended on his mother's side from Uzun Hassan, the sultan of the Turkomans of the White Ram, and, indeed, his most faithful followers were Shiitic Turks. Ismail experienced but little difficulty in establishing himself in Ghilan, and in a comparatively short time succeeded not only in depriving the descendants of Hassan of their inheritance, but in extending his dominion from Armenia and Irak as far as Transoxania, in 1507. The new Persian Government at once aroused the hostility of the Ottomans, the more so for the reason that the doctrines of the Shiites had become the national religion of Iran, and were in open opposition to the Sunnitic confession of the vast majority of the Turks. The Ottoman sultan, Selim, was not slow to follow the time-honoured traditions of his race, inasmuch as he immediately made arrangements for a persecution of the Shiites in his empire on a great scale, cutting down without mercy all he could capture of these natural allies of the Persians. Ismail, who thereupon fell upon the eastern Ottoman provinces, was forced to retreat before the superior forces of Selim, and was thoroughly defeated at Tebriz in 1514; the result was the loss of Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, and Western Armenia. Ismail's son, Tamasp, who reigned from 1524 to 1576, was obliged to abandon Irak and Azerbijan to the Ottomans in 1534; not until the reign of Shah Abbas I., 1586–1629, was the Persian frontier extended farther to the west.

Moslem Sects at War

Although the adoption of Shiitic doctrines played a great part in the reawakening of the Iranian national spirit, it was at the same time an insurmountable obstacle to complete unity. Ever since the time of the Ghaznavides, the Afghans had been fanatical Sunnites, and, as a result, were far more sympathetically inclined towards the Turks than towards their Shiite relatives. The unfortunate state of affairs that had reigned in Iran ever since the fall of the Sassanidæ was still visible in this religious division. However, the Iranian people were well able to control the Turks, at least so long as the latter did not receive fresh additions from the north-east. The Kisilbashes, a tribe of

Perpetual Division in Iran

Turks who had adopted the Shiitic faith together with the Persian language, were the first example of the coming amalgamation. It is true that these Turks considered themselves to be the true masters of the land; and it was not until Abbas I. had succeeded in surrounding himself with a circle of unconditionally faithful adherents, and in establishing a standing army of Persian infantry and cavalry, that the supremacy of the Iranianised Turks was overcome. At all events, the Sefids performed the great service of closing the gates of Khorassan, thereby checking the advance of the Central Asiatic Turks towards Eastern Iran. The military importance of Khorassan again caused this province to play a very independent part in Persian history; the Sefid, Abbas, reigned there independently for many years, even during the lifetime of his father, the shah of Persia, until finally the rest of Iran fell to him as an inheritance.

Nomadic Immigration Stopped

During this comparatively prosperous period of Sefid rule, the economic condition of Persia gradually improved. Abbas sought to infuse new life into industry by inducing Armenians to immigrate into his provinces, and to further commerce through the construction of new roads and bridges. The discovery of the ocean route to India had affected the commercial position of Persia no less than that of Egypt. Iran was now scarcely taken into consideration as a commercial route from India to the west; still, the Persians of the southern coast were able to establish direct commercial relations with the maritime nations of Europe; while in the north trade began to develop with Russia over the Caucasian passes and the Caspian Sea. Traffic with Russia was also furthered by the bitter hostility between Persia and the Ottoman Empire, which led to the blocking up of all the overland routes to the west. Persia was the natural ally of the European nations that were threatened by the Turks; and European envoys appeared more and more frequently in Iran as time went on, Abbas having already endeavoured to form a great confederation of nations against the Ottomans. The English in particular sought aid from the Persians during their attempts to take possession of India and of East Indian trade; and thus it came about that Persian troops, in combination with an English fleet, conquered Ormuz, still a flourishing province, drove out the Portuguese, and transformed the land into a wilderness. But the Persians were sadly disappointed in their hopes of a great development of Iranian-English commerce. The port of Bender Abbas, founded by Shah Abbas, never attained to any great importance.

Persia an Ally against the Turks

The chief article of export from Persia at that time was silk—no longer the silk of China, carried by caravans along the celebrated routes of Central Asia over Transoxania to Iran, but a product of Persia itself; as early as the period of Sassanidæan rule the silkworm had been imported from China to Iran and the west. But Persia only temporarily maintained her supremacy in silk-weaving; as soon as the Byzantines became acquainted with the trade they outstripped all competitors, Greek silk taking the place of Persian. In the dowry of Fatima, daughter of Melekshah (1072–1092), who married the caliph Moktadi Billah in 1077, were included 900 camels laden with Greek silk. But the fall of the Byzantine empire, and the decay of its economic prosperity following the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, caused Persian silk once more to become an important article of the world's commerce.

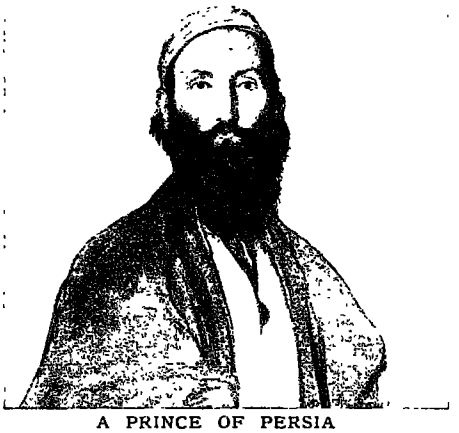
Persia's Silk Trade

But now that Persia had once more risen to prosperity after centuries of devastation and decay, the land became a tempting goal for nomadic robber expeditions. Shah Abbas attempted to adapt the excellent military system of the Turks to Persian requirements, and to form the nucleus of a national army by the creation of a standing force of infantry; but his weak successors added nothing in the way of improvement to these insufficient beginnings; and finally the Sefids submitted almost without a struggle to the attacks of new opponents.

These new enemies were the Afghans, the Eastern Sunnitic branch of the Iranians, who had managed to retain a large amount of independence owing to their geographical situation between Persia and the powerful empire of the Great Mogul and the successors of Timur in India. Finally, it became necessary for the Persians to send an army to Kandahar in order to re-establish the influence of the Shah and to strengthen the Indian frontier.



THE LOT OF REFORMERS: A GROUP OF PERSIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS



A PRINCE OF PERSIA



DERVISH OF THE PERSIAN DESERT



PERSIAN LADY



PERSIAN LADIES TAKING OUTDOOR EXERCISE



A MERCHANT

ONLY PEOPLE OF WESTERN ASIA PRESERVING THEIR ANCIENT NATIONALITY

The unscrupulous conduct of the Persian troops drove the Afghans into rebellion; and since the latter took up arms also as champions of the Sunnitic faith, numerous Turkish and Kurdish tribes followed their example and rose against the Shiitic rulers of Persia. At the same time another horde of Turks burst into Khorassan.

Afghans Rule Persia

Mahmud, the leader of the Afghans, boldly advanced on Ispahan with a small army, defeated the Persians, and after long siege entered the capital in triumph; Hosain, the last independent ruler of the Sefid dynasty, abdicated in favour of Mahmud in the thirty-second year of his reign (1722).

Apparently the Iranian element had now won a complete victory, and had shaken off the last remains of Turkish influence, which the Sefids had still been obliged to tolerate. Nevertheless, the differences in religion rendered it impossible for a true reconciliation to take place between East and West. When Mahmud, who had at first distinguished himself by showing a great moderation, finally lost his head completely in his endangered position at Ispahan, and endeavoured to render his throne secure by senseless massacres, as well as by filling the ranks of his weak army with semi-barbarous Kurds, all hopes of prosperity under Afghan rule disappeared. Moreover, the kingdom was unprotected from external foes. The Russians, under Peter the Great, occupied the passes of the Caucasus at Derbent without encountering opposition: and the Turks were prevented from advancing into the interior of Persia only by the heroic resistance of the inhabitants of Tebriz. In fact, a division of Northern and Western Persia between the Russians and Turks had already been agreed upon. Fortunately for Ashraf, the successor of Mahmud, the war against the Sunnitic Afghans was as little popular with the Turkish people and army as was the alliance with the Christian Russians. Ashraf made the most of these circumstances; and, after winning a small victory near Ispahan, showed a most generous spirit of reconciliation, and consequently was enabled to come to fair terms of peace. The western provinces, however, were lost, and the result of the war was that the Persians were obliged to recognise the spiritual supremacy of the Ottoman sultan.

Ottoman Ascendency in Persia

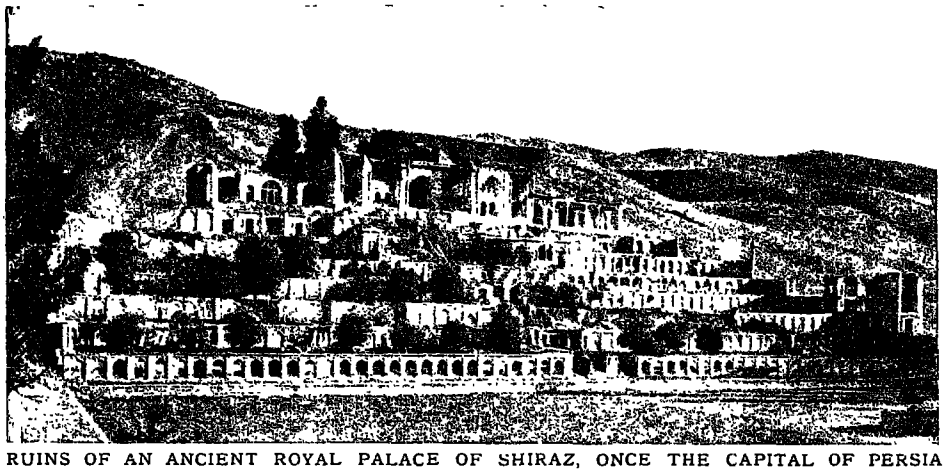
The new Afghan dynasty did not remain long at the head of affairs. The Sefid prince Tamasp occupied Masenderan, and his troops, commanded by the Kisilbash Turk Nadir, finally routed the Afghans in 1730. It was not the Sefid prince who ascended the throne of Persia, but his general, in whom he had evidently placed too much confidence. It appeared, in fact, that Persia was incapable of an independent existence without the Turks. Nadir, after several successful campaigns against the Ottomans, advanced his frontiers further to the west; he also completely overthrew the power of the Afghans, and on doing away with the last remains of the Sefids in 1736 felt himself called upon to renounce the doctrines of the Shiites and to become a convert to orthodoxy. The dissatisfaction aroused by this step did not appear immediately; the energy of the shah, and the brilliance of his victorious campaigns against the descendants of Timur in India, silenced all opposition. Owing to his defeat of the Afghans, Nadir was enabled to occupy the Indian passes; and he well knew how to make use of the advantages gained thereby. The empire of the Moguls under Mohammed Shah (1719–48) was thoroughly plundered in 1738–39, and the Indus became the future Persian boundary: laden with booty, the army returned home. The large amount of money now in circulation, coupled with a general reduction in the taxes, although a cause of great joy to the common people, was naturally of no lasting benefit to the economic affairs of the land. But at least the army, which had been splendidly trained by Nadir, lost none of its efficiency. The subjugation of the Transoxanian Turks and the Khivans soon proved that Persia was able to hold the gates of Khorassan as well as to undertake expeditions against the nomadic tribes of the north.

A Reign of Prosperity

Unfortunately, Nadir, like so many of his predecessors in the Orient, became transformed from a clever and energetic ruler into a mistrustful, bloodthirsty despot, who was led to commit unspeakably stupid atrocities out of anxiety for his treasures and suspicion that the Shiites desired to deprive him of his throne. His efforts to increase the national revenues and to enliven commerce were praiseworthy, however unpractical; for example, he

ordered wood for the construction of a fleet on the Persian Gulf to be sent all the way from the Elbruz Mountains. Nevertheless, he showed in all his attempts to improve the economic condition of his state knowledge of what constitutes the true wealth of a land—a knowledge that is rarely found among Oriental rulers.

After the murder of Nadir on June 20th, 1747, a new period of adversity began. The Afghan Ahmed Khan immediately proclaimed his independence in Kandahar, while Persia itself was given over to quarrels as to the succession. At last the successors of Nadir were able to hold Khorassan alone. The confusion continued until Kerim Khan, a member of the nomadic Persian tribe of Zend, took possession of the throne in 1751, and came



RUINS OF AN ANCIENT ROYAL PALACE OF SHIRAZ, ONCE THE CAPITAL OF PERSIA

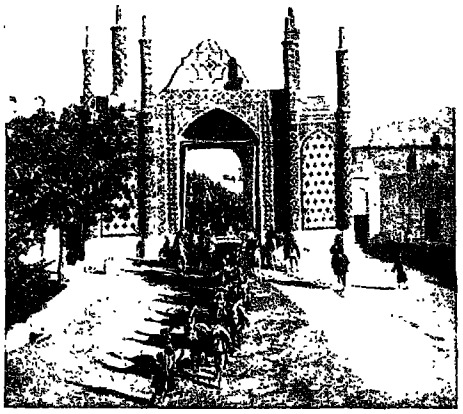
forward as a champion of Iran against the Turks.

After his death, in 1779, the land fell once more into complete decay, until, in 1794, Aga Mohammed Khan, the leader of the Shiite Turkish tribes of the Kajars in Masenderan, succeeded after a severe struggle in founding the dynasty which occupies the throne of Persia to-day. The transference of the capital to Teheran was of itself an indication that the kingdom was again ruled by Turks, for Teheran is situated nearer to the pasturages of the Turkish clans of the north-west and north than is either Ispahan or Shiraz [see illustration at the top of page 1989], the residence of Kerim Khan, who characteristically chose the ancient Persis for his seat of government. Khorassan, the headquarters of the descendants of Nadir, was once more conquered, and the unfortunate province of Georgia, which had placed itself under Russian protection, was reduced to the utmost state of desolation. A Russian army shortly appeared and threatened Azerbijan; but the death of the Empress Catherine and the accession of her successor Paul averted a conflict that would in all probability have been fatal to the fortunes of Aga Mohammed.

It was then that the first suspicion may have dawned in Persia of what the vast, constantly advancing power of Russia signified for Western Asia. Twice Persia endeavoured to drive back the champions of Western civilisation and Christianity beyond the Caucasus; but each time her efforts were of no avail. Under the terms of the peace of October 24th, 1813, the majority of the Persian provinces of the Caucasus fell into Russian hands; and after a second war, Persian Armenia, together with the capital Erivan, were evacuated by Persia, under a treaty concluded on February 23rd, 1828.

Throughout the later wars carried on by Russia against the tribes of the Caucasus, Persia has remained inactive. During the course of the nineteenth century Russian armies also advanced to the east of the Caspian Sea, and into Transoxania, where one province after another was compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the conquering Europeans. Finally, the last tribes of free Turkomans of Akhal-tekke and Merv submitted to the superior arms and discipline of their opponents. There is no longer any danger

to be expected from the nomads of Central Asia: it is the civilisation of Europe that now knocks for admittance at the gates of Khorassan. Thus, the old conditions are reversed. Culture once flourished in Iran, and again and again overcame the might of the intruding barbarians. To-day Persia herself is in a condition of semi-barbarism: the dangerous task of assuming the manners and



THE NORTH GATE AT TEHERAN

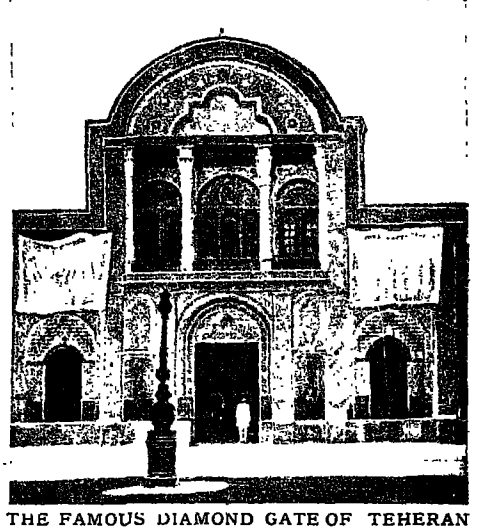
Teheran was made the capital of Persia in 1794, following Ispahan, of which a view is given at the top of page 1989.

customs of the superior races of Europe without being devoured by them during the process now lies before her.

The relations between Persia and Russia began to create a certain interest in Persian affairs in the minds of British Indian statesmen at the opening of the nineteenth century. The alliance between Napoleon and the Tsar at the Treaty of Tilsit called attention to the possibility of an overland invasion of India. Diplomatic relations, first opened in 1801, were renewed; but interest lapsed when the fear of Napoleon disappeared. In India, indeed, the Government has ever viewed the continuous approach of the Russian shadow with apprehension; in Great Britain fits of extreme alarm generally alternate with fits of extreme negligence. No serious effort was made to counteract the pressure of Russia on Persia, which, without British support, found itself driven into the arms of the Slavonic Power.

With surreptitious encouragement from Russia, or at least with a rash expectation of Russian support, Mehemet Shah, in 1836, dreamed of a restored Mohammedan empire extended over Hindustan, and with that ultimate end in view attempted to recover the Persian suzerainty in Afghanistan. Russia, however, had no intention of embroiling herself, and Persia was forced to retire. A similar move, though doubtless with a less ambitious aim, was frustrated in 1856–7, during the reign of Nasir ed-din (1848–1898), the shah whose visits to Europe in 1873 and 1878 excited much public curiosity.

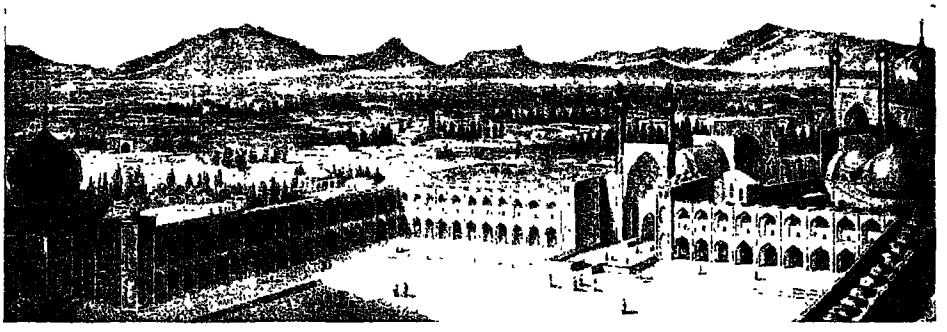
For the last fifty years there has been a continuous rivalry between Russia and Great Britain, the former Power exercising a persistent and the latter an intermittent pressure to obtain commercial and railway concessions and counter-concessions, the dominating fact being the consciousness of both that if ever Russia achieves access to and possession of a naval base in the Persian Gulf, Indian waters will cease in effect to be exclusively British waters. Of recent years, the



THE FAMOUS DIAMOND GATE OF TEHERAN

international position has been somewhat further complicated by signs that the Germans also are taking an interest in Persian railway schemes. Between Russia and Great Britain, however, the antagonism has been at least modified for the time by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, which has apportioned definite spheres of influence to the two Powers.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ
LEONARD W. KING



WESTERN ASIA IN OUR OWN TIME

BY ANGUS HAMILTON

PRIOR to the arrival of Germany in Asia Minor and Russia in Central Asia Great Britain may be said to have dominated the Middle East. With the intention of preserving Persia from the unfortunate influence of Russia, the British Government in the past had followed on occasion an unusually energetic policy. Britain's operations in respect of Herat, however, had succeeded merely in impressing Persia with a feeling of bitterness against her, equalled only by the dread with which that Power regarded Russia.

Before Germany had begun to sap the position of Great Britain at Constantinople, and Russia to impress the Shah with the power of her sword, the British Government was content to exercise jurisdiction over the Persian Gulf, the coasts of Arabia, and, in fact, the whole of Southern Persia. Mohammera and Bushire, as well as the island of Kharak, were in Britain's possession in 1857. An earlier depôt, serving as a military and naval station, was the island of Kishm, where Britain had settled first in 1820, and on which the Admiralty maintained coal yards.

In the Persian capital British influence was no less assured. Again, at Bagdad, across the border, Britain had laid the foundations of a position which reached its height in the middle of the last century. From Bagdad, and throughout Mesopotamia to the shores of the Gulf, respect was readily accorded to British authority by the semi-independent, wholly lawless, and usually piratical sheikhs who exercised despotic dominion over the region. Indeed, if the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed successive conflicts between Portuguese, Dutch, French and British pioneers of East Indian adventure, at the dawn of the nineteenth century the influence and trade of Great Britain were unquestionably pre-eminent because foreign trade was satisfied to rely upon British protection. Although the situation created at Teheran by the troubles on the Afghan frontier in 1885 was most unfortunate, the damaging effects attaching to it were soon eliminated by the personal influence of Sir Ronald Thomson, Britain's progressive and enlightened Minister in the Persian capital. Not only had Sir Ronald Thomson won the entire confidence of the Shah, but he pushed British interests to a foremost place by advocating most strongly the opening of the Karun river, the construction of a road between Teheran and Ahvaz, as well as the provision of a service of steamers on the Karun. Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, who went to Persia in 1887, carried the efforts of his predecessor several stages further, and in 1888 the Karun river was open to international navigation as far as Ahvaz.

British Influence in Persia

Landmark in Persia's Evolution

The year 1888 became a landmark in the economic evolution of Persia. Not only was the Karun river freed to commerce, but on June 25th the first railway was opened under the auspices of a Belgian company. This little line, with a length of five and a half miles, the first and last of its kind in Persia, ran from the capital to the mosque Shah Ab-dul-Azim. Since 1893 two branches, two and a half miles in length, have been added, but the lines, together with the Teheran tramway, built in 1889, long ago passed

into the hands of a Russian company. Although failure was not contemplated by the pioneers in the Persian field of concessions, the Imperial Bank of Persia represents the sole instance of success. Issued on January 30th, 1889, to Baron Julius de Reuter, in exchange for a concession granted in 1872, which leased for seventy years all possible forms of commercial development in Persia, the charter for the formation of a Persian state bank carried with it the exclusive right of issuing bank-notes as well as the control of a variety of mines and mineral deposits. Although the concession of 1872 had not materialised, and Baron de Reuter had paid to the Shah no less than £40,000 deposit, which was lost when the concession was cancelled, Russia was known to be much annoyed at the character of Baron de Reuter's latest concession. Early in the following month, therefore, Prince Dolgorouki, the Russian Minister in Teheran, obtained a pre-emption over all railway concessions in Persia for the following five years, as well as the right to establish a Russian Consul-General at Meshed. Eight months later, on October 23rd, the Imperial Bank of Persia, having bought out for £20,000 the recently established New Oriental Banking Corporation, opened its doors. In November, 1890, however, the Russian Government succeeded in having the terms of its secret railway agreement with Persia extended until the year 1900.

The Gamble of Concessions



Lilis & Walery

NASIR ED-DIN, SHAH OF PERSIA

Nasir ed-din, who was assassinated in 1896, appreciated the value of an understanding with Great Britain, and during his rule Russia obtained no great success at British expense.

Secure in its possession of the rights over the mineral wealth of Persia, the Imperial Bank of Persia ceded to the Persian Bank Mining Rights Corporation, in 1890, its powers in respect of mineral deposits. In the following year, too, the Imperial Tobacco Corporation developed from the concession of a tobacco monopoly which had been granted to British capitalists in 1890. Unhappily, the fates of these two companies were disastrous. The former went into liquidation in 1894. The latter, on account of local differences and disturbances, which reached a head on January 4th, 1892, suffered the cancellation of its concession in the following April. At the same time it received from the Persian Treasury an indemnity of £500,000, met by a loan of £500,000 at six per cent. on the security of the customs of the Persian Gulf from the Imperial Bank of Persia. Similar misfortune attended a concession for the monopoly of lotteries, which, granted to a Persian subject and ceded to a British syndicate for £40,000, was withdrawn, inflicting a direct loss of the purchase money upon the promoters. With the retirement of Sir Henry Drummond Wolff, for reasons of health, in 1890, and the arrival of his successor, Sir Frank Lascelles, in the autumn of 1891, a new era may be said to have been inaugurated. Save for the activity of the Imperial Bank of Persia in developing a system of carriageable roads, for the next nine years British enterprise stood still. On the other hand, the interests and prestige of Russia increased. Enhanced by the diplomatic skill of the Russian Minister in Teheran and the efforts of the Russian Consul-General at Meshed, a steady development had marked Russian commercial relations with North-east Persia. Russian interests were further promoted in 1895 by the announcement of a tariff, designed for the express purpose of stopping the Indo-Transcaspian trade that made Khorassan its centre of distribution. Unfortunately, the system of rebates offered by Russian railways to goods of Russian manufacture that were destined for the Persian markets, and the granting of subsidies to manufacturers who were interested in the Russo-Persian trade, had already brought about the practical extinction of Indian trade with Khorassan. With a view to meeting Russian competition, therefore, the Indian Government

Disastrous Ends of Monopolies

decided in 1896 to open up a trade route between Quetta and Seistan. The action of Russia in North-east Persia had aroused the attention of the Government of India as early as 1890, but action was impossible since the Amir of Afghanistan occupied a portion of the region through which the suggested route would pass. By the terms of the Durand Agreement of 1893 this obstacle was removed, and between 1894 and 1896 boundary commissions delimitated the Afghan-Baluch and the Perso-Baluch borders, upon completion of which the new route was opened.

While Russia and India were competing for the trade of Khorassan, Nasir ed-din was assassinated on May 1st, 1896. The late Shah appreciated the value of an understanding with Great Britain, and in spite of the political advantages which described the Russian position, Russia had obtained under his rule no very conspicuous success at Britain's expense. With his successor, Muzaffar ed-din, who had been compelled to seek the financial assistance of the Imperial Bank of Persia in order to travel from Tabriz, where he was crowned and where he had resided as Governor-General of Azerbijan, to take his seat on the throne, matters were different, since for many years he had been subject to Russian control.



SHAH MUZAFFAR ED-DIN

Muzaffar ed-din, who reigned from 1896 to January, 1907, was subject for many years to the control of Russia, who secured the sole right of issuing loans to the Persian Government.

Among the difficulties confronting the new Shah at his accession was an entire absence of money. A loan was sought, but, although the sum wanted was only a million sterling, the British Government did not follow the advice of Sir Mortimer Durand, then British Minister at Teheran, and guarantee the amount. In the negotiations British capitalists demanded the right of placing their own agents in charge of those custom houses whose receipts were offered as security. Although, in regard to a sum of £50.000 this point was conceded to the Imperial Bank of Persia, it was declined where it had reference to the larger sum. As a consequence the proposals fell through, to the bitter disappointment of the Shah, who, abandoning a contemplated visit to Europe, formed a most unfortunate impression of the British Government.

British Financial Aid Refused

Compelled by stress of financial difficulties to find methods for improving the revenue, the reform of the customs department was decided upon in 1898. The services of a number of custom house officials from Belgium were obtained, and the complete reorganisation of the methods begun. Under the supervision of M. Naus, lately Director-General of Persian customs, the new system was instituted first at Tabriz and Kermanshah in March, 1899, and twelve months later throughout the whole of Persia. Although the total Persian revenue at once appreciated, the Shah himself was still pressed for funds, and in the course of the summer of 1899 negotiations for a loan were opened again with London. Rendered impatient by delays, however, the Shah issued a firman in September which authorised the Russian Banque des Prêts, now called the Banque d'Escompte de Perse, to float a loan, when it became known that British capitalists were willing to advance £1,250.000 at five per cent. to be issued at 82. This offer came too late for acceptance, and, on January 30th, 1900, the Russian Government officially announced the issue of a loan for £2.400.000. Secured upon the custom receipts of the whole of Persia, with the exception of those for the Persian Gulf, it was guaranteed, bore interest at five per cent. and was issued at 85.

A British Offer Too Late

Although Russia waived the right of control over the Persian customs, upon which British capitalists had insisted, she made it a condition that the balance of the British loan of 1892 should be paid off, and the indebtedness of the Persian Treasury to the Imperial Bank of Persia and the International Bank of Commerce

liquidated. It was stipulated, too, that Persia should contract no other loan with a foreign government for ten years. The loan nominally was for £2,400,000, but Persia had so many obligations that she had but little more than a million sterling to her credit when they had been satisfied. Within a few months a further loan was required. On October 27th, 1901, Persia received from the Russian Government a further million and a half sterling, on the understanding that the tariff of the Persian customs should be revised in favour of Russia and that the period during which Persia should contract no further loan from Powers other than Russia should be increased to 1912, while the Railway Agreement was extended to 1905.

Persian Dependence on Russia

While Russia—by means of the secret railway agreement and the loan agreement, and through the advantages accruing to her under the 1901 Russo-Persian tariff revision and from the reorganisation of the Persian customs—established a political, as well as an economic, supremacy over Northern Persia, Germany followed in Asia Minor a policy inspired by an identical purpose. Committed to commercial expansion as an economic necessity, she conceived the plan of developing Asia Minor by an elaborate system of railways which should connect her own commercial centres with new, but none the less profitable, markets. Hitherto, no attempt had been made to exploit the commercial capacity of Turkey-in-Asia. For many years only two railways of importance were in existence: the Smyrna-Aidin Railway, for which a concession had been granted in 1856 to an English company, and the Smyrna-Kassaba Railway, which dated from 1863. In 1871, the Ottoman Government had constructed some fifty-six miles of railway between Haidar Pasha and Ismid, which in 1880 had been leased to an English company for a term of twenty years, subject to compensation if the arrangement were terminated before the expiry of that period. In 1888, ten years before the German Emperor made his dramatic pilgrimage to the Holy Land, Germany secured two Imperial Irades which conveyed to an agent of the Deutsche Bank powers over the Haidar Pasha-Ismid line, and a ninety-nine years' concession for its extension to Angora, with a retrospective guarantee of 10,300 francs per kilometre, and a prospective guarantee of 15,000 francs per kilometre.

Germany Develops Asia Minor

The Ottoman Company of Anatolian Railways, financed by German capital, now blossomed into existence, and by 1892 work had been completed. In the following year another Irade granted to the company the right to construct a branch from Eski Shehir to Konia, which was completed in 1896, as well as powers to extend the line from Angora to Kaisariyeh, with authority to carry it via Sivas, Diarbekir, and the Tigris valley to Bagdad. The irritation aroused in Russia by the announcement of a German railway in the northern part of Asia Minor was sufficient to cause the Angora-Bagdad project to be abandoned in favour of the Konia-Bagdad route, in respect of which a preliminary concession was signed in 1899 between the representatives of the Porte and the Anatolian Company. A little later, on January 16th, 1902, an Imperial Irade, approving the final details of the earlier proposals, was issued, but not before the Porte had conceded to Russia, in the terms of the Black Sea Basin Agreement of 1900, priority of rights throughout the Asiatic provinces of Turkey that drain into the Black Sea in respect of the construction of railways.

The Bagdad Railway

With a view to eliciting the co-operation of foreign capital in the development of the powers granted by the conventions of 1899 and 1902 to the Anatolian Railway Company, the Imperial Ottoman Bagdad Railway Company came into existence. Signed on March 5th, 1903, the third and last convention modified in certain aspects the terms of the previous agreements. None the less, it gave to a German corporation a right of way across Asia Minor from the Bosphorus to Basra on the waters of the Persian Gulf. With the intention of making the project an international one, overtures were made in the spring of 1903 to British, as well as to French, capitalists. Although the scheme was regarded quite benevolently by the French, the view held in Great Britain by no means encouraged British participation. Although marked inequality existed between the conditions governing British capital and those put forward on behalf of German capital, financial points were not the only ones over which it became impossible to agree. In detail,

the proposals did not appeal to the British Government, to whose guarantee London financial houses were looking before embarking upon so large and so precarious a venture. As a consequence, British assistance was not forthcoming. With the collapse of the negotiations for British co-operation, those with the French group similarly fell through. Germany, left to finance the great concession, has not yet attempted the task, save for the section from Konia to Eregli, a distance of sixty-two kilometres.

Under the influences which had already appeared in the Near East, as in the Middle East, the position of Great Britain in Western Asia was directly challenged by Russia from Central Asia and Northern Persia, by Germany from Asia Minor, and by a combination of France, Russia, and Germany from Southern Persia, the situation thus precipitated necessarily affecting British prestige in the Persian Gulf. Ostensibly there was no connection between the action of Germany in Asia Minor and the action of Russia in Northern Persia, but active wire-pulling from Constantinople and Teheran caused identical action to be taken by Turkey and Persia under conditions which were a constant source of embarrassment to Great Britain.

British Position Challenged

Persia and Turkey possess sovereign rights on their respective shores, but expression was seldom given to them prior to the advent of Germany at Constantinople, of France at Muscat, and of Russia at Teheran. At the same time, while true to the traditional policy of maintaining the peace of the region for international interests, Great Britain has persistently encouraged the extension of Persian, as of Turkish, authority over the littoral of the Gulf. By the reiterated statement that she would not permit any but these Powers to exercise territorial rights there, considerable umbrage has been give in Constantinople and Teheran. The attitude, moreover, has run counter to the ambitions of Russia, who has expressed a longing for a naval base in Southern Persia, and to the aspirations of Germany, who, in recent years, earmarked either Basra or Kowyet as a possible terminus for the Bagdad railway.

France, by virtue of a treaty with the Sultan of Muscat, since 1862 had been conceded equality of treatment with Great Britain, and thus occupied a position which it was impossible to oppose. It was not until 1894, however, that the terms of this agreement were brought into force, and then it was more with the intention of assisting the descent of Russia to the Gulf than for her own purposes that France established a consul at Muscat. Since that day German and Russian naval squadrons have visited the ports in the Gulf; protection has been offered and accepted by certain of the sheikhs, and the Gulf in some degree has ceased to be the exclusive British zone that it was when the Indian Government furnished naval and military expeditions for the purpose of suppressing piracy or the operations of some troublesome chief. Trade, too, in some districts, followed the flag of Germany or that of Russia, while it is safe to say that the plots and counter-plots of which so much has been heard were the work of the political agents, who, under the guise of consuls, began with the close of last century to represent the interests of France, Russia, and Germany in the region of the Persian Gulf, ever a centre of intrigue.

Politics of the Persian Gulf

During this period it was not only in Northern and Southern Persia that questions with Russia were arising. After experiencing the advantages to be gained by encroachment upon Khorassan, it was hardly to be expected that the prospect of political difficulties with India would check the development of Russian policy in Eastern Persia. Accordingly, when Russia found that the facilities offered by the Nushki-Nasratabad route offset in great measure the penalties imposed upon Indian trade by the frontier regulations of 1895 and the Russo-Persian tariff of 1901, she contrived, in 1902, with the aid of the Belgian customs, to throw additional obstacles in the way of those caravans from India which entered Persia. Besides a bureau of the Belgian customs which was established in Seistan a Russian consul was detailed to Nasratabad, their mutual efforts being supported by a quarantine cordon, improperly brought into existence, to check the spread of Indian plague, as well as Indian trade. Under the stress of these devices, Indo-Persian trade was thrown into confu ion, which was not materially reduced by the announcement that the Government of India proposed

Russia Spoils Indian Trade

to extend to Nushki the railway then terminating at Quetta.

Remonstrances addressed to Teheran seemed hardly to reach Seistan. For the moment the special measures designed by Russia for the discomfiture of Anglo-Indian interests in a region offering equal conveniences to Russia or India—according to the forward or defensive movements with which it might be concerned—were largely successful. Moreover, affairs in Seistan were already rather unsettled, since a question concerning the waters of the Helmund river had arisen between the Afghans and the Persians. By the early autumn of 1902 the controversy had begun to assume alarming dimensions, when, by the terms of Article 6 of the Anglo-Persian Treaty of 1857, it was submitted to the arbitration of Great Britain. By virtue of this, early in January of 1903, an imposing mission arrived on the scene, where, although experiencing the hostility of the Persians and arousing the indignation of the Russians, it remained for three years, intent upon the demarcation of the Perso-Afghan boundary and the appropriation of the Helmund waters between the respective peoples of the border region. Although a check was placed upon Russian activity in Seistan by the presence of the McMahon mission, the outbreak of war between Russia and Japan in 1904 was no less instrumental in bringing about material depreciation in the gravity of the situation. At the same time due recognition must be paid to the revival of official Indian interest in Persia. Stimulated by Lord Curzon, the Government of India since 1899 had gradually increased the number of consuls and vice-consuls while providing imposing mounted escorts to all consulates. Similarly, military officers were attached to Meshed and Teheran, the Gulf postal and telegraphic services were improved, while the medical officers appointed to the Gulf ports took over the duties of plague inspection.



Walery

THE DEPOSED SHAH OF PERSIA

Mohammed Ali Shah, who succeeded in January, 1907, and was driven to abdicate, July, 1909.

Under an increasing interest the position of Great Britain regained something of its earlier importance, and, in spite of the nature of the Russian loan agreement, the Shah borrowed, in 1903, from the Government of India. Although the result of the campaign necessarily exercised a modifying influence upon the development of Russian policy in Western Asia, Russia has not ceased to be a power of great importance in Persia. The conclusion of peace with Japan in August of 1905, however, gave rise to a wish for the readjustment of relations with Great Britain, and after many attempts negotiations were set in foot with this end in view. In the meantime changes which had taken place in Russia through the granting of a form of parliamentary liberty by the Tsar to the people had stimulated the imitative zeal of the Persians, who, in the spring of 1906, compelled Muzaffar ed-din to agree to the creation of a Mejlis or national assembly. The constitution was dated January 1st, 1907, but before the Persian Parliament had had time to become accustomed to its existence the Shah died.

With the accession of Mohammed Ali Shah, on January 8th, the influence of the negotiations then in progress between Great Britain and Russia so governed the situation in the Middle East that, in order to facilitate the position of the new ruler, the Russian and British Governments offered him a loan of £400,000 in order to relieve his more pressing necessities. Although the Shah and his responsible Ministers were in favour of accepting the terms, which sought merely the usual lien on the customs, the Mejlis scouted the proposals, thereby inaugurating the quarrel between the monarch and his parliament.

Beginning with the exclusion of the members of the Mejlis from the ceremonies of the coronation, which took place on January 19th, as from the general durbar, which was held on January 20th, Mohammed Ali Shah throughout his reign

treated the Nationalist movement with contempt, although unexpected boldness in the attitude of the Nationalist leaders compelled him upon occasion to yield with discretion. None the less, the first demands were a little startling, and embraced, in addition to a number of far-reaching reforms, the recall of several important officials from centres of provincial government, where their malpractices had inflamed the neighbouring populations, and the dismissal of M. Naus, the head of the Belgian customs.

Accustomed to an atmosphere of autocratic government the Shah expressed reluctance to conform with these demands, particularly as the reactionaries were able to present the efforts of the reformers in a light that was not conducive to their ultimate success. Accordingly, the Shah became the centre of a number of intrigues, behind some of which could be traced the influence of Russia. Distinct progress was made, however, although the assassination of the Prime Minister, Amin-es-Sultan, in August, 1907, threw back the cause of the reformers, creating

Unrest in Persia

an animus against them in the mind of the Shah that gave rise, at the end of 1907, to an attempted coup d'état. The struggle between the people of the capital and their ruler was not the only difficulty against which Persia had to contend at the dawn of 1908. Inspired by sympathy with the plans of the reformers, wide areas in many parts of the kingdom exhibited signs of suppressed revolt, the existence of these disorders encouraging a corresponding spirit among the Kurdish tribes on the Turkish side and the Turkomans on the Russo-Afghan side of the frontier. While the operations of the Turkomans were confined to raids in the vicinity of Meshed, the movement among the Kurds on the western border threatened to be attended by serious complications. Hitherto, unless threatened with extreme measures by the reformers, no attention was paid to their demands, and the Shah rode roughshod over the most delicate situations without any expression of concern.

The continuation of the state of affairs which distinguished the first twelve months of Mohammed Ali's reign brought Persia to the edge of revolution. Crisis succeeded crisis, and while each outburst threatened to precipitate the downfall both of the Shah and of his Parliament the situation at best may be said to have represented a truce with Fate which, so soon as it was broken, afforded the world the spectacle of a Persian débâcle.

Negotiations for the readjustment of the points of disagreement between Russia and Great Britain in Asia were

The Treaty of 1907

begun in 1905, and concluded in the autumn of 1907. By the treaty then disclosed, British and Russian interests in Persia were divided by a line which, in the case of the British sphere, ran from the Afghan frontier by way of Gazik, Birjand, Kerman and Bender Abbas; and, in the case of the Russian sphere, passed from Kasr-i-Shirin through Ispahan, Yezd, and Kakhk to terminate at the intersection of the Russian and Afghan frontiers. In accordance with this arrangement the area allotted to Great Britain and Russia became a neutral zone, open to the commercial activities of any Power.

ANGUS HAMILTON

RECENT EVENTS IN PERSIA

EVENTS of the six years following 1907 only brought increasing ruin and decay to Persia. Shah Mahommed Ali got rid of the troublesome Mejliss in the summer of 1908 by a coup d'état, and promised numerous reforms in the government of Persia. Not one of his promises was ever fulfilled, anarchy became the order of the day in many provinces, and the Shah's treasury was empty. Under pressure from Russia and Great Britain, Mahommed Ali decided, too late, to restore the constitution and amnesty all political prisoners. The revolutionary tribesman accepted the restored constitution, but had no desire to retain the Shah.

In July, 1909, Mahommed Ali fled before the advancing troops of the revolutionaries and took refuge in the Russian Legation at Teheran. His flight was accepted as an act of abdication, and a National Council formally deposed Mohammed Ali and declared his eleven-year-old son, Ahmed Mirza, to be Shah. Mohammed Ali departed to the Crimea, but his followers kept up spasmodic

hostilities with the Government, and the ex-Shah himself made an unsuccessful attempt to invade Persia from the Russian frontier in 1911.

An effort made by the Persian Government to bring, at least, financial order out of the hopeless chaos at the treasury in Teheran, by the engagement of Mr. Schuster, an American financial expert, was frustrated by friction with the Russian Government, which led to Mr. Schuster's retirement. So things went from bad to worse.

Southern Persia in 1913 was "a country in the throes of dissolution," in Lord Curzon's words: "a country given up to rapine and brigandage, where trade is at a standstill, where armed bands rove about the country doing as they please; a country where the central Government is impotent and local Government ignored." In the North, Russian companies obtained concessions for railways, and by the Russo-German Convention of 1911, Russia stood pledged to secure equal facilities for Germany in the matter of international traffic on the Khanikin-Teheran and Khanikin-Baghdad lines.

The Persian Government, under the conditions of a loan of £400,000 advanced jointly by the Russian and British Governments, agreed to accept the Anglo-Russian regime, and the presence of Russian troops in the North guaranteed the restriction of any activities the Mejliss might display.

Thus Persian independence crumbles away, and if the British and Russian forces afford some sort of protection to foreigners in the country, they also promise that the existence of Persia as a sovereign state is over.

END OF VOLUME V.